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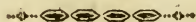
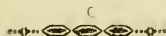
OF ANCIENT AND MODERN
FUGITIVE PIECES, &c.
PROSE AND POETICAL.

For JULY, 1787.



.....: "*With sweetest flow'rs enrich'd,*
"*From various gardens cull'd with care.*"

..... "*Collecta revirescunt.*"

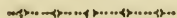


VOL. II. No. I.



THE SECOND EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED BY MATHEW CAREY.



M.DCC.LXXXIX.

THE HISTORY OF THE

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TO THE

MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE,

LATE MAJOR-GENERAL

IN THE SERVICE OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

AN INTREPID SOLDIER,

A SKILFUL COMMANDER,

AN ARDENT LOVER OF LIBERTY,

A DISINTERESTED PATRIOT,

AND

A TRUE PHILANTHROPIST,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS OBLIGED

AND GRATEFUL SERVANT,

MATHEW CAREY.

Lewes, July 26, 1787.

ACAMS 171-22

V.2

P R E F A C E.

I EMBRACE with pleasure the opportunity offered by the commencement of the present volume, to offer my most sincere acknowledgments to my friends and the public, for the indulgence and protection the American Museum has experienced.

It began under singular disadvantages. So far was public opinion against it, and so very confined were the expectations formed of a work which professed to be void of originality, and to be, in some measure, only a hand-maid to the news-papers, that, at the appearance of the first number, there were not twenty subscribers. This circumstance did not in the least discourage me. Perfectly satisfied, that such a publication was highly necessary, and must prove of essential service to the public—that the want of it had consigned many invaluable pieces to oblivion—and that, among an enlightened people, it only required to be known, in order to meet with suitable encouragement—I looked forward, with confidence, to the day when the list of subscribers should attain that degree of respectability it now possesses, both as to numbers, and the characters that compose it. My hope, however visionary it might then appear, has not deceived me.

It is not, I trust, at the present time, necessary to expatiate largely on the salutary tendency of this performance; which seems to be universally admitted by those who have inspected it: a few remarks, for those who have not, will suffice. Whoever examines the past numbers, will find various essays, written in the most masterly manner, with the most benevolent and patriotic intentions, and as well calculated to promote the happiness of society, as likely to answer that important end. Most of these had made their first appearance in news-papers; and with them had been thrown aside and forgotten, although deserving of the most careful preservation. They are now rescued from that unworthy fate: and their good effects are likely to extend beyond the present generation. This alone would be sufficient to satisfy every candid person of the utility of this undertaking: however, another observation yet remains to be made. In the first volume, independent of the smaller pieces, there have been given several entire pamphlets, which, as sold separately, amount to considerably more than double the subscription for it. For instance:—Common Sense*—Address to the Armies of America†—Poem on the Happiness of America‡—M'Fingal§—General Washington's celebrated circular letter §—Enquiry into the principles of a commercial system for the united states ¶—and the chief of dr. Ladd's Poems **.

An opinion has been entertained, that it would be impossible to procure matter sufficient to supply the work. This opinion is extremely ill-founded. After seven months publication, the materials which I had previously prepared, are not perceptibly diminished, to say nothing of a great accumulation during that period. Moreover, as the plan extends to lectures, orations, and pamphlets—and as it is not confined to writings on any subject, or of any age or country (although American publications, *cæteris paribus*, shall always meet a preference) but has all the literary stores of ancient and modern times to range through, there is not the most distant reason to apprehend a scarcity.

After a careful examination of the various shoals on which periodical publications have been wrecked, in this and other countries, I am in dread of only,

NOTES.

* Price 2s. 6d. † Price 2s. 6d. sterling in London. ‡ Price 2s.
 § Price 5s. § Price 1s. 6d. ¶ Price 1s. 6d. ** Price 7s. 6d.

one, which I am almost ashamed to intimate—but which, justice to myself, as well as a sincere desire, by insuring stability to this work, to be as far serviceable to the community, of which I have the honour to be a member, as my slender talents and my situation will admit, forbid me to pass over in silence. This shoal, the danger of which I deprecate, is the want of a due punctuality in paying the subscriptions. These being small, each individual is but too apt to suppose it a matter of great indifference whether he pays *his* quota at the time appointed, or in six or twelve months afterwards. This is a great mistake *: for let it be observed that the aggregate of these sums (however trivial and insignificant each may be, taken separately) is the only fund for defraying the great and inevitable expenses of the undertaking. These cannot be deferred. They are all payable in ready money: and it would but ill satisfy the paper-maker, the journeyman printer, &c. &c. to tell them, when money was due to them, that I could not pay it:—that I *expected* money from my subscribers in two, three, or four months;—and that I should *then* pay them. If I told them such a Canterbury tale, I need not *expect* any more of their services. It is, further, to be observed, that the expense of sending twice, thrice, or, as is often the case, four times for the amount of a subscription, bears no small proportion to the sum received. After this explanation, it must be unnecessary to request of those subscribers, who with success to the Museum, or desire its proprietor may receive a reward for his earnest endeavours to gratify them, that they will, at the completion of each volume, renew their subscription for the succeeding one. Those gentlemen, who, agreeably to the original plan, have already done this, are entitled to my thanks.

I am, with due regard and esteem,
the public's devoted servant,

M. C.

Lewes, July 27, 1787.

NOTE.

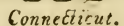
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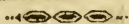
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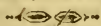
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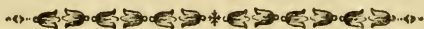
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T H E

A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For J U L Y, 1787.



[The printer of the American Museum hopes he will be regarded as rendering an acceptable service to his fellow-citizens, by publishing in the present number, some of the most valuable of the essays which have appeared on the subject of paper-money, *pour et contre*.—Every man, whether an advocate or opposer of paper-emissions, must readily and without hesitation allow, that the subject is as interesting to this country as almost any other whatsoever. The difference in sentiment relative to paper-money, has given rise to a spirit of party, in several of the states. In Maryland, particularly, it lately occasioned a very disagreeable contest and altercation between the two branches of the legislature. A publication, therefore, which unites together the most powerful reasoning on both sides, and thus affords every man of candor and discernment, a full opportunity to form a just and decided opinion of the propriety or impropriety of paper-emissions, can scarcely meet with disapprobation or censure from any but the interested and prejudiced.]

Remarks and facts relative to the American paper money. By dr. Franklin. Written in London, anno 1764.

IN the report of the board of trade, dated February 9, 1764, the following reasons are given for restraining the emission of paper-bills of credit in America, as a legal tender:

1. That it carries the gold and silver out of the province; and so ruins the country: as experience has shewn, in every colony where it has been practised in any great degree.

2. That the merchants trading to America have suffered and lost by it.

3. That the restriction [of it] has had a beneficial effect in New-England.

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4. That every medium of trade should have an intrinsic value, which paper-money has not. Gold and silver are, therefore, the fittest for this medium, as they are an equivalent; which paper never can be.

5. That debtors in the assemblies make paper-money with fraudulent views.

6. That in the middle colonies, where the credit of the paper-money has been best supported, the bills have never kept to their nominal value, in circulation; but have constantly depreciated to a certain degree whenever the quantity has been increased.

To consider these reasons in their order; the first is,

1. "That paper money carries the
C

gold and silver out of the province, and so ruins the country ; as experience has shewn, in every colony where it has been practised in any great degree."

This opinion, of its ruining the country, seems to be merely speculative, or not otherwise founded than upon misinformation in the matter of fact. The truth is, that the balance of their trade with Britain, being greatly against them, the gold and silver are drawn out to pay that balance ; and then the necessity of some medium of trade has induced the making of paper money, which could not be carried away. Thus, if carrying out all the gold and silver ruins a country, every colony was ruined before it made paper-money. But, far from being ruined by it, the colonies that have made use of paper-money, have been, and are all in a thriving condition. The debt indeed to Britain has increased, because their numbers, and of course their trade, have increased ; for all trade having always a proportion of debt outstanding, which is paid in its turn, while fresh debt is contracted, the proportion of debt naturally increases as the trade increases ; but the improvement and increase of estates in the colonies has been in a greater proportion than their debt. New-England, particularly, in 1696, (about the time they began the use of paper-money) had in all its four provinces but 130 churches or congregations : in 1760 there were 530. The number of farms and buildings there, is increased in proportion to the number of people ; and the goods exported to them from England in 1750, before the restraint took place, were near five times as much as before they had paper money. Pennsylvania, before it made any paper-money, was totally stripped of its gold and silver ; though they had, from time to time, like the neighbouring colonies, agreed to take gold and silver coins at higher and

higher nominal values, in hopes of drawing money into, and retaining it, for the internal uses of the province. During that weak practice, silver got up by degrees to 8s. 9d. per ounce, and English crowns were called six, seven, and eight shilling pieces, long before paper money was made. But this practice of increasing the denomination, was found not to answer the end. The balance of trade carried out the gold and silver as fast as it was brought in ; the merchants raising the price of their goods in proportion to the increased denomination of the money. The difficulties for want of cash were accordingly very great, the chief part of the trade being carried on by the extremely inconvenient method of barter: when in 1723, paper-money was first made there, which gave new life to business, promoted greatly the settlement of new lands (by lending small sums to beginners on easy interest, to be repaid by instalments) whereby the province has so greatly increased in inhabitants, that the export from hence thither is now more than ten-fold what it then was ; and by their trade with foreign colonies, they have been able to obtain great quantities of gold and silver to remit hither in return for the manufactures of this country. New-York and New-Jersey have also increased greatly during the same period, with the use of paper-money ; so that it does not appear to be of the ruinous nature ascribed to it. And if the inhabitants of those countries are glad to have the use of paper among themselves, that they may thereby be enabled to spare for remittances hither, the gold and silver they obtain by their commerce with foreigners, one would expect that no objection against their parting with it, could arise here, in the country that receives it.

The second reason is, That the merchants trading to America have suffered and lost by the paper money,

This may have been the case in particular instances, at particular times and places : as in South Carolina, about 58 years since, when the colony was thought in danger of being destroyed by the Indians and Spaniards ; and the British merchants, in fear of losing their whole effects there, called precipitately for remittances, and the inhabitants, to get something lodged in safe countries, gave any price in paper-money for bills of exchange ; whereby the paper, as compared with bills, or with produce, or other effects fit for exportation, was suddenly and greatly depreciated.— The unsettled state of government for a long time in that province, had also its share in depreciating its bills. But since that danger blew over, and the colony has been in the hands of the crown, their currency became fixed, and has so remained to this day. Also in New-England, when much greater quantities were issued than were necessary for a medium of trade, to defray the expedition against Louisbourg, and during the last war in Virginia and North Carolina, when great sums were issued to pay the colony-troops, and the war made tobacco a poorer remittance, from the higher price of freight and insurance : in these cases, the merchants trading to those colonies may sometimes have suffered by the sudden and unforeseen rise of exchange. By slow and gradual rises, they seldom suffer ; the goods being sold at proportionable prices. But war is a common calamity in all countries, and the merchants that deal with them, cannot expect to avoid a share of the losses it sometimes occasions, by affecting public credit. It is hoped, however, that the profits of their subsequent commerce with those colonies, may have made them some reparation.— And the merchants trading to the middle colonies, (New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania) have never suffered by any rise of exchange, it

having ever been a constant rule there to consider British debts as payable in Britain, and not to be discharged but by as much paper (whatever might be the rate of exchange) as would purchase a bill for the full sterling sum. On the contrary, the merchants have been great gainers by the use of paper money in those colonies, as it enabled them to send much greater quantities of goods, and the purchasers to pay more punctually for them. And the people there make no complaint of any injury done them by paper-money, with a legal tender ; they are sensible of its benefits ; and petition to have it so allowed.

The third reason is, “ That the restriction has had a beneficial effect in New-England.” Particular circumstances in the New England colonies, made paper-money less necessary and less convenient to them. They have great and valuable fisheries of whale and cod, by which large remittances can be made. They are four distinct governments ; but having much mutual intercourse of dealings, the money of each used to pass current in all : but the whole of this common currency not being under one common direction, was not so easily kept within due bounds ; the prudent reserve of one colony in its emissions, being rendered useless by excess in another. The Massachusetts, therefore, were not dissatisfied with the restraint, as it restrained their neighbours as well as themselves ; and perhaps they do not desire to have the act repealed. They have not yet felt much inconvenience from it, as they were enabled to abolish their paper currency, by a large sum in silver from Britain to reimburse their expenses in taking Louisbourg, which, with the gold brought from Portugal, by means of their fish, kept them supplied with a currency, till the late war furnished them and all America with bills of

exchange ; so that little cash was needed for remittance. Their fisheries, too, furnish them with remittance through Spain and Portugal to England, which enables them the more easily to retain gold and silver in their country. The middle colonies have not this advantage ; nor have they tobacco, which in Virginia and Maryland answers the same purpose. When colonies are so different in their circumstances, a regulation that is not inconvenient to one or a few, may be very much so to the rest. But the pay is now become so indifferent in New-England, at least in some of its provinces, through the want of currency, that the trade thither is at present under great discouragement.

The fourth reason is, "That every medium of trade should have an intrinsic value, which paper money has not. Gold and silver are therefore the fittest for this medium, as they are an equivalent, which paper never can be." However fit a particular thing may be for a particular purpose, wherever that thing is not to be had, or not to be had in sufficient quantity, it becomes necessary to use something else, the fittest that can be got in lieu of it. Gold and silver are not the produce of North America, which has no mines ; and that which is brought thither cannot be kept there in sufficient quantity for a currency. Britain, an independent great state, when its inhabitants grow too fond of the expensive luxuries of foreign countries, that draw away its money, can, and frequently does, make laws to discourage and prohibit such importations ; and by that means can retain its cash. The colonies are dependent governments, and their people having great respect for the sovereign country, and being thence immoderately fond of its modes, manufactures, and superfluities, cannot be restrained from purchasing them by any province-law ; because such law, if made, would immediately be re-

pealed here, as prejudicial to the trade and interest in Britain. It seems hard, therefore, to draw all their real money from them, and then refuse them the poor privilege of using paper instead of it. Bank bills and bankers' notes are daily used here as a medium of trade : and in large dealings, perhaps the greater part is transacted by their means : and yet they have no intrinsic value, but rest on the credit of those that issue them, as paper-bills in the colonies do on the credit of the respective governments there. Their being payable in cash upon sight by the drawer, is indeed a circumstance that cannot attend the colony-bills, for reasons just above-mentioned, their cash being drawn from them by the British trade ; but the legal tender being substituted in its place, is rather a greater advantage to the possessor, since he need not be at the trouble of going to a particular bank or banker to demand the money, finding (wherever he has occasion to lay out money in the province) a person that is obliged to take the bills. So that even out of the province, the knowledge that every man within that province is obliged to take its money, gives the bills a credit among its neighbours, nearly equal to what they have at home. And were it not for the laws here, that restrain or prohibit as much as possible all losing trades, the cash of this country would soon be exported ; every merchant who had occasion to remit it, would run to the bank with all its bills that came into his hands, and take out his part of its treasure for that purpose, so that in a short time it would be no more able to pay bills in money upon sight, than it is now in the power of a colony treasury so to do. And if government afterwards should have occasion for the credit of the bank, it must of necessity make its bills a legal tender, funding them however on taxes, by which

they may in time be paid off, as has been the general practice in the colonies. At this very time, even the silver money in England is obliged to the legal tender for part of its value—that part which is the difference between its real weight and its denomination. Great part of the shillings and sixpences now current, are, by wearing, become 5, 10, 20, and some of the sixpences even 50 per cent. too light. For this difference between the real and the nominal, you have no intrinsic value; you have not so much as paper; you have nothing. It is the legal tender, with the knowledge that it can easily be repassed for the same value, that makes three-penny-worth of silver pass for sixpence. Gold and silver have undoubtedly some properties that give them a fitness above paper as a medium of exchange, particularly their universal estimation, especially in cases where a country has occasion to carry its money abroad, either as a stock to trade with, or to purchase allies and foreign succours; otherwise that very universal estimation is an inconvenience which paper-money is free from, since it tends to deprive a country of even the quantity of currency that should be retained as a necessary instrument of its internal commerce, and obliges it to be continually on its guard in making and executing at a great expense, the laws that are to prevent the trade which exports it. Paper-money well funded, has another great advantage over gold and silver—its lightness of carriage, and the little room that is occupied by a great sum; whereby it is capable of being more easily, and more safely, because more privately conveyed from place to place. Gold and silver are not intrinsically of equal value with iron, a metal in itself capable of many more beneficial uses to mankind. Their value rests chiefly in the estimation they happen to be in among the generality of na-

tions, and the credit given to the opinion that that estimation will continue: otherwise a pound of gold would not be a real equivalent for even a bushel of wheat. Any other well-founded credit, is as much an equivalent as gold or silver; and in some cases more so, or it would not be preferred by commercial people in different countries. Not to mention again our own bank bills; Holland, which understands the value of cash as well as any people in the world, would never part with gold and silver for credit (as they do when they put it into their bank, from whence little of it is ever afterwards drawn out) if they did not think and find the credit a full equivalent.

The fifth reason is, “That debtors in the assemblies, make paper-money with fraudulent views.” This is often said by the adversaries of paper-money, and if it has been the case in any particular colony, that colony should, on proof of the fact, be duly punished. This, however, would be no reason for punishing other colonies, who have not so abused their legislative powers. To deprive all the colonies of the convenience of paper-money, because it has been charged on some of them, that they have made it an instrument of fraud, is as if all the India, bank, and other stocks and trading companies were to be abolished, because there have been, once in an age, Mississippi and South sea schemes and bubbles.

The sixth and last reason is, “That in the middle colonies, where the paper-money has been best supported, the bills have never kept to their nominal value, in circulation; but have constantly depreciated to a certain degree, whenever the quantity has been increased.” If the rising of the value of any particular commodity wanted for exportation, is to be considered as a depreciation of the values of whatever remains in the country, then the rising of silver above

paper to that height of additional value, which its capability of exportation only gave it, may be called a depreciation of the paper. Even here, as bullion has been wanted or not wanted for exportation, its price has varied from 5s. 2d. to 5s. 8d. per ounce. This is near ten per cent. But was it ever said or thought on such an occasion, that all the bank bills, and all the coined silver, and all the gold in the kingdom, were depreciated 10 per cent.? Coined silver is now wanted here for change, and one per cent. is given for it by some bankers; are gold and bank notes therefore depreciated one per cent.? The fact in the middle colonies is really this:—On the emission of the first paper-money, a difference soon arose between that and silver; the latter having a property the former had not, a property always in demand in the colonies, to wit, its being fit for a remittance. This property having soon found its value, by the merchants bidding on one another for it, and a dollar thereby coming to be rated at 8s. in paper-money of New-York, and 7s. 6d. in paper of Pennsylvania, it has continued uniformly at those rates, in both provinces, now near forty years, without any variation upon new emissions; though in Pennsylvania the paper-currency has at times increased from 15,000*l.* the first sum, to 600,000*l.* or near it; nor has any alteration been occasioned by the paper-money, in the price of the necessaries of life, when compared with silver: they have been for the greatest part of the time, no higher than before it was emitted, varying only by plenty and scarcity, according to the seasons, or by a less or greater foreign demand. It has indeed been usual with the adversaries of a paper-currency, to call every rise of exchange with London, a depreciation of the paper: but this notion appears to be by no means

just; for if the paper purchases every thing but bills of exchange, at the former rate, and these bills are not above one-tenth of what is employed [in] purchases, then it may be more properly and truly said, that the exchange has risen, than that the paper has depreciated. And as a proof of this, it is a certain fact, that whenever in those colonies bills of exchange have been dearer, the purchaser has been constantly obliged to give more in silver, as well as in paper, for them; the silver having gone hand in hand with the paper at the rate above-mentioned, and therefore it might as well have been said that the silver was depreciated. There have been several different schemes for furnishing the colonies with paper-money, that should not be a legal tender, viz.

1. To form a bank, in imitation of the bank of England, with a sufficient stock of cash to pay the bills at sight.

This has been often proposed, but appears impracticable, under the present circumstances of the colony-trade, which, as is said above, draws all the cash to Britain, and would soon strip the bank.

2. To raise a fund by some yearly tax, securely lodged in the bank of England, as it arises, which should (during the term of years for which the paper-bills are to be current) accumulate to a sum sufficient to discharge them all at their original value.

This has been tried in Maryland, and the bills so funded were issued without being made a general legal tender. The event was, that as notes payable in time, are naturally subject to a discount proportioned to the time—so these bills fell at the beginning of the term, so low, as that twenty pounds of them became worth no more than twelve pounds in Pennsylvania, the next neighbouring province, though both had been

struck near the same time, at the same nominal value, but the latter was supported by the general legal tender. The Maryland bills, however, began to rise as the term shortened, and towards the end recovered their full value. But as a depreciating currency injures creditors, this injured debtors, and by its continually changing value, appears unfit for the purpose of money, which should be as fixed as possible in its own value, because it is to be the measure of the value of other things.

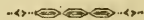
3. To make the bills carry an interest sufficient to support their value.

This too has been tried in some of the New England colonies; but great inconveniencies were found to attend it. The bills, to fit them for a currency, are made of various denominations, and some very low, for the sake of change; there were of them from 10*l.* down to 3*d.* When they first come abroad, they pass easily, and answer the purpose well enough for a few months; but as soon as the interest becomes worth computing, the calculation of it on every little bill in a sum between the dealer and his customers, in shops, warehouses, and markets, takes up much time, to the great hindrance of business. This evil, however, soon gave place to a worse; for the bills were in a short time gathered up and hoarded, it being a very tempting advantage to have money bearing interest, and the principal all the while in a man's power, ready for bargains that may offer, which money out on mortgages is not. By this means, numbers of people became usurers with small sums, who could not have found persons to take such sums of them upon interest, giving good security; and would therefore not have thought of it, but would rather have employed the money in some business, if it had been money of the common kind. Thus trade, instead of being in-

creased by such bills, is diminished: and by their being shut up in chests, the very end of making them (*viz.* to furnish a medium of commerce) is in a great measure, if not totally defeated.

On the whole, no method has hitherto been formed to establish a medium of trade, in lieu of money, equal in all its advantages, to bills of credit, founded on sufficient taxes for discharging it, or on land security for double the value, for repaying it at the end of the term, and in the mean time, made a general legal tender. The experience of now near half a century, in the middle colonies, has convinced them of it among themselves, by the great increase of their settlements, numbers, buildings, improvements, agriculture, shipping, and commerce. And the same experience has satisfied the British merchants who trade thither, that it has been greatly useful to them, and not in a single instance prejudicial.

It is therefore hoped, that, securing the full discharge of British debts, which are payable here, and in all justice and reason ought to be fully discharged here in sterling money, the restraint on the legal tender within the colonies will be taken off, at least for those colonies that desire it, and where the merchants trading to them make no objection to it.



The true interest of the united states, and particularly of Pennsylvania, considered.

A CIVILIZED nation, without commerce, is a solecism in politics. It is in the rudest state of mankind only, that a people can exist, without any communication with other societies, or commercial intercourse among themselves, every one supporting himself by his own labour. Indeed so absolute a state of

nature can only be conceived, but has scarcely existed in reality. The wants, the fears, the weakness, nay the very nature of man, necessarily constitute him a social animal: and, in the very origin of society, their mutual necessities, with the various talents, means, and opportunities of individuals for supplying them, must have produced a reciprocity of services, and an occasional interchange with one another of that property, which each had acquired by his own exertions.

Commerce may then be considered as coeval with man himself, and barter as its first stage.

It is obvious, however, that the exchange of one kind of commodity for another, must have proved too imperfect a species of traffic to answer the purposes of society, after civilization had multiplied their wants, and extended the objects of them beyond their mere necessities.

In order, then, to remedy the inconvenience of barter, certain substances have been adopted, amongst the various nations of the earth, as the scale or standard for measuring the value of every species of property; thereby to ascertain the relative worth of every commodity, compared with others, and with this common standard.

The substances, most universally employed for this purpose, are silver and gold, though the former is esteemed the standard. These metals possess an * intrinsic value, by reason

NOTE.

* The value of the precious metals is, however, enhanced, by their peculiar aptitude to perform the office of an universal money, far beyond any real, inherent value they possess. This extrinsic value of gold and silver, which belongs to them when under the modification of coin or in bullion, is totally distinct from their inherent value, as a commodity. We are apt to confound the inherent

of their extraordinary purity and scarceness; and certain other qualities render them suitable materials for receiving such criteria, as that they may be readily distinguished, in the transactions of men, for that standard, whereby the relative worth of all commodities is ascertained. The distinguishing marks given, by the authority and sanction of a state, to certain portions of metal, denominate them coin. These, which we call actual money, are graduated (if we may use the expression) according to the proportion and quality of metal they contain, by an arbitrary scale, termed money of account; which, in every country respectively, "represents an invariable scale "for measuring value."

But it is to be observed, that gold and silver coin derive not their intrinsic value from performing the office † of money; but possess it as a commodity. For, as ‡ Mr. Anderson expresses it, "money, considered "in itself, is of no value. But among civilized nations, who have

NOTES.

value of the commodity with its extrinsic value as a money; and to unite the two, in estimating the intrinsic value of the substance. Whereas bank-notes, or any other species of symbolical money, may, under certain regulations, acquire that "estimation" among a people, necessary to constitute money, and to answer all the uses of a circulating medium of alienation in a state.

† "By money," says Sir James Steuart, "I understand any commodity, which, purely in itself, is of no material use to man, but which acquires such an estimation from his opinion of it, as to become the universal measure of what is called value, and an adequate equivalent for any thing alienable." Political Economy, Book I. chap. 6.

‡ Vide his *Observations on National Industry*.

“ found how convenient it is for facilitating the barter or exchange of one commodity for another, it has received an artificial value. So that, although useless in itself, it has come to be accepted among all civilized nations, as a token proving that the person who is possessed of it, had given something of real value in exchange for it; and is, on that account, accepted of by another, in exchange for something that is of real utility and intrinsic worth.” In strictness, therefore, the employment of gold and silver-coin, in alienation, is no more than bartering one commodity for another of equal value, or rather price. The intrinsic value of such coin, does, in fact, render it, in some degree, an imperfect medium of alienation; for, being itself a commodity, it is liable to rise and fall in value, like every other article of commerce: and accordingly, we find that the price of silver is continually varying in the London market; and the English East-India company send silver to China, in order to purchase gold.

Thus money, formed of the precious metals, may be considered in a two-fold point of view—as a merchantable commodity, and as a medium of alienation. In the former capacity, it adds to the riches of a country, merely in proportion to its intrinsic value, but, as money, it can no otherwise produce this effect, than paper or leather-money, or any other sign of property.

If we recur to the original use of money—as an instrument by the intervention of which, alienation might be effected, and the necessity of barter superseded—it must appear evident that we judge very erroneously, when we suppose intrinsic value to be inseparably connected with it. At the same time it must be acknowledged, that that species of money, which possesses intrinsic

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value, has one advantage that does not appertain to symbolical money; namely, that being itself a merchantable commodity, it may be bartered, at a foreign market, for other commodities. This advantage, however, as shall be shewn in the sequel, is not more than equivalent to those that are deducible from a well-founded symbolical money, which is capable of answering all the domestic and internal purposes of a circulating medium in a nation.

From what has been premised, we may infer, that money, in its * proper signification, is not wealth, but the sign, token or representative of it. The absolute riches of a country, consist in the abundance of those productions of nature, that minister directly to the support, the convenience, and the enjoyment of mankind. Where nature has bestowed these gifts, with a liberal hand, the nation, collectively, may justly be termed rich, though destitute of money. On the other hand, where these blessings appear to have been dealt out to a people in a more sparing manner, they are comparatively poor, notwithstanding their country may abound with gold and silver-mines. For if we consider the former country as totally unconnected with any other, it is evident that the wants of all its inhabitants may be supplied by the means of bartering; but if we place the other in the same unconnected state, it is equally plain,

NOTE.

* “ Money is an universal medium or common standard, by a comparison with which the value of all merchandise may be ascertained; or it is a sign which represents the real value of all commodities.” Black. Comm. I. 279.

Lord Shelburne, speaking in the house of lords, called “ money one type of proper:” paper (he adds) is another. Vide Anderson, in Notes, B

that their gold and silver can be of little use to them; the real, inherent worth of those metals being very small, and the country deficient in those things which constitute true and substantial riches. In the one case, the necessity of bartering among themselves, is attended with inconvenience: in the other, the scarcity or want of the necessary articles themselves, excludes, in a great degree, the possibility of barter, and the use of money, and occasions proportionable distress.

Let us now view each of these countries as opening a commercial intercourse with the other, and with foreign nations. The wealthier country, by exporting the superfluous quantity of its produce, would be enabled to procure, in return, either gold and silver, or such other commodities as it might require, to supply those artificial wants, which refinement of manners may have created. Thus the wealthy state might increase its riches.

But the poorer country would be obliged to send abroad its gold and silver, to purchase a sufficiency of those articles which its more immediate necessities might require. Should the quantity of these metals, furnished by such a country, be only adequate for this purpose, its inhabitants would certainly continue poor; or if the quantity should be so great as to introduce amongst them, from other countries, not only the necessities and conveniencies, but luxuries and the superfluities of life; the effect would be a prevalence of ignorance and * sloth, the parents of wretchedness.

NOTE.

* "There may be too much money in a nation. And there is certainly too much, if it render the great body of the people idle, and enable them to purchase what they

Hence we see, that the real riches of a nation, do not consist in money; but that they may subsist without it.

Commerce and money are so intimately connected, that, to form a just idea of either, we should consider both. The former, as we have already observed, originated from the necessities of mankind; the latter was invented, as an expedient, for conducting the operations of the other with the greater facility, by removing the difficulties and inconveniencies of barter. Commerce, consisting in the continual exchange and mutual transfer of those things among men, which their respective wants, whether natural or artificial, have rendered desirable—and the use of money being introduced, as the medium or instrument by which this was to be effected—it follows, that these two objects should bear a due proportion to each other. The more extensive the alienation of property is in any country, the greater will be the quantity of money, *ceteris paribus*, requisite for carrying it on.

Hence we may trace the fallacy of that opinion, maintained by some, that it is immaterial, whether the quantity of money in a nation be

NOTE.

want from foreigners, without any labour or industry of their own." Characteristics of the present political state of Great-Britain.

"When money can be obtained in great quantities, by little labour, the slower and better means of obtaining it by manufactures and industry, will always be neglected. Corruption, with all its dreadful train of ills, immediately follows; the bulk of the people become sunk in indolence and misery, and a few riot in all the excess of dissipation and extravagance." Anderson's observations on national industry.

great or small, as the value of all the labour and commodities within it, taken together, must be equal to the whole sum of its money. Were such a nation cut off from all communication with every other, there might be some truth in the position: but as money is a medium, not only of the internal commerce of every nation separately considered; but of their commercial intercourse, one with another, it is plain that the quantity of this universal medium in each country, must not only bear a certain proportion to the alienation within that country, but the entire quantity therein, must also be in a relative ratio to the quantities in all the other trading countries of the world, between whom there is an intercourse, collectively, compared with the amount of the alienation in them all.

A commercial intercourse between nations, would have a tendency to give to each a quantity of this universal medium, proportionate to its share in such negotiations. But either the natural advantages, or those resulting from political institutions, which one country possesses above another, destroy this kind of equilibrium in the commerce of nations, and create that difference, which constitutes one rich, and another relatively poor. The manner in which this effect may be produced, has been briefly pointed out.

As the riches of a country do not absolutely depend on the quantity of money it possesses—but on the extent and productiveness of its lands, the number and industry of its inhabitants, and the plenty and intrinsic value of its natural produce—the abundance or scarcity of these, denominate it really rich or poor. And as the alienation and interchanging of these real riches of a country, constitute its trade—the utility and indeed necessity of employing some substance, which may

represent these riches, as the medium of transfer, demonstrate likewise the necessity of * proportioning that medium to the degree of alienation, according to the great commercial scale of price and value.

Now as, in the commerce of nations, certain natural and political causes, either separate or conjunct, destroy that equilibrium before spoken of—and make the balance so preponderate on one side or the other, as that some enjoy the balance of trade in their favour, while others have it against them—the use of coin, as an universal medium, is evident, answering as an equivalent to make up those deficiencies that arise from a wrong balance in the foreign commerce of countries.

This, indeed, is the chief pre-eminence, which gold and silver possess, as a circulating medium of trade, over symbolical money. In many respects, they are inferior to it. The immense quantities of these metals †, which are continually procured from the bowels of the earth, and introduced into the dealings of men, under the modification of coin, render them in some degree, improper substances to be the ‡ invariable

NOTES.

* “ If a nation have a quantity of money equal to its commerce, the lands, commodities, and labour of the people, shall bear a middle price. This state is the best; and tends most to enrich the people, and make their happiness lasting.” Considerations on a paper-currency, written by the late Trench Francis, esq. attorney-general of Pennsylvania.

† Sir William Blackstone tells us, that above a thousand millions of bullion are calculated to have been imported into Europe from America, within less than three centuries: and the quantity is daily increasing.

‡ “ No material money, let it be contrived as it will, is exempted from vicissitudes in its value, as a

measure of value. They have suffered a progressive depreciation in the estimation of nations, in consequence of their great increase: besides which, they are liable to perpetual fluctuation of price, owing to their being a commodity; and being, as such, in demand among trading nations, may be drawn away from that country, where they were employed as an instrument of facilitating its merce.

If we take a retrospective view of our subject, this inference may be deduced—that the principal use of coin, is the enabling a nation the more easily to pay an unfavourable balance on its foreign trade. This, however, should it not proceed from any natural deficiencies on the losing side, a wise state will take care to rectify: if the contrary, such adverse trade should be entirely discontinued.

It being evident, that a symbolical money is capable of answering all the purposes of a circulating medium within a state—we shall proceed to examine, how far this country may be benefited by such a currency: and on what principles it ought to be instituted, to advance the true interest of the whole community.

That excess of the real riches of any country, which belong to its inhabitants, beyond what their own use and consumption may need, is as unprofitable to the proprietors, with-

NOTES.

metal. This is proved by the universal risings and sinkings in the price of commodities, in consequence of circumstances peculiar to the coin. These risings and sinkings of prices, I say, are properly risings and sinkings of the value of the coin; and that again is a lengthening and contracting of the equal parts of the scale of value which is attached to it." *Steuart's Political Economy*, vide note 13.

out the means of alienation, as treasure, in the possession of the miser, is useless to his neighbour. In both cases, it is the alienation of the property that contributes to its value. Thus, although the American states comprehend a great and fertile territory, capable of yielding an almost infinite variety of valuable productions, and inhabited by a very large number of enterprising, industrious people, who possess the products of their labour—yet, if destitute of a circulating medium, which should represent these real riches, the country might with propriety be called poor. But how is this representative value of the real riches of a nation to be obtained by the people, in the first instance?

This question opens to us the nature and use of credit. Money being the representative of real value, the possession of it denotes, that the owner had given some equivalent for it. Therefore, as the acquisition of money must necessarily be subsequent to the means of acquiring it, those means (which must have consisted of some of the constituents of real riches, equivalent to the money) must have been obtained by the aid of a credit. As coin, or real money, as it is sometimes styled, is considered as the representative of actual, co-existent value—so credit may be said to represent anticipated value: and symbolical or paper-money may be termed the evidence or token of credit; hence this kind of currency is denominated paper-credit, or bills of credit. The obvious use of credit is to supply the place of actual money. It furnishes a mode of conducting the operations of alienation, or commerce, without the immediate intervention of money, or occasion of barter. But being used merely as a substitute for actual money, it should be regulated by the same scale: and this evinces the propriety of a state not issuing a greater sum in paper-

money, (which is the evidence of credit), than is wanted to supply the deficiency of its actual money: so that the amount of its coin and paper-credit might form a sum sufficient for its alienation. If, therefore, those things that constitute real riches, abound in a country where there is little coin, that country will need a large supply of paper-credit, to represent that proportion of its riches, which the disproportionate quantity of its coin could not effect, in order to enable it to carry on an alienation adequate to its riches.

As too extensive a credit must needs operate in a manner similar to the circulation of too much money, the great end to be obtained, with respect to this point, is, to determine on the best possible standard for ascertaining the requisite proportion. This may vary in different countries, according to the nature of the commerce and other circumstances peculiar to each. For this reason, we shall apply the principle to these states; to which our enquiries more immediately relate.

Money, and consequently credit, being instrumental to commerce, it should be subservient to its interest. The extensiveness and fertility of the lands in this country, render agriculture * the main source of its

NOTE.

* “ It has always appeared to me,” says Mr. Anderson, “ a little surprising, that mankind should have in general entertained such just ideas with regard to the means of making manufactures flourish, and such defective notions concerning improvements in agriculture. For there is no man so ignorant as not to know at once, that the only possible way to make a manufacture thrive, is to procure a ready vent for the goods: as, without this, every other encouragement, however liberal, must be ineffectual. And is it not sufficiently obvious, that agriculture, although it

wealth. But, as this fund can only be productive, in proportion to the degree of labour employed in drawing forth its riches—and as that labour must also be antecedent to even that share of its products, which is necessary to afford the agent the means of exertion, and to subsist him in the intermediate time—the anticipation required is produced by the instrumentality of credit.

The productions of the earth being essential to the existence of man, make the possession of lands the most valuable species of property: and they are esteemed the best security for any credit given. The lands of this country may be considered as our great staple, and the culture of them as our principal manufacture †. In this point of view, they may be justly deemed the best standard for determining what amount of a circulating medium the exigencies of the state may demand, and its abilities support: for the same reason, they are the fund on which that species of credit ought to be established, which applies in a manner peculiarly beneficial to the interest of this country, and suitable to its circumstances.

It will be readily understood, that we here allude to that credit which is furnished by a state to the cultivators (or, what is, in America, much the same, the proprietors) of landed estates, to enable them, by anticipating the products of several years labour, so to augment industry, and multiply the means of carrying it on, as to accelerate improvements, and thereby enrich both individuals

NOTES.

has been distinguished by another name, is, to every intent and purpose, a manufacture in as strict a sense of the word, as the forming a yard of broadcloth—and differs not in any respect from other manufactures, as to the means of making it flourish?” —Observations on national industry.

† See the foregoing note.

and the state. Such a credit is that created by means of a state loan-office. This is an institution * so ad-

NOTE.

* Governor Pownall, a gentleman of extensive political talents, and well acquainted with the interests of this country, speaks of this institution in these remarkable words:—"I will venture to say, that there never was a wiser or a better measure, never one better calculated to serve the uses of an increasing country, that there never was a measure more steadily pursued, or more faithfully executed, for forty years together, than the loan-office in Pennsylvania, formed and administered by the assembly of that province." This writer gives a sketch of the loan-office act of Pennsylvania, passed in the year 1739, which he styles "the completest of the kind, containing all the improvements which experience had from time to time suggested, in the execution of preceding acts." Vide his "administration of the colonies." By this act, the trustees of the loan-office were to lend out the bills on real security of at least double the value, for a term of sixteen years, to be repaid back in yearly quotas or instalments, with interest. Thus one-sixteenth part of the principal was yearly paid back into the office, which made the payment easy to the borrower. The interest was applied to public services; the principal, during the first ten years, let out again to fresh borrowers.

The new borrowers, from year to year, were to have the money only for the remaining part of the term of sixteen years, repaying by fewer and of course proportionably larger instalments; and during the last six years of the sixteen, the sums paid in, were not to be remitted, but the notes burnt and destroyed; so that at the end of the sixteen years, the whole might be called in and burnt, and the accounts completely settled.

The trustees were taken from all

mirably adapted to the circumstances of this country, so well calculated to relieve its necessities, founded on such sound principles of national policy, and the prosperous effects of which have been so fully experienced, that it is indeed much to be wondered, how the people of America remain so inattentive to the most important interest of their country, as not to have it established in every state in the union! We are well aware of the prejudices that have been entertained against a paper-currency; and, indeed, the manner in which it was issued, during the late war, afforded too much grounds for such prejudices. But arguments drawn from the abuse of a thing, do not militate against the excellence of the thing itself, or its use: and this observation will strongly apply to the subject before us.

According to the principles before laid down, our circulating medium ought to keep pace with the advancing improvements of the country: yet we know that the balance of our trade with foreign nations is adverse: and, consequently, that the gold and silver-monies of the country must diminish in the same degree. Here, then, is the great and direct source of that distress and embarrassment, which pervade the united states, arising from the insufficiency of a medium of alienation. While the cause continues, it is in vain to look for a

NOTE.

the different counties in the (then) province, their residence in different parts giving them better opportunities of being acquainted with the value and circumstances of estates offered in mortgage. They were to continue but four years in office; were to account annually to committees of assembly; and at the expiration of that term, they were to deliver up all monies and securities in their hands to their successors, before their bonds and securities could be discharged, &c. &c.

cessation of the effects; and it is greatly to be feared, that unless a timely stop be put to the evil, the country will be involved in a general calamity. The remedy is in our own power. Should we neglect to apply it, or suffer ourselves to be so far either influenced or deceived, by false representations and partial interests, as to sacrifice the general good to private views, we would neither deserve nor enjoy those means of national happiness that now lie within our reach.

Let us then (to use the expression of an § anonymous writer) coin our lands, and thereby obtain from those most valuable of all mines, a sufficient circulating medium of commerce. For this purpose let loan-offices be instituted in the several states, on principles similar to those whereon the loan-office of Pennsylvania was established for many years. The medium furnished by means of this institution, is founded on the basis of credit; and, as it is expressly calculated to promote, in the first instance, the extension of agriculture, that great staple manufacture of this country, which of course forms the greatest part of its commerce—at least that branch which tends most to its interest—it is the best medium we can employ to advance the national welfare. It is, besides, the only species of money partaking of the nature of credit, that is not liable to abuse.

For, being established on that

NOTE.

§ The author of the characteristics of the present political state of Great Britain. The same writer observes, “that the more the lands of any country are locked up, the less must the country be improved: and the more easily lands can be transferred and exchanged in commerce—industry, trade and manufactures, will be more speedily and successfully promoted.”

kind of it, denominated * private credit, it cannot exceed, in quantity or nominal value, the actual and real worth of the security which it represents. The demand for money must ever be proportionate to its uses; and thus the necessary quantity may be easily accommodated to the demand. Nor can there be any doubt of this being a proper standard of regulation, with respect to a loan-office money; because, the uses originating from, and being applicable to, funds of the most valuable and substantial nature, namely lands, the borrower would not be willing to pay interest for a greater sum than he could reasonably suppose might be employed to his advantage. Added to this, that the sum lent would not exceed one half the estimated value of such fund, pledged as a security for its repayment or redemption.

The value of lands is usually computed at the purchase of a certain term of years; that is, being themselves a fund, the profits accruing from its employment within a given portion of time, will determine the value of the stock producing those profits, compared with the profits arising from the use of money, the measure of that value, in the same country. So that, if the circulating medium of a country be duly proportioned to its commerce, and if that medium or money will yield an average profit of six per cent. per annum, to those who make use of it, the value of lands in that country may be estimated at about sixteen years purchase: on the same principle, the interest of money is regulated, by a comparison with the

NOTE.

* “Private credit is established upon a security, real or personal, of value sufficient to make good the obligation of repayment both of capital and interest: this is the most solid of all.” Sir James Stewart on political economy.

productive value of labour and lands. This suggests the use of a well-regulated credit; which, by operating as stock, augments the profit on the actual capital employed in conjunction with it.

Here we trace the beneficial effect of the credit obtained by the agriculturist from a loan-office, in a symbolical money. The lands, in an improved country only, can be valued at any certain number of years purchase. But in this new country, the progressive improvement of the lands from year to year, is continually increasing the capital of the landholder. And this effect—this immense source of national wealth and fund of credit—will not cease, until the cultivation of our lands shall have arrived at such a height, and become so general, as that the annual profits of farming will not surpass the interest of money. The very low price which improveable lands bear in this country, is no criterion of their value; but arises solely from the insufficiency of the means necessary for acquiring and improving them; for an uncultivated soil is of as little use, as a diamond in the bosom of the mine.

As money derives its value from its uses, it is evident, that, when the quantity does not exceed those uses, its value will not be impaired. The difficulty, with respect to a symbolical money in general, is to ascertain the productiveness, and to secure the certainty of the fund, which creates the uses. Taxes are a sufficient fund for supporting the credit of a paper-money, provided due regard be had to these essential points. The credit of paper issued by banks, founded entirely on mercantile credit, in those commercial countries which enjoy a favourable balance of trade, may also be rendered sufficiently stable, by prudence and circumspection in the managers. But in both instances, neither can the productiveness of the fund be

ascertained, nor its certainty be secured, by any real standard. The operations of a mere mercantile bank are, in a peculiar manner, liable to extend credit beyond its proper bounds, in countries which carry on a disadvantageous foreign trade: because the interest of the proprietors will lead them to circulate a fictitious money, in their paper-credit, to as large an amount as they may suppose consistent with their own safety; and this very credit adds to the means of accelerating that trade, already prejudicial to the nation. The notes of such a bank are issued on mercantile credit. "This," says sir James Stewart, "is established upon the confidence the lender has, that the borrower, from his integrity and knowledge in trade, may be able to replace the capital advanced, and the interest due during the advance, in terms of the agreement." It is this kind of credit that the same author styles, "the most precarious of all."

The great temptations that lie in the way of banks on mercantile credit, on the one hand, and of states on the other, to issue their paper on their respective funds of mere confidence, in too great quantities, by over-rating the productiveness of those anticipated funds on which that confidence is grounded (and which are, necessarily, subject to some uncertainty, from the nature of them)—those very circumstances tend to render the credit of such paper very delicate.

But that species of paper-money, that is issued on the security of lands, which are made an actual equivalent deposit for its redemption, from the moment of its going into circulation, is not liable to any objections on this score. The fund itself, that is, the land, is actually existing; and the credit, established on it, represents the value of this fund, and not of the anticipated profits to be derived from the employment of it.

The more firmly to establish the credit of a loan-office money, no person can borrow from the state more than one half the estimated value of his land: and, in order to disseminate the advantages of this credit the more extensively, and to enhance its usefulness, moderate sums only (not exceeding, perhaps, two hundred pounds) are loaned to individuals, let the value of their lands be what they may; by which means, this institution is peculiarly adapted to benefit the new settlers and lesser proprietors of lands, a class of people who stand most in need of encouragement in this country.

This kind of money, being established on permanent and certain funds, is extremely well calculated, not only for a circulating medium within the particular state which issues it, but also, as a medium of trade between the several states; for, as sir James Steuart observes, "It is the interest of every trading state to have a sufficient quantity of paper, well-secured, to circulate through it, so as to facilitate payments every where, and to cut off inland exchanges, which are a great clog upon trade, and are attended with the risque of receiving the paper of people, whose credit is but doubtful."

It is a trite objection to paper-money, that it banishes gold and silver from the country where it obtains. This has been often invalidated. Dr. Franklin has shewn, that it is an unfavourable balance of trade that draws the gold and silver out of the country, and that the "necessity of substituting some medium in their stead, has induced the making of paper-money, which could not be drawn away." So far is the paper-money from being the cause of this effect, that, by increasing alienation and the means of exciting industry, it has a direct tendency to increase the stock of coin in the country. And,

as the quantity of paper-money in a country will not suffer any diminution of its value, while it does not exceed its uses, this currency can have no effect in raising the price of labour and commodities, while kept within those bounds.

A loan-office money being employed in the improvement of lands, becomes realized in a species of property, which, in these states, is productive of much greater emoluments, both to the public and to the proprietors, than can be derived from the use of small monied capitals, in any manner of trade, honourable to an individual, or consistent with the common weal.

At the same time that the cultivator of the soil is, by this means, enriching himself, and increasing the real wealth of his country in a direct point of view, other salutary consequences result from a loan-office credit. Its circulating paper, by filling up the chasm in the medium of alienation, occasioned by the scarcity of coin, encourages industry and genius; promotes arts and manufactures; enlivens commerce; gives the means of comfortable subsistence to the poor; and enables all classes of people to contribute to the support of government, and establishment of public credit, by a regular and liberal payment of taxes. Indeed the revenue that might be obtained from the interest on a loan-office money, would, of itself, form a very considerable fund, applicable to public uses.

The numerous and important advantages, accruing from this kind of institution, are by no means exaggerated. On the contrary, a little reflexion will suggest, to any person acquainted with this country, many other instances wherein its operations must be extremely serviceable: but the nature of the institution need to be only understood to demonstrate its utility.

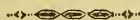
Extract from an address to the representatives of the people of Virginia.

—PAPER-MONEY, miraculously as it saved us, like other benefactors, has become unpopular with many—they remember only its vices—its virtues are buried in oblivion. On a correct mind, in search of right, and guided by the light of reason, the clamour of the day will make but little impression; and experiment will alone be admitted the talisman of truth. The arguments of the enemies of paper-money go all to its abuse, and none to its use; but if men were to forego the use of things, for fear of the abuse, those enemies must desist from the comfortable employment of eating—lest they eat too much and injure their healths. It is idle to affirm, that credit cannot be given to a small definite sum of paper-money, emitted by a state possessed of 300,000*l.* of annual revenue; nor is it less absurd to assert that 2 or 300,000*l.* in paper, would banish specie from a country, from which foreigners buy 1,200,000*l.* sterling worth of produce yearly. That sum of paper cannot buy that quantity of produce; nor can foreigners get that sum without an equivalent. But admitting an impossibility—that paper should be, at any moment, the only medium on the continent—if I do not choose to sell my tobacco for paper, are not all the ports of the world open to me, where I may send it, and receive coin?—Prejudices, such as these, when exposed, are admitted to be ridiculous, but whilst they remain the prejudices of many respectable citizens, they deserve to be treated seriously! This truth, however, we hold to be incontrovertible—that a facility of rewarding, increases industry; and that an increase of industry, is an increase of the real wealth of a state. Gold and silver are not sought with such avidity for

their intrinsic value, for iron is infinitely more useful—but for what they will buy. Land, and other solid property, are the real objects of the industrious, and whether they be represented by gold or by paper—that representative will be considered by industry, as its most estimable reward. The nation, then, that introduces into circulation (by whatever mode of representation, be it by gold or by paper) the greatest proportion of its unwieldy and solid wealth, offers to the industrious, the greatest facility of reward. The oldest and best-established nations of the world, where wealth has been accumulated by the industry of ages, and who are masters of those favoured spots, where the earth pours from her bosom inexhaustible resources of the precious metals, have been all compelled by necessity, or led by policy, to add a great proportion of paper to their circulating medium. If they have derived miraculous benefits from the assistance of this effort of ingenuity, (their improvement, in a few years, being equal now to that of centuries before) shall we, whose birth, among nations, was but as of yesterday—just escaped too, from the destructive fangs of war—whose soil, within, contains no hidden treasure; and, on its surface, affords but a scanty sustenance to industrious agriculture—shall we alone refuse the aid of paper—the boldest and most successful invention of art, to supply the deficiencies of nature? If such is to be our policy, we shall be compared to other nations of the world—like an insect to an elephant.

When shall we establish the credit of paper, if not in a time of peace? Shall we wait until our evident want of resource has invited the desolation of war, once more, into the bosom of our country? Will that be a fortunate moment? Will it not then be impracticable? And yet, without it, we could neither bring a man into

the field, nor maintain him there a day. Our fears removed, our hopes would be unbounded. A small sum of paper-money, prudently applied, might soon liberate us from debt and speculation, without any violation of public faith; and, when property can command its value, a rigorous execution of justice (now impracticable) may enforce punctuality in individuals. Then would ease and plenty unfurrow the brow of distress, and scatter smiles over this desolated land. But, to effect this, the legislature must not send forth paper, stamped with their own suspicions. The people can never place confidence in that, of which they, who make and unmake, themselves express a doubt. It must be current money, or it must not be at all.



Queries and replies relative to paper-money.

Mr. Printer,

SOME time in the year 1778, the people seemed to be very much divided in opinion concerning money matters, as they are at present: and as I have been long in the practice of analyzing every subject, before I presume to pass any judgment upon it, I took up the matter, something in the following manner, viz. I asked the question,

What is money?

It is the legal creation of a circulating medium of trade, or arbitrary sign of property, by the legislative body of a state, out of materials of very small intrinsic value, to facilitate the exchange of one necessary article for another.

Have not gold and silver an intrinsic value, equal to what they pass for, as a medium of trade?

By no means: iron is more intrinsically valuable to society than either.

How can you prove this assertion?

By confining any person to the use of one metal only, his choice will soon determine the matter—gold will not make a good plough-share, and silver a very bad axe or saw.

Can the legislature ever make a good circulating medium of paper, that will not be subject to depreciation?

Yes, provided all sinister motives could be laid aside, and the law which gives it a political existence, as a medium of trade, be framed in such a judicious manner, as to support it in its credit and currency, without which, it will be of as little value as blank paper.

How is this desirable end to be effected?

By emitting no more than is necessary for a medium of trade, making it a lawful tender, and diffusing it to every part of the state, so that every industrious person may obtain his proportion of it.

How is this to be done? Surely you would not force people to take it, for what they have to dispose of: even the people who supply our markets, will not be compelled to take it; and if we attempt to force it upon them, they will not bring in their produce, and soon reduce us to their own terms.

By imposing a tax in this money, equal to one fourth of the sum emitted, to be collected in one year; but if the citizens, who are taxed, cannot, or rather will not, procure these bills to pay their proportion, cause them, by law, to pay two shillings per pound more in hard money; this, alone, will cause people in the most remote parts of the state, to procure a sufficient sum to pay their taxes. The custom-house will also take in a large quantity of it, and leave little chance for depreciation, and consequently speculation.

If you think this alone would insure the currency of the money, why would you wish to make it a lawful

tender, when so many people are averse to the measure?

I still wish to prevent rogues and villains from ruining honest men. Without such provision, it would leave it in the power of an avaricious creditor, to imprison an honest debtor, who is both able and willing to pay him, till he extorts double the sum from him, with costs of suit.

But if your scheme should succeed so well, as to answer as an internal medium of trade, without depreciating, will it be received in Europe for the purchase of foreign commodities, which we cannot do without?

No: nor would I be willing to let foreigners have it for their manufactures, even if they were willing to take it, except we had too much in circulation. Money, to the state, is like the mechanic's tools, the very last things he should dispose of; it is the medium which facilitates agriculture, trade, and business of all kinds—deprive a people of the use of money, and you also reduce industry to the lowest ebb.

How, then, are we to procure necessary clothing, and many other articles from Europe, which we cannot do without, or manufacture ourselves, if we cannot purchase them with our money?

The produce of our country is what we should exchange with the European nations, for real necessities; and articles of luxury we should relinquish, till we are better able to pay for them.

But it is said, we have not a sufficient quantity of produce to export for the purchase of real necessities; and what we have to spare, bears such a high price, that our merchants sink money upon many articles at foreign markets; are we not therefore under a necessity of exporting our money?

By no means. This is the very circumstance which ought to induce us to abandon the practice of export-

ing our money, as it is impossible to carry on agriculture, trade, or business of any kind without it. The quantity of produce will diminish, in proportion to the scarcity of cash: and the price increase, in proportion to the diminution of the quantity brought to market. It is, therefore, clearly our interest, our indispensable duty, to keep our money at home, as the only means of increasing the quantity of our produce, which will soon lower the price, and enable our merchants to find good markets abroad for all we have to spare: and in some years hence (with proper œconomy) the balance of trade may be in our favour, when we may bring home that balance in money.

However trifling these considerations may appear to a foreign merchant, who wishes to reside no longer in the country than it suits his interest, and then return home and laugh at our folly—it is, or ought to be, a matter of serious concern to an American, who wishes to spend his days in the country, and stand or fall with it; but we are the only people I ever heard of, who contend for the privilege of ruining ourselves by exporting our money. Z.



Essay on paper-money, (published in Baltimore, July, 1786).

IT is a maxim founded on reason, and supported by the fatal experience of many nations, that in all governments, the good of the state should be regarded prior to all other considerations; that is, where the views of individuals clash with the honour, prosperity, and happiness of the community at large, the former must be sacrificed to the latter: on the contrary, when the members of a state create interests distinct and incompatible with the well-being of the whole—when that regard to the public weal, which ought to actuate each individual, is postponed to private

advantage—when men lose sight of the great principle of society, and, regardless of the claims of their country, centre every consideration in self,—in such case, the state is rapidly hastening to a dissolution. It is well known that few causes have more frequently occasioned the destruction of nations. The various modifications of the vice of selfishness, the innumerable forms it assumes, have equally conspired to effect their ruin.

Reflexions of this kind, naturally present themselves on considering the subject of paper-currency, which has, of late, engaged the attention of the people, and, concerning which, a variety of sentiments have been entertained. When I reflect on the warmth with which a measure so necessary to the good of the state, in our present circumstances, has been opposed—and that the character and situation of those engaged in the opposition, are generally such, that a respect to their own emolument would engage their aversion to it—I cannot but lament the want of that zeal for the common welfare, which ever consolidates private with public interests—and that in the discussion of a question of such general concern, men should suffer the intrusion of passions altogether unworthy of true patriotism, and which cannot fail to bias their judgment. The arguments which are generally offered against a paper-credit, carry, in themselves, strong evidence of the motives which originate them. Those who advance them, say, there is already a sufficient quantity of specie in circulation, to answer the purposes of life; and, to prove their position, tell us, that the articles of commerce bear a high price, and command ready cash. This assertion may be true, when applied to some things, but, in general, is of no validity. It is admitted, that the current value which commodities bear, may serve as a criterion to estimate the quantity of cash in circulation: but

to form a just judgment, we must take into our view every object of commerce. In vain do men affirm, that the farmers may at any time receive a good price and ready money for their produce. There are numberless kinds of property which do not bear more than a third of their value. Lands, houses, &c. are reduced to so disproportionate a price, that many, whom necessity has compelled to dispose of them, have been ruined by it. Even certificates of the state and continent, (speculations confessedly the most profitable) are far from meeting with a ready sale: the holders of them find the greatest difficulty in procuring purchasers, and are obliged to submit to very considerable loss. Indeed it is scarcely possible to sell them on any other terms, than for one half goods. Ask the reason of this, and those very men, who are such strenuous asserters of the abundance of money, tell you, cash is not to be had. Whence proceed the many difficulties which are daily opposed to the discharge of debts? it is in vain to urge that this depends on want of integrity in the debtor—men, however dishonestly inclined, would never suffer their property to be seized and sold, infinitely below its value, and thereby expose themselves to unavoidable loss and distress, could they procure money with such ease as is generally represented. If we look into our courts, the vast increase of suits exhibits a melancholy testimony of the universal scarcity of cash, and the difficulties to which numbers are reduced.

It is not unfrequent to adduce the high price of provision at the markets, as another proof. The answer to this is obvious: those things, which nature, or custom, has made necessary to our existence or convenience, will ever depend on the will and caprice of the vender; and can never be otherwise affected, except by restraints and limitations established by law.

The miseries which many have already suffered—the ruin, which menaces numbers in this state, loudly demand that the legislature should interpose, and save them from the cloud of calamities which threatens to envelope them.

It is folly to argue against the common experience. Imprisonments of person, seizure of property, and all the dreadful sufferings attendant on them, discover a sad presage of what we may expect. The necessities of people unavoidably accumulate debts, which they cannot satisfy, and which will only terminate in their ruin. But their patience may be worn out, and resentment and despair may produce consequences which some little apprehend. The assembly must adopt some mode for the relief of the country.

Many, who acknowledge the great demand for money, express apprehensions concerning the success of a paper-emission. The injurious consequences of the depreciation of the continental and state-monies, have left impressions extremely unfavourable to it. Men, who have so recently suffered the hardships occasioned by that diminution of value, are apt to regard every thing, which may possibly produce a similar train of mischiefs, with an eye of the utmost diffidence and suspicion. But there is less cause to fear, that the same fatality will occur in the present instance, which happened during the late war, than is generally apprehended. If we advert to the precarious situation in which we then stood—the difficulties which we had to combat—the continual hazard, to which we were exposed, of being subjected—and, above all, the want of proper security for the redemption of the continental and state-emissions, we shall have no reason to be surprised at what happened. But there is no analogy between our circumstances at that and the present time. Our

glorious struggle has been crowned with its just reward. By our perseverance and magnanimity, we have broken the shackles, which the oppressive hand of tyranny had prepared for us. We have become a free people, and it depends on ourselves to be a happy one. It is in our power to establish a paper-credit on so firm a basis, that nothing, but the arts of persons unfriendly to our happiness—emissaries, employed by our enemies to perplex us with every possible obstacle in the way of our prosperity—and men, who, forgetting the duty they owe to their country, are willing to build their fortunes on its ruin, can shake it. Unfortunately, there are some among us of this character—from these, the only danger is to be apprehended; but let us guard against their designs—let us convince them, that we have a just sense of our rights, and that we are not disposed to submit to injuries which must terminate in our ruin. Let us shew them, that we have the courage to assert and defend our rights, and the resolution to punish every encroachment on them. Let us act with that spirit which distinguishes men conscious of their freedom. Shew them that you, who disdained to yield to the united efforts of lawless power and oppression, will never stoop to the tyranny of individuals. It is vain to attempt, by gentle means, to frustrate their villainous designs. A regard to yourselves, and the safety of your country, demand that some severe examples should be made—these are the means by which you may prevent the depreciation of your money.

AN OLD SOLDIER.

July 7, 1786.

—♦♦♦♦♦—

Thoughts on paper-money.

WHEN the children of Israel crossed the red sea, they considered themselves as secured from

every other danger. But, in this they were soon mistaken. They met with powerful enemies—with fiery serpents, and with famine, which diminished their number, so that only two of them entered into the promised land.

The inhabitants of the united states seem to have acted like the children of Israel. They have supposed that the mere declaration of independence was to make them free; and that all the dangers and difficulties of establishing a new empire, were to cease with the war. In this, they have been mistaken. There are many enemies, more formidable than British armies, and more insidious than American tories, yet to be encountered and vanquished. These enemies come forth under various forms. At present, they appear in a shape that threatens the dissolution of the commerce, agriculture, and manufactures of our country; and, with these, of our freedom and independence. The creature so pregnant with mischief, is paper-money.

I shall consider this species of money in a two-fold light. 1st, as unequal in value to gold and silver; and 2dly, as equal to gold and silver in value.

Paper-money, when it circulates of an inferior value to gold and silver, produces the following evils:—

1. It promotes speculation; and therein employs a quantity of money which might be usefully employed in commerce, agriculture, and manufactures.

2. It prevents private loans, which, in former times, were the great source of the improvement and prosperity of our country; for, while a depreciated paper-money is in circulation, there will always exist an apprehension of a tender-law.

3. It promotes unlawful usury; for this is the natural consequence of the dread of a tender-law. Exorbi-

tant interest is the only consideration that can be opposed to this fear.

4. It prevents the union of the states being increased and strengthened by commerce; for no man hereafter, will touch the money of a sister state, without being acquainted with her system of laws with respect to finance, or without a regular correspondence with the demagogue of each state.

5. It prevents all intercourse and commerce with foreigners, which, in the present state of this country, must soon end in the destruction of our farmers.

6. It leads our farmers to seclude their gold and silver for years from the light of the sun, and our monied men to send their cash to the banks of Europe.

7. It produces delay in the payment and collection of taxes; for the more the money can be depreciated, the easier we pay our taxes. The impost and excise, I believe, were paid punctually in specie, till the lure of paper-money produced a delay, which finally eluded the tax by its depreciation. I shall say nothing here of the great opportunities which a depreciated paper-currency affords to collectors and treasurers to enrich themselves by the well-known practice of money-changing.

8. It increases the price of provisions, and keeps up rents; for while landlords and market-people are uncertain what kind of money will be offered to them, they take care to ask such prices, as will prevent their losing any thing by depreciation—hence they receive, by far, too much when they are paid in specie.

9. But the greatest evil of a depreciated paper-currency remains to be mentioned. It destroys the morals of our citizens—creates extravagance—produces endless disputes and frauds—multiplies law-suits—promotes art and chicanery in business—

and thereby prepares us for aristocracy and slavery.

I come now to consider the effects of paper-money, when it circulates equal to gold and silver. Its natural operation is to produce debt, and dependence upon the nations of Europe. While gold and silver are the only mediums of trade, our imports and exports will mutually balance and check each other; but when goods can be purchased by our farmers, and bills of exchange by our merchants, with paper-money manufactured by ourselves, it will always be preferred to the produce of our country; and hence, our debt in Europe will always be in an exact proportion to the quantity and credit of our paper-money. The late war found the middle states labouring under a very heavy debt to Great Britain, owing entirely to the quantity and credit of our paper-currency, while Massachusetts-bay, which had no medium of trade but gold and silver, owed little or nothing to Great Britain. We see every day the effects of these debts in Pennsylvania, in the bankruptcy and distress of merchants, once respectable for their property and industry. These debts are the old and stubborn offspring of our paper emissions before the war.*—

NOTE.

* I am so perfectly satisfied that artificial money, of equal value with specie, does mischief by begetting debt, that even a bank should not emit a single note beyond the sum of specie in its possession. The profits of a bank should arise only from shares and deposits. The last, while they become a revenue to stockholders, facilitate trade, and increase manufactures. A bank upon these principles is like the mechanic powers in producing force, compared with the strength of the hands in advancing the improvements and prosperity of a country.

I shall now reply to the arguments that are usually brought in favour of a paper-currency. 1st. We are told, that a loan-office is absolutely necessary to improve the state, and to prevent the ruin of debtors; and that this cannot be established without paper-money.

I am a friend to a loan-office in all states which have new lands to settle. These lands will not command private loans, till their value is determined by cultivation, and increased by buildings and other improvements. But in the present situation of our country, I maintain that this loan-office can only be supported by specie; and this specie may be easily procured from a variety of sources, provided the springs of industry and confidence in government are opened by the annihilation of paper-money. The loan-office, in Pennsylvania, formerly supplied only a few hundred thousand pounds to the new settlers and farmers. The principal fund, for loans, was always found in individuals. Near two millions of pounds were supposed to be lent upon private bonds and mortgages, in the state of Pennsylvania, in the year 1774. This immense sum was the machine that formed, conducted, and invigorated near one half of the commerce, agriculture, and manufactures of the state. The loan-office was only a drop in the bucket, compared with this ocean of private credit. Now, by upholding a loan-office, we grasp a drop, and lose an ocean. This thought is new, and deserves our most faithful attention. A paper loan-office, and private credit, for the reasons that have been mentioned, cannot exist together. A loan-office, alone, if it emitted gold and silver, instead of paper, cannot be equal to all the demands of our commerce, agriculture, and manufactures. Private loans are of ten times more consequence than a loan-office, as they bring ten times more money into circulation. They

must therefore be revived and supported, as the principal basis of the prosperity of their country. And they can be revived and supported only by begetting confidence in government, and between man and man, and by banishing the fear of a tender-law, and this can only be done by annihilating paper-money.

2. Let it not be urged here, that Pennsylvania flourished formerly, under a loan-office. Pennsylvania, then, consisted of a few families, among whom, government had its full operation, and who were seldom deficient in their engagements to the state. The case is widely different now. What laws can be made, under our feeble constitution, to compel the early and punctual payment of the interest or principal of money, lent to settlers above 300 miles from the seat of government? But further—our trade was formerly carried on with men of our own country, and who spoke our own language. But now, we trade with men of all countries and languages. It is incumbent upon us, therefore, to use a currency, in our commerce with them, which speaks a language that is alike intelligible in all countries. Philadelphia was almost the only port known to foreigners three years ago. Is it not probable, that our paper-money has driven the trade of Europe to the ports of the southern and eastern states? For it was in Pennsylvania, that paper-money, since the peace, first spread terror among the commercial nations of Europe.

It is truly diverting, to hear some men wish, that we had not a silver dollar or a guinea in our country, in order to favour the credit and circulation of our paper-money. These men put me in mind of a story, I once heard, of a man who contended, that a saw-dust pudding was better than a flour pudding, because it lay longer in the stomach, and thereby strengthened the system more than

aliment composed of flour, which was soon discharged by the different outlets of the body. In proportion as paper-money acquires the credit and value of specie, we expel specie from our country. But we do more—we create a foreign debt in proportion to the quantity we emit, of paper-money, and thereby entail poverty, dependence, and slavery upon our country.

There is one evil that attends the want of private loans, which has never been mentioned. While it leads some of our monied men, to lodge their cash in foreign banks, it leads others to invest it in real property, and thereby to establish an influence that favours aristocracy. There are now three times the number of tenants to be found, in all the old counties of the state, that there were before the war. This dependent class of people are created only by the impossibility of borrowing money upon interest, which formerly was the principal source of the freeholds—and, of course, of the free and independent spirit of our country.

What should we think of a man, who would prefer breast-milk and pap for food, because he once thrived upon that diet? We act the same absurd part, by substituting paper-money for gold and silver. It is the pap and breast-milk of feeble colonies. Independent states should turn, with disgust, from the flimsy diet. Where is the independent nation in the world, except the Americans, that now uses a paper-currency? The gold and silver of the whole world are at our service. Heaven has delivered us, in kindness, from the danger and drudgery of mines, and has commanded the whole world to dig—to refine—and to coin for us. The produce of our country is a more inexhaustible fund for specie than the mines of Potosi or Peru.

While our industry overbalances
E

our extravagance, or, in other words, while our exports are greater than our imports, there will be a perpetual influx of specie among us. Bills of exchange will be the thermometer that will determine the quantity necessary for our trade and happiness. When we have too much specie, produce will be high, and cash will be exported. When specie is scarce, produce will fall, and the remittances for our imports, will be in bills of exchange. Paper-money forms the wings of specie. It hastens its flight from our country. Nor is this all—it produces a debt to Europe exactly proportioned to its quantity, as was mentioned under a former head.

I have said, that I am a friend to a loan-office, in all states that have new lands to settle. I consider it as essential to their prosperity—but when these states become large and independent, this loan-office must be established (for the reasons that have been, and for others which might be given) only in specie. I consider the establishment of a loan-office, in Pennsylvania, upon these principles, as a matter of unbounded good consequences to the state. Fifty thousand pounds, or even a much less sum in specie, appropriated every year, by a loan-office, for the settlement of our new lands, would, in a few years, fill every corner of the state with farmers, and cause our wilderness to bloom and blossom like a rose. How great must be the produce, and how extensive the commerce, of Pennsylvania, when every navigable stream and road of the state, shall be covered with boats and wagons, loaded with the fruits of the industry of our inhabitants? I do not mean to confine the benefits of the loan-office, by law, to the settlers; but if we restore confidence in government, by banishing the fear of a tender-law, and calling in all our paper-money, we shall soon create a fund among

individuals, large enough for the demands of all the farmers, merchants, and manufacturers in the state. There are now many hundred thousand pounds in specie locked up in Pennsylvania, which, in a few years, would be lent upon bonds and mortgages, provided we could satisfy the holders of this money, that their bonds would not be cancelled with paper.

I know it is a common thing to abuse brokers and speculators for selling our paper-money at a discount, and our farmers, for refusing to take it for the produce of their lands. In the former case, we mistake the effect for the cause. It is depreciated currency that creates brokers and speculators, and not brokers and speculators that create depreciation of our currency. As for our farmers, they shew their wisdom in refusing to take paper-money for their produce. A merchant finds his money profitable to him, in proportion to the quickness with which he parts with it: but the case is widely different with the farmer. His profits depend upon his keeping his money in his desk, till he accumulates enough of it to add to the size or number of his farms. Now paper-money will not answer this purpose. It has had the stain of depreciation stamped on it, which cannot be removed while there lives a man that can detail the calamities that were produced by it, during the late war. A farmer, therefore, mistakes his true interest, who takes more paper-money for his produce, than is sufficient to pay his taxes, or to purchase a few pounds of sugar and tea for his family.

It is equally absurd to abuse the bank of North America for depreciating our paper-money. There is no bank in New Jersey, and yet the paper-money of that state passes at a discount of 20 per cent. It is no uncommon thing for a deluded people to trace their misfortunes to false causes. A poor man, who fell from

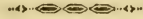
his horse, in riding between Edinburgh and Leith, and broke his leg, cursed the union of the parliaments of England and Scotland for it. In the beginning of the reign of the present king of England, the mobs of London cursed lord Bute as the cause of all their bad weather.

Let not the public creditors be alarmed, at any thing contained in this essay. I am pleading their cause, for I belong to this class of citizens. I am contending for the payment of our interest in specie, instead of paper-money. By this means we shall receive, not only from 6 to 20 per cent. according to the tenure by which we hold our certificates, but we shall appreciate the principal of our certificates into specie, which will be an immense advantage to us, especially to such of us as deposited our all in the funds, in the doubtful and gloomy year of 1777. It is to no purpose, to say, that money, which is well-funded, will preserve its credit. What money was ever better funded than our last emission of paper? and yet we see and feel its depreciation. But, in the present state of language, and with our imperfect means of diffusing knowledge, in Pennsylvania, how are farmers to know any thing about funds, or the quantity of money that is in circulation? Besides, in the fluctuation of power and principles, which has lately characterised Pennsylvania, who will trust a law, beyond the duration of our annual assembly? nor let it be said that the depreciation of our money is only from 5 to 10 per cent. These discounts form the profits of most occupations. The loss of this profit, therefore, must, in four trades out of five, produce bankruptcy and beggary.

If the reasonings I have thrown out, have their due weight, our road to safety and prosperity will be short and easy. Let the present paper-curren-

cy be received agreeably to law, till the whole of it is taken out of circulation, and afterwards let our laws, in respect to taxes, revenue, contracts, and commerce, know no other money than gold and silver.

NESTOR,



Paper-Money advocated.

(Published in Virginia).

OUR public papers have already furnished us with several well-written pieces from northern prints, on the subject of a paper-currency. The fast approach of our annual assembly, will probably bring forth publications from our own citizens, on the same subject. It seems to engage the conversation of all ranks of people. The thinking part of the community, as well as the unthinking—the honest man, as well as the knave, have all their observations. The ensuing session, then, promises to be as important a one, as we have had since the revolution. A PAPER-CURRENCY! or, NO PAPER-CURRENCY! *that is the question.* And verily, mr. printer, it is a question, at this crisis of our affairs, of such magnitude in itself, that that mind must be vacant, indeed, which is not deeply affected at the *bare possibility* of its being determined unrighteously. Upon a just determination of this single question, depends, in my humble opinion, whether we shall, as a state, rise to honour, opulence, prosperity, and happiness; or sink into contempt, poverty, bankruptcy, and wretchedness? Let then neither learned men, nor critics, wise men, nor fools, wonder—much less, laugh—at any production on this important subject, however futile in point of argument—however barren of sentiment, metaphor, figure, or language. For it is a subject in which the poorest citizen is interested; and about which, men of the meanest capacities *must be concern-*

ed; and, being concerned, will involuntarily—as it were—give every assistance to the side of the question, most coincident with their ideas of POLICY and JUSTICE. Without further preface, then, know ye, all whom it may concern, that, though I rank myself under the last description of citizens, I can no longer forbear entering the lists as an advocate for paper-money, in spite of the contrary opinion being maintained by a certain great personage, the publications of celebrated statesmen and politicians, who have for twelve years past, proved themselves as consummate in WISDOM and POLICY, as in FIDELITY and VIRTUE. You may call this, mr. printer, if you please, arrogance and vanity in the extreme. I care not; 'tis a free country we live in, and every man has a right to give his opinions, on public matters, to his fellow-citizens, in the best way he can. If men of genius and talents will not write, they must not be surprised, if those of ordinary capacities do. A true patriot will ever be forward to shew himself in times of impending danger. And when public affairs have got to the height of desperation, all ceremony and apology for intrusions of this nature, become superfluous. I have often heard it said, that “*a fool may start a question, which a wise man cannot answer.*” Why, then, may not a petty scribbler, like myself, give such a hint to a man of abilities, as will tempt him to step forth in support of a question, in which the happiness of thousands is so immediately involved? For my part, I mean only to offer to the public, in plain, undecorated language, a few, “*indubitable proofs of the extreme scarcity of specie,*” and the impossibility of our existing, as a republic, without a very large circulating medium of our own making, unless measures could be adopted, as well to insure a return of the specie ex-

ported since 1782, as to keep it among us, when regained, leaving the means to effect such a desirable end to the legislature. Now, for my proofs.—

First. What can be a greater proof of the “*scarcity of money, and the absolute impossibility of people's paying their taxes, much more their just debts,*” than, in a state like Virginia, where horse-racing is so much a science, and indeed very justly—that it has almost become a part of our education—and contributes much towards our *happiness and greatness*—yet, at ten turfs, within the state, there is only 2610*l.* paid annually, to the owners of winning horses? And it is very evident, *this is a branch of business*, which would be encouraged, with much larger donations, if “*money was not too scarce to be come at.*” Is it not also evident, from the crowds of people which we find in a race-field, and the money expended on such an occasion, “*scarce as it is,*” that the very existence of the commonwealth is deeply concerned in the weighty adventures of the day? And yet it cannot be carried on, with proper spirit, “*for want of money.*”^{*} Secondly, in

NOTE.

* If Rome, in the days of her happiness and greatness, submitted cheerfully to laws, which defined the manner of clothing, and the equipage of the different classes of people, according to their real worth—and were therefore calculated to promote industry, encourage frugality, and to insure independence of circumstances in her citizens—would it be inconsistent with the spirit of our constitution, and the nature of our republic, to adopt similar laws? particularly, prohibiting any man from disposing of money in the way above-mentioned, who was not, in the fullest comprehension of the word—INDEPENDENT—and this, no man can

all public places, we find *five* four-wheeled carriages, for *one*, to be met with twelve years ago: and, if I had not an aversion to every thing in the shape of satire, I might say, in many families, we now see a chariot, where never before was known any thing above a strong chair, at 15 or 20*l.* value—but, as we are in the full “*enjoyment of PEACE and our GLORIOUS INDEPENDENCE*,” does not the want of *FOUR HORSES, and livery*, to every *FOUR WHEELS*, prove the “*immense scarcity of money?*” Thirdly, though “*the American company of comedians*” condescended to spend the two last win-

NOTE.

be, who is involved in debt or keeps a needy creditor out of his money. I am by no means an enemy to this kind of sport, when supported upon principles of true honour and liberality. But I do not think it generous, equitable, or just, that a man should expend money in this, or any *other* wanton or extravagant way, while there are claims upon his purse, which he protests he is unable to answer. Such things render a man—and very justly too—the subject of general, and sometimes very severe reprehensions; and must, upon reflexion, convince him, whose heart is not totally divested of every particle of sensibility, that nothing degrades a man more, or renders him a fitter object of burlesque and ridicule, than supporting an extensive style of life, *on other people's money*. And how men, who would pistol their best friends, for calling their honour or their justice in question, can reconcile such conduct to themselves, is a matter no way to be accounted for, but by the easiness of a disposition, naturally just, but too generous, and carried away by the prevailing, and almost irresistible currents, of fashion, shew, and dissipation.

ters in this state—yet, such was the “*prodigious scarcity of money*,” that, even in the city of Richmond, and the large, flourishing, and *opulent borough of Petersburg*—their audience seldom exceeded 200—though tickets were sold at the *moderate* price of one dollar. Will this be believed of a people, known to be liberal in encouraging every kind of entertainment, which has the least tendency to improve our *manners*, or correct our *morals*? Fourthly, an industrious man had with much labour, expense, and assiduity, brought a dog of uncommon sagacity, to dance on his hind legs, and, in point of gesture and address, equal to any puppy whatever; yet, after obtaining permission to dance his dog, he had the cruel mortification to receive not *more* than *one hundred* dollars of a night—such was the want of a *noble curiosity*—but more probably, such was the “*extreme scarcity of money*.”—Fifthly, cock-fighting, if I was a man of method, would have followed horse-racing. At this *humane* and *manly* amusement, there was only 355*l.* lost and paid down in pits, in the course of the last spring; and such was the “*extreme scarcity of money*,” that in one pit, there were but *three* instances of men losing *ten* dollars each on a single battle, and paying the same before the face of a sheriff, who had not, for six weeks before, been able to obtain from either five dollars for their specie tax—so that, add this to all the money subscribed to purses, including the petty purse races throughout the state, and it amounts to but little more than 4000*l.*—say 13,500 dollars. The sums expended in plays, concerts, balls, *berbacues*, puppet-shews, *legerdemain* tricks, puppy-exhibitions, &c. cannot be ascertained with the same degree of exactness; but it is supposed, that they could not exceed this sum—so that, there is not above

27,000 dollars per annum thrown away in the large, wealthy and luxurious state of Virginia, owing entirely to the “*prodigious scarcity of money*.” Now, if a few citizens, mr. printer, whose liberality has ever been as extensive as their ability, can only afford to take so much from their families annually; how is it possible, with ever such efforts of industry, and ever such frugal systems of economy, for a people thus stripped of their gold and silver, to pay even the common demands of government, to say nothing of our foreign and domestic debts, and our private debts daily contracting? I say a “*few of our fellow-citizens*,” because I cannot suppose there is one out of a hundred of the good people of this commonwealth, whose circumstances or religious principles will admit of their bestowing a single shilling in this laudable way.

If I had not already given such proofs of the “*unparalleled scarcity of money*,” as must be perfectly satisfactory to every unprejudiced and disinterested reader, I would observe, further, that no person can get more than from 20 to 50 per cent. on the old prices, upon every thing he has to sell, from an horse of 30*l.* value, down to a fourpenny cabbage—tobacco excepted—(and this we might have had our own price for, if we had neither *lent* it to merchants, nor run in their debt.) I would urge also, that the New England people could not get more than 8*s.* per cwt. for their hay, last winter and spring, nor more than double the worth of their axe and hoe-helves, wooden trays, honey, cranberry-tarts ready made, cyder, potatoes, cabbages, parsnips, carrots, and many other important articles of commerce (as impossible for us to do without, as to make ourselves) and that the variety of luxurious articles, which we see daily imported, have scarce an opportunity of being opened, before they are vended.—In

short, mr. printer, such is our deplorable situation, for “*want of money*,” that it appears to me, we are on the very brink of ruin, and that we must go headlong to destruction, unless timely assisted, by a very liberal emission of paper-money—and this, I would have loaned out, to certain popular characters, seven years without interest, to any amount, not exceeding double the worth of the borrower, and which must be a LEGAL TENDER, IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER, except as hereafter excepted. Besides, we ought to have a sum sufficient to redeem every species of public securities; which the original holders must give up, on penalty of forfeiting the whole sum due them. But those who are possessed of them, by purchase, should have the liberty of refusing this new paper, because, such persons, having given a “*valuable consideration*” in gold or silver, ought to be considered as INNOCENT HOLDERS. If the sum thus emitted, should be found inadequate to the wants of my *needy fellow-citizens of every description*, I would then recommend all such, to join in a return, specifying their names, estimated value of their estates, and sums respectively wanted; and lay the same before the next assembly, who will, no doubt, direct a further emission, in order to comply with the utmost wishes of the *virtuous community*.

Some people, who pretend to be amazingly honest and conscientious, ask, and with some warmth, “*how, in the name of goodness, are we to pay France, Holland, and Spain, the interest, much more the principal, of the money so generously lent us, in times of distress, if we have nothing but paper?*” This question, from its simplicity, always makes me smile—and yet I do not know that ever I heard a *sound, knock-em-down answer* to it—viz.—“*If France, Holland, and Spain, will not take such money as we have to give, it will be their*

own faults, not ours, if they go unpaid." Now, can any thing, mr. printer, be clearer than this, except the purity of the principle? Such was the pious reasoning of many honest men, when they paid off orphans' legacies, and old debts, with paper-money, at no greater depreciation than from 10 to 100 for 1—and, surely, sir, precedents, so replete with justice, honesty, equity, and the soundest policy, can never be forgotten, either in THIS WORLD, or the WORLD TO COME. Methinks I hear some of your wits say—those wits, I mean, who are versed in fables and romances—"this fellow's tedious performance puts me in mind of the mountain in labour, which brought forth a mouse." Be it so, it is all one to your old friend, and a branch of the house of

SHANDY.



Essay on money, as a medium of commerce; with remarks on the advantages and disadvantages of paper admitted into general circulation. By a citizen of the united states.

FROM every channel of public intelligence, we learn, that there is a disposition in many of the legislatures of this country, to emit bills of credit by authority of government; and to make them, in some measure, at least, or in some cases, a legal tender for debts already contracted. This is a matter of great delicacy and danger. It has occasioned a controversial discussion of the subject, in pamphlets and periodical publications. A few plausible things, and but a few, that deserve that character, have been published in defence of the measure. Many shrewd and sensible things have been offered against it; but even these last have not been so connected and satisfying, as they might, and ought to have been. Some of the pieces have been verbose and declamatory,

with many repetitions. Others have been full of antitheses, quaint sayings, and witticisms, which have no great tendency to convince or persuade; and some have been mingled with the local and party politics of particular states. Perhaps these different ways of writing, may be very proper for several classes of readers, and have a good effect; but there are certainly others, who require a different treatment, because their mistakes are owing not to deceitful intentions, but to erroneous judgment. This has given me a strong desire to try what can be done upon the subject, by dispassionate reasoning. By this, I mean, endeavouring to carry the matter back to its first principles, to explain them, in so simple a manner, as that the unlearned may understand them; and, then, to deduce the practical consequences, with the general theory, full in view.

It is impossible to reach my purpose, without saying many things, which, in a separate and detached manner, have been said by others; but this must be forgiven me; because I mean to lay the whole system before the reader, and every part in its proper order and connexion. Let us, then, begin by considering what gave rise to money, and what is its nature and use.

If there were but one man upon the earth, he would be obliged to prepare a hut for his habitation, to dig roots for his sustenance, to provide skins or fig-leaves for his covering, &c. in short, to do every thing for himself. If but one or two more were joined with him, it would soon be found that one of them would be more skilful in one sort of work, and another in a different: so that common interest would direct them, each to apply his industry to what he could do best and soonest: to communicate the surplus of what he needed himself of that sort of work

to the others, and receive, of their surplus, in return. This directly points out to us, that a barter of commodities, or communication of the fruits of industry, is the first principle, or rather, indeed, constitutes the essence, of commerce. As society increases, the partition of employments is greatly diversified; but still the fruits of well directed industry, or the things necessary and useful in life, are what only can be called wealth.

In establishing a mutual exchange of these, the first thing necessary is a standard of computation, or common measure, by which to estimate the several commodities, that may be offered for sale, or may be desired by purchasers. Without this, it is easy to see, that the barter of commodities is liable to very great difficulties, and very great errors. This standard, or common measure, must be something that is well known to both parties, and of general or common use. As the first essays, in every thing, are generally rude and imperfect; so, I think, it appears from the monuments of remote antiquity, that, in the early stages of society, cattle were the first things made use of as a standard.* But it would soon appear, that this was a most inaccurate measure; because, one ox might be as good as two, from size, fatness, or other circumstances. Therefore,

NOTE.

* Servius Tullius, one of the Roman kings, is said to have stamped some pieces with the figure of cattle; an ox, or a sheep. This was as much as to say, this piece is of the value of an ox or a sheep. Hence, it is said, the Roman word *pecunia*, comes from *pecus*, cattle. Others have thought it was from the use of leather for money, *quasi pecudum corio*. But the first etymology seems to be the best. See a subsequent note.

in place of this, succeeded measures both of dry and liquid, that is, corn, wine, and oil. The first of these was, of all others, the most proper standard, because universally necessary, and liable to little variation. Men, upon an average, would probably eat nearly the same quantity, in the most distant ages and countries. It seems to me, that this circumstance of a standard of computation, being necessary in commerce, and the first thing necessary, has been, in a great measure, overlooked by most writers on money, or rather, it has been confounded with the standard value of the sign, although essentially different from it; and the equivocal use of the terms, has occasioned great confusion. I must, however, observe, not only that this must necessarily be taken in, but, that if we confine ourselves to a standard of computation only, some known commodity, as measured grain, is better, and more intelligible and unalterable, than any money whatever, that either has been, or will be, made. The great alteration, in the value of gold and silver, is known to every person who has but dipped into history; and, indeed is known to many, even by memory, in this country, since its first settlement.*

NOTE.

* There are two estates near one of the colleges in Scotland, which were originally taxed an equal number of bolls of grain (a boll is about 6 bushels) to that institution. In very remote times, it pleased the proprietor of one of these estates, with consent of the college, to convert the payment into money, according to the then current value, which was a groat or fourpence sterling for a boll. At this present time, the one of these farms pays the same number of bolls, that the other does of groats; which

But, after a standard of computation had been agreed upon, in commerce, even of the most moderate extent, something farther would be absolutely necessary. The actual and immediate barter of commodities, could, in few instances, take place. A man might have the thing that I wanted to purchase, but he might not need, or desire what I was willing to give for it. Another might want what I had to spare, but not have what I wanted to purchase with it. Besides, bulky or perishable commodities could not be carried about at an uncertainty, or with safety. Therefore, it became, very early, necessary, that there should be some sign or signs agreed upon, which should represent the absent commodities, or rather should represent the standard of computation, in all its divisions and multiplications. These signs must be such as could easily be carried about, and therefore could be readily applied to every kind of transactions, which were connected with the commutation of property.

Let us examine the nature and meaning of these signs more particularly. They are of the nature of a tally, that is to say, they are intended to mark and ascertain a fact. Now, the fact is, that the person who can shew those signs, having purchased them by his goods or industry, is entitled to receive, from

NOTE.

is about thirty-two for one. There is also said to be existing, an old lease of a borough acre, near a town, in Scotland, for which the tenant was to pay a boll of wheat, and a boll of barley, or, if he did not bring the grain between Christmas and Candlemas, the proprietor was not obliged to accept of it, but he must pay a sum, which is now, 10-12ths of a penny sterling, for the boll of wheat, and 8-12ths, for the boll of barley.

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somebody, a certain value, or to a certain amount, which they specify, of the standard of computation. They have, always, a reference to the standard of computation, and, at last, by that known reference, the distinction between them and the standard of computation is lost, and they become a secondary standard of computation themselves. Thus, a piece is intended, at first, to be of the value of a measure of grain; but at last, men come to make their bargain by the number of pieces, instead of the number of measures; using the sign for the thing signified. Thus, also, sometimes at least, an ideal measure, generated by the other two, comes to be the standard of computation: as in England, the pound sterling is the money unit, though there be no coin precisely corresponding to it. This is sufficient to explain the relation of the sign to the standard of computation, and at last, if I may speak so, its consolidation with it.

I have said, above, that the person possessing the sign, is entitled to receive a certain value from somebody. The reason of this is, because his debtor is not the same, in every state of things. If we consider the sign as given from one individual to another, it is of the nature of a promissory note, and is a confession of having received so much property. Probably, there were often such signs or tokens given in the infancy of society; and it would then signify, that, if the seller were to come again, at a distance of time, and find the buyer in possession of such goods, as he wanted, he would be entitled to receive the amount of the sign or token that had been given him. But the convenience of using signs is so great, that it would immediately occasion their being made use of by general consent, express or implied; and, at last, the matter would be taken under the direction of the ruling part of the community.

In both cases, but especially in this last, the society becomes bound to the person who receives the signs for his goods, or industry, that they shall be, to him, of the value that they specify. I will afterwards shew, that this was not the first, but the last step taken in the use of signs, and give the reasons for it; but it is proper to mention it now, when we are considering the nature and use of signs in that single view.

Let it be observed here, that, as it was before said, if we aim at no more than a standard of computation, some commodities are not only as good, but better than any money; so, if we confine ourselves to a sign, only, separate from a standard, many things, that might be named, are not only as good, but far better than either the standard itself, or what we call money; because, they are much more easily reckoned, transported, and concealed. This appears, particularly, from the state of signs, in modern times; after so much experience and improvement has taken place. For, if we can guard, sufficiently, against the dangers to which they are exposed, signs inconceivably facilitate commerce. We can put any value we please in an obligation, written on a few inches of paper, and can send it over the world, itself, at very little expense, and conceal it so easily, that there shall be no danger of its being taken from us.

But it must have appeared, and did speedily appear, that all mere signs labour under an essential defect. They depend, ultimately, on the faith or credit of the persons using or answerable for them. Now, whether these be individuals, or the multitude, by general custom, and implied consent, or even the ruling part of the society, there is very great uncertainty. Therefore, something farther is necessary, to make a complete symbol or medium of general commerce, and that is, a pledge, or

standard of value that may be a security or equivalent for the thing given for it, and at all times be sufficient to purchase a like value of any thing that may be needed by him that holds it. An absent commodity, well known, or even an idea well understood, may be a standard of computation and common measure; any thing, almost whatever, may be a sign, though, since the art of writing has been known, paper is the best, but both are essentially defective: there is wanting a value in the sign, that shall give not only a promise or obligation, but actual possession of property for property.

The mentioning of these three distinct ends to be served by the medium of commerce, and illustrating them separately, was not to convey the idea that there were three steps of this kind taken at a distance of time from each other, or that men first continued long to deal in gross barter; and after that invented signs, and were content with them for another period; and at last perfected the plan, by getting signs possessed of real value. On the contrary, it was to shew, that any thing used as a medium of universal or general commerce, must be able to serve all the three forementioned purposes; and that, if there is any production of nature, or fabrication of art, that can unite the whole, at least as far as they are capable of being united, this must be the great desideratum. Now, it has been found in experience, that the precious metals, especially those now called by that name, gold and silver, do answer all the three ends in a great degree. It cannot be denied, that they have been used for this purpose, in fact, from the earliest times, and through every nation, in the old world; and, indeed, also in the new, with such exception only, as will confirm the principles of the theory. If any man thinks that this has happened by accident, or through the whim or caprice

of mankind, as one would suspect, from the language sometimes used in speech and writing, he is greatly mistaken. No effect of whim or accident ever was so uniform or so lasting. The truth is, that these metals do possess, in a degree superior to every thing else, the qualities necessary for the purposes mentioned above.

This will appear to any impartial person, who will consider, with a view to the preceding principles, what qualities a medium of general commerce ought to possess. It ought, then, to be 1. valuable; 2. rare; 3. portable; 4. divisible; 5. durable. Whoever will examine the matter, with attention, must perceive, that any one of these qualities being wholly or greatly wanting, the system would be either entirely ruined, or remarkably injured. Let us examine them separately.

1. It must be valuable; that is to say, it must have an intrinsic worth in itself, in substance, distinct from the form. By value or intrinsic worth here, must be understood precisely the same thing that gives to every other commodity its commercial value. Do you ask, what that is? I answer, its being either necessary or remarkably useful for the purposes of life, in a social state, or, at least, supposed to be so; and therefore the object of human desire. Without this, it could be no more than a bare sign; nor, indeed, so useful in this view, as many other signs. But we want something, that must be not only a standard of computation, but a standard of value; and, therefore, capable of being a pledge and security to the holder, for the property that he has exchanged for it. It is likely, some will say, what is the intrinsic value of gold and silver? they are not wealth; they are but the sign or representative of commodities. Superficial philosophers, and even some men of good understanding, not attending to the nature of cur-

rency, have really said so. What is gold, say some! the value is all in the fancy. You can neither eat nor wear it. It will neither feed, clothe, nor warm you. Gold, say others, as to intrinsic value, is not so good as iron, which can be applied to many more useful purposes. These persons have not attended to the nature of commercial value, which is in a compound ratio of its use and scarceness. If iron were as rare as gold, it would probably be as valuable; perhaps more so. How many instances are there of things, which, though a certain proportion of them is not only valuable, but indispensibly necessary to life itself; yet, from their abundance, have no commercial value at all. Take, for examples, air and water. People do not bring these to market, because they are in superabundant plenty. But let any circumstances take place that render them rare, and difficult to be obtained, and their value immediately rises above all computation. What would one of those, who were stifled in the black hole, at Calcutta, have given to get but near a window, for a little air; and what will the crew of a ship, at sea, whose water is nearly expended, give for a fresh supply?

Gold and silver have intrinsic value as metals, because, from their ductility, durability, and other qualities, they are exceedingly fit for domestic utensils, and many purposes in life. This circumstance was the foundation of their use, as a medium of commerce, and was inseparable from it. No clearer proof of this can be adduced, than that, in the earliest times, even when used in commerce, they were weighed before they were divided into smaller pieces, and passed in tale. They must surely then have had intrinsic value; for their value was in proportion to their bulk or quantity. This circumstance, as a sign, made them worse; but as a valuable

metal, made them better. The same thing appears as clearly, from the practice of modern times. Even when they are taken into the management of the rulers of society, and stamped under various denominations, there must be an exact regard had to their commercial value. The stamp upon them, is the sign ; the intrinsic worth of the metal, is the value. It is now found, and admitted, by every nation, that they must give, to every piece, that denomination and value, in legal currency, that it bears in bullion ; and if any do otherwise, there is neither authority nor force sufficient to make it pass.*

The author, referred to, in the note, has given us quotations from three persons of name, in the literary world, in support of a contrary opinion. The first is dr. Franklin, whom he makes to say, " gold and silver are not intrinsically of equal value with iron ; a metal, of itself, capable of many more beneficial uses to mankind. Their value rests chiefly

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* An author on this subject, in a pamphlet, lately published, says, " The value of the precious metals is however, enhanced by their peculiar aptitude to perform the office of an universal money, beyond any real inherent value they possess. This extrinsic value of gold and silver, which belongs to them under the modification of coin or bullion, is totally distinct from their inherent value as a commodity." I do not very well comprehend, what this gentleman means by the extrinsic value of gold and silver. Perhaps, it is the stamp or nominal value affixed to them, by the state ; but whatever it is, I will venture to assure him, that their value, as coin, is so far from being totally distinct from, that it must be, precisely, the same with, their value as a commodity.

on the estimation they happen to be in, among the generality of nations, and the credit given to the opinion, that that estimation will continue ; otherwise, a pound of gold would not be a real equivalent for a bushel of wheat." The second is Anderfon, on national industry, who says, " money, considered in itself, is of no value ; but, in many civilized nations, who have found how convenient it is, for facilitating the barter or exchange of one commodity for another, it has received an artificial value ; so that, although useless in itself, it has come to be accepted among all civilized nations, as a token, proving, that the person who is possessed of it, had given something, of real value, in exchange for it, and is, on that account, accepted of, by another, in exchange for something that is of real utility and intrinsic worth." The third is sir James Steuart, who says, " by money, I understand any commodity, which, purely in itself, is of no material use to man ; but which acquires such an estimation, from his opinion of it, as to become the universal measure of what is called value, and an adequate equivalent for any thing alienable." The name of any man, how great soever, will not have much weight with me, when I perceive, that, in any instance, he has mistaken his subject. This, I believe, has been the case with all the gentlemen just mentioned. There is a considerable confusion in the ideas expressed by the last two ; but the thing in which they all agree, and for which they are adduced by this author, is, that they seem to deny the intrinsic value of gold and silver, and to impute the estimation in which they are held, to accidental opinion. Now, I must beg leave to observe, as to the comparison of the intrinsic worth of gold and iron, if it were possible to determine whether, on suppositi-

on of iron and gold being in equal quantity, the one or the other would be the most valuable, it would not be worth a single straw in the present question; for, if iron were the most valuable, it would, in that case, be the money, and the gold would be but in the next degree. Accidental opinion has nothing to do with it. It arises from the nature of things. As to a pound of gold not being, as to intrinsic value, equivalent to a bushel of wheat, it might, with equal truth, be affirmed, that, to a man, perishing with hunger, a mountain of gold would not be equivalent to half a pound of bread. But is this any argument against the intrinsic commercial value of gold, as it has taken place since the beginning of the world?

As to the other two authors, they seem to say, that money is, in itself, of no value, and of no material use to man. If, by money, they mean gold and silver, the proposition is directly false: because they are both of material use for the purposes of social life. But what has led them into this error, has been their abstracting the idea, and taking money in the single light of a sign, without considering it as a standard. Then, no doubt, even gold, while it continues in this form, is of no other use than as a sign of property. But how little is this to the purpose? for it is equally true of every other commodity. A nail, while it continues a nail, is of no other use, but joining boards together, or some similar purpose, and can neither be lock nor key; but a quantity of nails, or the iron which they contain, can be easily converted into either the one or the other. So a guinea, while it continues a guinea, is of no use whatever, but as an instrument of commerce; but the gold of which a guinea consists, can easily be converted into a ring, or any thing which its quantity will reach. This is what is

called, with perfect propriety, its intrinsic value.

2. That which is the medium of commerce, must be rare. It will not be necessary to say much upon this, because it has already received some illustration from what has gone before. It may, however, be observed, that the medium of commerce must not only be so rare, as to bring it within commercial value, in ordinary cases, but it must be much more rare than most other things, that its value may be increased, and a small quantity of it may represent goods of considerable variety and bulk. If gold and silver were only twenty times as plentiful as they are at present, they would still have a proper value, could be bought and sold, and applied to many useful purposes, but they would be quite unfit for general circulation.

3. The circulating medium must be portable. It must be capable of being carried to a distance with little trouble or expense, and of passing from hand to hand, with ease and expedition. This is one of the reasons why it must be rare; but it deserves mention also by itself, because it is possible to conceive of things that may be both valuable and rare, and yet incapable of being carried about, and passing from one to another. Some precious drugs, and some curiosities may be so rare as to have a high value, and yet may be quite improper for circulation.

4. The medium of commerce must be divisible. It ought to be capable of division into very small quantities. This is necessary, in order to answer the division of many commodities, and the conveniency of persons of different ranks. It is of such importance, that in the calculations of a complex and diversified commerce, we find divisions and fractional parts even of the smallest coins or denominations of money, that have ever yet been brought into use.

5. Lastly. The medium of commerce ought to be durable. It ought to have this quality, on two accounts; first, that in perpetually passing from hand to hand, it may not be broken or wasted; and, secondly, that if it be preserved or laid up, as may be sometimes necessary, and often agreeable or profitable, it may not be liable to be speedily corrupted or consumed.

All these particulars are not of equal moment, and they have an intimate relation one to another; yet each of them is singly and separately of importance, perhaps more, than will be, at first view, apprehended. I think it is also plain, that there is nothing, yet known to mankind, in which they are all so fully united, as they are in gold and silver; which is the true reason why these metals have been applied, as the instruments of commerce, since the beginning of the world, or as far back as history enables us to penetrate.*

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* It has been suggested to me, by a friend, that gold and silver possess another quality, different from all the above, which, in an eminent degree, fits them for circulation, as a medium, viz. that they are equable. The meaning of this expression, is, that the metal of each of these species, when pure, is of the same fineness and worth, and perfectly similar, from whatever different mines, or from whatever distant parts it may have been procured; which, it is said, is not the case with any other metal. It is affirmed, that the copper or lead, that comes from one mine, will be preferable to that which comes from another, even after this last has been refined to as high a degree as is possible; but, that all gold and silver, completely refined, are perfectly alike, whether they come from Asia, Africa, or America. I do not pre-

It will probably throw some light upon the above theory, if we take a brief view of the matter, as it has taken place, in fact, from the beginning of the world. This may be done now, to the greater advantage, that the effects of particular causes, and the events that will take place in society, in particular circumstances, have been so fully ascertained by the experience of ages, and the progress of science, that we are able to make a better use of the few remains of ancient history, than could have been done by those who lived nearer to the events which are recorded. It appears, then, that the discovery and use of metals, was one of the earliest attainments of mankind. This might naturally be expected, if they were within reach at all, because of their very great utility in all works of industry, and indeed, for all the purposes of convenience and luxury. Therefore, I suppose, this fact will not be doubted; but it is a truth, neither so obvious, nor so much known, that gold, silver, and brass, or rather copper, were the most ancient metals, and all of them antecedent to iron. These metals being applied

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tend to a certain knowledge of this, but, if it be true, it is well worthy of being mentioned in this disquisition.

See, upon this subject, president Goquet's rise and progress of laws, arts, and sciences. He has not only sufficiently proved the fact, but also assigned the most probable reason for it, that these metals were found, in many places of the earth, almost pure, so as to need very little art, in refining; whereas, extracting iron from the ore, is neither so easy nor so obvious. We learn, from Homer, that in the wars of Troy, the weapons of war, offensive and defensive, were

to all the purposes of life, came, of course, to constitute a great part of the wealth of the people of ancient times. I have mentioned brass, because it was one of the metals earliest known; and, upon the very principles above laid down, was, in the beginning, made use of, for money, by many ancient nations. Its being now, in a great measure, left out, is an illustration and proof of what has been already said. It is left out, for no other reason, than its having lost one of its necessary qualities, viz. rarity. That it was made use of, for money, amongst the Hebrews, appears from many circumstances. We read of gold, silver, and brass, brought as contributions to the tabernacle service, in the time of Moses, and to the building of the temple, in that of David. That brass was made use of, as money, in the early times of the Greeks and Romans, appears, both from the assertions of historians, and from the very languages of both nations, for there it is made use of to signify money, in general.* That it

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of copper; and some historians tell us, that they had a method of tempering or hardening it, so as to make it tolerably fit for the purpose, though certainly not equal to iron or steel.

* In the Roman language, *æs* signifies not only brass, but money in general, and from it many other words are derived; as, *ærum*, the treasury; *æs alienum*, debt; *ære mutare*, to buy or sell for money, &c. So, in the Greek tongue, *chalkos*, signifies brass, *achalkos* and *achalkēin*, to be without money, or poor. When the other metals came to be in use as money, the words received the same meaning in the language, as, *argenti fitis—auri sacra fames*, the desire of money. Things proceeded in a way perfectly similar in the three ancient nations, of

ceased to serve that purpose, afterwards, cannot be accounted for, in any other way, than as above, especially, as the neglect of it has been just as universal, as the use of it was formerly.

We are also fully supported, by history, in affirming, that all these metals were at first estimated, and passed in commerce, by weight. We see, that Abraham gave to Ephron, for the cave of Machpelah, four hundred shekels of silver. † The Greek money was of different weights, from the lower sorts to the talent, which was the largest. The old Roman word *pondo* was, as it were, the standard, and the divisions of it constituted their different denominations. From this, we seem to have derived the English word pound. Very soon, however, they came to have either coins, or, at least, small pieces, reckoned by number. Abimelech gave to Abraham, as Sarah's brother, one thousand keseph, and Joseph was sold for twenty keseph, and he gave to his brother Benjamin, three hundred keseph. As the word keseph signifies silver, they must have been reckoned by tale, and are probably very justly translated pieces. Agreeably to all this, the time when the Romans began to coin brass, and some hundreds of years afterwards, silver and gold are distinctly mentioned by the historians †.

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whom we have the most distinct accounts, the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans. *Nabus keseph zabaru*, in Hebrew; *chalkos arguros* and *chrysos*, in Greek; and *æs argentum* and *aurum*, in Latin, are all used for money in general.

† See Genesis, xxiii. 16. And Abraham weighed to Ephron, the money that he had said, in presence of the sons of Heth, 400 shekels of silver, current money with the merchants.

† We have the express testimony of Pliny, upon this subject, lib.

It may be proper to observe here, that several antiquaries have mentioned that some barbarous nations made use of baser metals, such as lead, tin, iron, and even leather, shells, and bark of trees, for money. This is no way contrary to the above theory, for some nations might indeed use lead, iron, and tin, as things of value, upon the same principles as others used gold, silver, and brass. I think it is said, and indeed is more than probable, that the nails given by our voyagers to the inhabitants of the South-Sea islands, passed, from hand to hand, as instruments of commerce. As to leather, shells, &c. I suspect some part of this is fabulous; but if it did take place, in any measure, it has been a rude essay, using the sign separately from the standard, and could not be of any great extent or long duration. We know, indeed, of one nation, after society had been far advanced, that made use of iron, even when very plentiful, for money, viz. the Lacedemonians. But this was not at all from rudeness or ignorance; it was one of the extraordinary institutions of Lycurgus, who intended by it (and did not conceal his intention) to banish riches, or real and proper money, from the state. He indeed banished industry, at the same time; for none of his citizens were allowed even to be husbandmen, or to

cultivate their lands. This was left to the slaves. I do not find, therefore, that there is any thing in history deserving credit, that militates against the theory above laid down.

Having thus laid down the theory of money, and supported it by history and experience, I proceed to draw a few inferences from it, and apply them to some opinions, which have taken place, and some measures, which have been adopted or proposed with respect to currency and commerce, in this country. In the first place, the above theory will enable every intelligent person to fix in his mind, precisely, what is or ought to be the meaning of a circulating medium. This phrase is in every body's mouth, and we meet with it continually in the essays published in the news-papers, and the speeches of senators in public assemblies. We may say of this, as controversial divines used to say, long ago, that a misconception of this is the proton pseudos, the radical error. Not long since, a writer in one of the papers, said, it was agreed, on all hands, that there is at present, a scarcity of a circulating medium. To this I answer, that it is not agreed upon on any hand, but among those who are wholly ignorant of the meaning of the expression. The circulating medium is not yours nor mine; it is not the riches of Holland, nor the poverty of Sweden. It is that indefinite quantity of the precious metals, that is made use of among the nations, connected in commerce. Whether any particular person, city, or nation, is rich or poor, has more or less, comparatively, of it, is nothing to the purpose. Every one will receive of the circulating medium, that quantity which he is intitled to, by his property or industry. It has been shewn, that rarity is one of the qualities of a circulating medium. If it were more rare, than it is, a less quantity would be sufficient to represent a stated measure of pro-

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33. chap. 3. "Servius rex primus signavit æs. Antea rudi usos Romæ Timæus tradit. Signatum est nota pecudum; unde et pecunia appellata. Servius first coined brass. Timæus says, they used it formerly, rough or uncoined at Rome. It was marked with the figure of cattle, whence also it was called *pecunia*." The same author tells us, that silver began to be coined, at Rome, in the 485th year of the city, and gold 72 years after.

perty. If it were more plentiful than it is, a greater quantity would be necessary; but the comparative riches or poverty of nations, or persons, would be altogether the same.

Is any body ignorant, that half a century ago, in this country, a man might have bought a bushel of wheat for one quarter of a dollar, for which now he must pay a whole dollar? Was not the quarter dollar, then, as good a circulating medium, as the whole dollar is now? And was not the man just as rich, who had it in his pocket? Undoubtedly. Nay, I must further say, it was a better circulating medium, because it was of less size and weight. Has not the quantity of the precious metals increased greatly, since the discovery of the mines of South-America? Is not the quantity, now necessary, for any considerable purchase, so great, as to be burdensome, in the transportation? The price of a good horse, in silver, would, at present, be a great encumbrance, on a long journey. How easy were it to point out places and countries, in which there is a greater quantity of the circulating medium, than any where else, and yet, at the same time, greater national and personal poverty, and, probably, for this very reason. What would it signify, to a labourer, in the mines of Peru, if he should get a half johannes, or even two, for a day's work, if, at the same time, he could hardly purchase with both, as much provision as to keep body and soul together? Are not these things true? Are they not known to be so? What then must we say, of the extreme ignorance and inattention, to say no worse, of those persons, who are continually telling us, that there is a want of a circulating medium? Are not gold and silver a circulating medium, whose currency is universal? Are these, then, too scarce for that purpose, when there is hardly a negro slave, male or fe-

male, without silver buckles in their shoes, and many of them with rings, and other ornaments of gold, which, five hundred years ago, would have denoted a prince or princess? Perhaps, I have insisted longer on this, than was necessary; but I have been induced to it, by the frequent complaints, upon this subject, and the absurd application of the phrase, a circulating medium. More reflexions will occur, connected with this subject, in the subsequent part of my discourse. In the mean time, I will close by saying to my reader, you and I may be poor men, the state in which we live, may be a poor state, we may want property, rents, resources, and credit, but, a circulating medium, we want not.

2. From the principles above laid down, it will appear, that money, having, as one of its essential qualities, an intrinsic, that is to say, a commercial value, it must be not only a sign and standard, or a medium of commerce, but also, itself, a commodity, or a subject of commerce. There are many transactions respecting money, in a trading nation, in which it is considered singly in this view. These it is unnecessary for me to enumerate; but even where it is applied directly or principally, as a medium of alienation, its value, as a standard, doth and must always follow and accommodate itself to its value, as a commodity. Hence it follows, necessarily, that money must be subject to every rule, that other commodities are subject to, in buying and selling. One of the chief of these is, that it must rise and fall in price, according to the quantity that is brought to market, compared with the demand there is for it. This is an unavoidable consequence, and as necessary, in the case of money, as in that of any commodity whatever. If a greater quantity of money, than before, is brought into any country, even though brought by the

fairest and most honourable means, viz. increasing industry and profitable trade, it will have the effect of raising the price of other commodities in general, and of industry, which is the source of all commodities. But, we must observe, that men are apt to view this in a wrong light. One commodity may rise or fall by its own plenty or scarceness; but when there is a great and general rise of prices, of all commodities, it would be, at least, as proper, or rather much more so, to say, that money had fallen, than that goods had risen.

We had so large experience of this, during the war, by the excessive emissions of paper-money, that it needs hardly any illustration. It is true, some persons did then, and do now, suppose, that the depreciation of the money, was owing as much to the disaffection of some inhabitants, and the counterfeiting, and other artful endeavours of our enemies, to destroy it, as to the increased quantity. But, in this, they were quite mistaken. Jealousy or suspicion of the money, would have had different effects, from a gradual and continual rise of prices. If I meet with a suspicious piece of money, I do not raise the price of my goods, but refuse to sell them. This was, indeed, the case with all those who doubted the money of congress, in time of the war. Besides, it is plain, that the American cause was most doubtful, and its enemies most numerous, in the years 1776 and 1777, and yet the currency of the money was then very general, and its depreciation slow; whereas, in the three following years, when, in consequence of the French treaty, and other European alliances, the confidence of the public, in the cause, was increased, the depreciation was accelerated in an amazing degree. I must also here make a remark upon another opinion, often expressed,

during the war, that the depreciation must have been owing to other causes, than the quantity, because it was greater than what they called the natural depreciation, in consequence of the quantity. By this, they meant, that it was not regular; but, when the quantity had risen, suppose to five for one, the depreciation was at fifteen or twenty for one. These persons did not understand the depreciation of a commodity, in consequence of its quantity; for it is not regular and equable, as in arithmetical progression, but rapid and increasing, so as soon to get beyond all computation. If there is, in any country, but one tenth part more, of any commodity, than there is any demand for, the price will probably fall more than one half, and if there is double or treble the quantity needed, it will be, what merchants call a drug, that cannot be sold at all; but if it be a perishable commodity, must sink in the hands of the possessor.

I have said above, that the increase of money, even though in consequence of national prosperity, that is to say, internal industry and profitable trade, will yet necessarily, have the effect of raising the price of industry and its fruits. This, however, must evidently be in a far higher degree, and attended with much more pernicious effects, when it is thrown into circulation without industry; as, when silver is found in capacious mines, or paper is issued by the authority of a state, without measure, and without end. I verily believe, that if as many millions of silver dollars had fallen from heaven, and been thrown into circulation, as there were paper ones issued by the united states, the disorder would have been as great, or greater, than it was. At least, it would have been so at first. The difference would have been, that silver, being current over all, it would have soon gone

abroad, and found its level, so that the alteration would have been ultimately, not in the united states, but in the general circulating medium, over the whole earth. Those, however, among whom it was first found, and who received it without industry, would have suffered most by it. Among them, it would have produced laziness and luxury. Other nations would have drained it from them only by superior industry. The state of the Spanish monarchy at present, ought to be, and indeed in a great measure has been, a lesson to the whole world. At the time when they got possession of South America, they were the most powerful and wealthy state in Europe. Would any man, at that time, have been reckoned sound in his judgment, who should have affirmed that they would grow poor by means of the gold and silver mines? Yet, it has happened so, and now there is hardly any politician so shallow but he can assign the reason of it. They thought that gold and silver would at once procure them every thing without working; but forgot that the more they had of it, they must pay so much the more to those who were willing to work for them.

3. The above principles will clearly shew, that what is commonly called paper-money, that is, bills, bearing that the person holding them, is entitled to receive a certain sum specified in them, is not, properly speaking, money at all. It is barely a sign, without being a pledge or standard of value, and therefore is essentially defective as a medium of universal commerce. I will afterwards speak of the different kinds of it, and point out their real and proper uses; but in the mean time, I observe, that to arm such bills with the authority of the state, and make them a legal tender in all payments, is an absurdity so great, that it is not easy to speak with propriety upon it. Perhaps it would give offence, if I should

say, it is an absurdity reserved for American legislatures; no such thing having ever been attempted in the old countries. It has been found, by the experience of ages, that money must have a standard of value, and if any prince or state debase the metal below the standard, it is utterly impossible to make it succeed. How then, can it be possible, to make that succeed, which has no value at all? In all such instances, there may be great injuries done to particular persons, by wiping off debts; but to give such money general currency, is wholly impossible. The measure carries absurdity in its very face. Why will you make a law to oblige men to take money, when it is offered them? Are there any who refuse it, when it is good? If it is necessary to force them, does not this demonstrate, that it is not good? We have seen, indeed, this system produce a most ludicrous inversion of the nature of things. For two or three years, we constantly saw and were informed of creditors running away from their debtors, and debtors pursuing them, in triumph, and paying them without mercy,

Let us examine this matter, a little more fully. Money is the medium of commercial transactions. Money is, itself, a commodity. Therefore, every transaction, in which money is concerned, by being given or promised, is, strictly and properly speaking, a bargain, or, as it is called in common language, an agreement. To give, therefore, authority or nominal value, by law, to any money, is interposing, by law, in commerce, and is, precisely, the same thing with laws regulating the prices of commodities, of which, in their full extent, we had sufficient experience, during the war. Now, nothing can be more radically unjust, or more eminently absurd, than laws of that nature. Among all civilians, the transactions of commerce are

ranged under the head of contracts. Without entering into the nicer distinctions of writers, upon this subject, it is sufficient for me to say, that commerce, or buying and selling, is founded upon that species of contracts, that is most formal and complete. They are called, in the technical language, onerous contracts, where the proper and just value is supposed given, or promised on both sides. That is to say, the person who offers any thing to sale, does it, because he has it to spare, and he thinks it would be better for him to have the money, or some other commodity, than what he parts with; and, he who buys, in like manner, thinks it would be better for him, to receive the commodity, than to retain the money. There may be mistakes, or fraud, in many transactions; but these do not affect the argument in the least. A fair and just value is always supposed, or professed to be given on both sides.

Well! is it agreed, that all commerce is founded on a complete contract? Let then, any person, who will, open as many books as he pleases, written upon the subject, and tell me, whether he does not always find there, that one of the essential conditions of a lawful contract, and, indeed, the first of them, is, that it be free and mutual. Without this, it may be something else, and have some other binding force, but it is not a contract. To make laws, therefore, regulating the prices of commodities, or giving nominal value to that which had no value before the law was made, is altering the nature of the transaction altogether. Perhaps, a comparison of this, with other transactions of a different kind, might set this matter in a clear light. Suppose, a man were to say to one of our law givers, upon this subject, as follows: When you make a law, laying on a tax, and telling me, I must pay so much to the

public and common expenses, of the state, I understand this very well. It falls under the head of authority. You may lay on an improper or injudicious tax, that will operate unequally, or not be productive of what you expect; but, still this is within your line; and if I have any complaint, I can only wish, that, at the next election, we may get wiser men. Again, a justice of peace, in time of war, may give a press-warrant, and take my horses and waggons, to transport provisions or baggage, for an army. I understand this, also; writers and reasoners tell me, that it falls under the head of what they call, the rights of necessity. The meaning of this, is, that no civil constitution can be so perfect, but that some cases will occur, in which the property of individuals must give way to the urgent call of common utility, or general danger. Thus we know, that in cities, in case of a fire, sometimes a house, without the consent of its owner, will be destroyed, to prevent the whole from being consumed. But, if you make a law, that I shall be obliged to sell my grain, my cattle, or any commodity, at a certain price, you not only do what is unjust and impolitic, but, with all respect be it said, you speak nonsense; for I do not sell them at all; you take them from me. You are both buyer and seller, and I am the sufferer only.

I cannot help observing, that laws of this kind have an inherent weakness in them; they are not only unjust and unwise, but, for the most part, impracticable. They are an attempt, to apply authority to that which is not its proper object, and to extend it beyond its natural bounds; in both which, we shall be sure to fail. The production of commodities must be the effect of industry, inclination, hope, and interest. The first of these is very imperfectly reached by authority; and

the other three cannot be reached by it at all. Perhaps I ought rather to have said, that they cannot be directed by it, but they may be greatly counteracted; as people have naturally a strong disposition to resist force, and to escape from restraint. Accordingly, we found in this country, and every other society, who ever tried such measures, found, that they produced an effect directly contrary to what was expected from them. Instead of producing moderation and plenty, they uniformly produced dearth and scarcity. It is worth while to observe, that some of our legislatures saw so far into these matters, as to perceive, that they could not regulate the price of commodities, without regulating the price of the industry, that produced them. Therefore, they regulated the price of day-labourers. This, however, though but one species of industry, was found to be wholly out of their power.

There were some instances mentioned at the time, when these measures were in vogue, which superficial reasoners supposed to be examples of regulating laws, attended with good effects. These were the regulation of the prices of chairs, hackney-coaches, and ticket porters, in cities, public ferries, and some others. But this was quite mistaking the nature of the thing. These instances have not the least connexion with laws regulating prices in voluntary commerce. In all these cases, the persons who are employed, solicit the privilege, obtain a licence, and come under voluntary engagements, to ask no higher prices; so that there is as complete a free contract, as in buying and selling, in open shops. I am so fully convinced of the truth and justice of the above principles, that I think, were it proper at this time, I could shew, that even in the most enlightened nations of Europe, there are still

some laws subsisting, which work in direct opposition to the intention of their makers. Of this kind, in general, are the laws against forestalling and regrating. They are now, indeed, most of them, asleep, and in what the lawyers call desuetude; but so far as they are executed, they have the most powerful tendency to prevent, instead of promoting, full and reasonable markets. As an example of our own skill, in that branch, a law was passed, in Pennsylvania, in time of the war, precisely upon that principle. It ordained, that in all imported articles, there should be but one step between the importer and consumer, and therefore that none but those who bought from the ship, should be allowed to sell again. I cite this instance, by memory, but am certain that such was the spirit of the law. The makers of it, considered, that every hand, through which a commodity passed, must have a profit upon it, which would, therefore, greatly augment the cost to the consumer at last. But could any thing in the world be more absurd? How could a family, at one hundred miles distance from the sea-port, be supplied with what they wanted? In opposition to this principle, it may be safely affirmed, that the more merchants, the cheaper goods; and that no carriage is so cheap, nor any distribution so equal, or so plentiful, as that which is made, by those who have an interest in it, and expect a profit from it.

I have gone into this detail in order to shew, that tender-laws, arming paper, or any thing not valuable in itself, with authority, are directly contrary to the very first principles of commerce. This was certainly the more necessary, because many of the advocates for such laws, and many of those, who are instrumental in enacting them, do it from pure ignorance, without any bad intention. It may probably have some ef-

fect, in opening their eyes, to observe, that no paper whatever is a tender in any nation in Europe. Even the notes of the bank of England, which are as good as gold, and those of the bank of Holland, which are considerably better*, are not armed with any such sanction, and are not a legal tender, in the proper sense of that word. That is to say, though I suppose both of them, or any other paper, circulating in full credit, may be a tender in equity, so far as that the person offering them without suspicion of their being refused, could not be condemned in any penalty or forfeiture; yet, if the person who was to receive the money, should say, I am going abroad, I want gold or silver—it would lie upon the debtor, and not the creditor, to go and get them exchanged. We may, perhaps, even say more, viz. that the coinage of gold and silver, in any country, is not so much, if at all, to oblige persons to receive it at a certain value, as to ascertain them that it is of the value stamped upon it. Without this, ignorant persons would be continually at a loss to know the fineness and the weight

NOTE.

* Perhaps it may be proper to inform some readers, what this expression refers to. It refers to the *agio* of the bank of Holland. A bill of that bank generally goes for a little more in payment, with any dealer, than the sum it specifies; and this advance of difference is called the *agio* of the bank, and rises or falls like the rate of exchange. This, probably, arises from its perfect security, and the very great advantage in point of ease and expedition, in transferring, reckoning, and concealing of paper above gold and silver. It gives occasion to the vulgar saying, in that country—that money goes into the bank, but never comes out.

of pieces offered to them. This will appear, from the two following remarks. 1. If, by any accident in the coinage, or fraud in the officers of the mint, some of the pieces had not the full quantity, or were not of sufficient fineness, though the stamp were ever so genuine, if I could discover the defect, I should be justified in refusing them. 2. There is sometimes; a fluctuation in the comparative value of gold and silver, and in these cases, though, no doubt, a debtor, till the error that has crept in, be rectified by authority, has a right to pay in any lawful money; yet, if I were selling goods, and gold had fallen in its value, I might safely say to the customer, in what coin are you to pay me? I will give you a yard of this silk, for twenty-one sterling silver shillings; but if you give me a guinea, I must have another shilling, before I will part with it. The whole of this serves to shew, that nothing short of real money, which is of standard value, ought to be enforced by law, in a well-regulated society.

4. The principles above laid down, will enable us to perceive clearly, what is the nature of paper circulating as a medium of commerce; what is its real and proper use; and what are its dangers and defects. As to its nature, it is a sign, but not a standard. It is properly, an obligation; or, to use a modern commercial phrase, it is a promissory note. It is not money, as has been shewn above; but it is a promise, of some person, or body of men, to pay money, either on demand, or at a particular time, or some general undefined future time. Obligations, of this nature, are of more sorts than one. Sometimes they are given, by particular persons, or trading companies, who are considered as persons; and, frequently, in America, they have been given by the legislature of the state. In the general definition, I

have included all kinds of negotiable paper; but it will not be necessary to insist on more than two of them, viz. the notes of banking companies, and state emissions. Bills of exchange are not supposed to pass through many hands, but to proceed, as speedily as may be, to the place of their payment. Government-securities are only bought and sold, like other property; and so, any bonds, or other private obligations, may be transferred as often as people are willing to receive them; but the notes of banking-companies, and the state-emissions of this country, are intended to be, properly speaking, a circulating medium. They are of various regular denominations, and intended to answer all the purposes of money, in the smaller transactions of society, as well as the larger, and even to go to market for purchasing the necessaries of life.

As to value, such obligations must plainly depend upon the credit of the subscriber or obligor, and the opinion or expectation of the receiver. These are mutually necessary to their use in commerce. Let the resources or wealth of the subscriber be what they may, it is the public opinion that must ultimately give them currency. This opinion, however, may be, in some instances, better, and, in some, worse founded. That paper which may with most certainty and expedition be converted into gold and silver, seems evidently to have the advantage on this account. Therefore the notes of banking-companies, while they maintain their credit, and continue to pay on demand, appear to be the best calculated for general use. They seem also to have another advantage, that private persons and companies are upon a footing with the holder of the bills. He can arrest them; whereas he cannot call the legislature to account, but must wholly depend upon their fidelity as well as resources. Yet it

must be owned, there have not been wanting instances formerly in this country, in which paper-emissions by the states, have obtained full confidence, and met with no impediment in circulation.

Let us now consider, what is the proper use of the paper-currency, or whether it be of any real use at all. Many persons in Europe have declared against it altogether, as pernicious. I will endeavour to state this matter, with all the clearness I am capable of, and to give the reasons for what I shall advance. We have seen, above, that nothing can be more absurd than to say we now want a circulating medium, and that paper is necessary for that purpose. A circulating medium we have already, not in too small, but in too great a quantity; so that any person who understands the subject, may perceive that gold and silver, especially the last, is losing at least one of the qualities necessary for that purpose, and becoming too bulky and heavy for easy and convenient transportation. Brass, as has been shewn above, was once as just and proper a medium of commerce, as gold and silver are now. It has all the qualities necessary for that purpose still, except rarity; so that, if it were not too plentiful and too cheap, it would be money to this day. It is probable that this circumstance of the abundance and weight of the precious metals, is what gives to many, such an inclination for paper-money. This will appear strange to some, yet, I believe, it is, at bottom, just. The cry with many, is, we must have paper for a circulating medium, as there is such a scarcity of gold and silver. Is this just? No. They mistake their own poverty or the nation's poverty, for a scarcity of gold and silver; whereas, in fact, gold and silver, used as a circulating medium, are so cheap, and the quantity of a moderate sum is such an encumbrance, that we want paper,

which can be much more easily carried, and much more effectually concealed. So that, contrary to the vulgar idea, we are obliged to have recourse to paper, in several cases, not for want of gold and silver, but their too great abundance.

This will appear to be a very uncouth idea to many persons. What, they will say, too great abundance of gold and silver! when I go about from day to day, and cannot collect what is due to me; when my creditors are calling upon me, and I cannot satisfy them. There is a scarcity of money every where. What shall be said to satisfy these persons? I must tell them plainly, it is their poverty, or the nation's poverty, and not a want of gold and silver; and if there were an hundred times as much gold and silver in circulation as there is, their poverty and difficulties would be just the same. If these persons read the scriptures, they may there learn, that in Solomon's time the silver was as plentiful as stones in Jerusalem; probably, they will think, that all the people in Jerusalem, at that time, must have lived like princes, but they must be told, that it was added, as a necessary consequence, that it was nothing accounted of, in the days of Solomon.

If paper, then, is not needed, as a circulating medium, what benefit arises from it? I answer, the uses of paper, substituted for money, may be summed up, under the two following heads. 1. It is useful for facilitating commerce. 2. It is useful for anticipating property, or extending credit. First, it is useful for facilitating commerce. Nothing can be more advantageous, for that purpose, than bills of exchange, which, without the actual transportation of money or goods, can transfer property, even to the most distant places, with the most perfect facility. There have been many persons, who have doubted, whether any other sort

of paper-currency is not, upon the whole, hurtful; but the benefit of this is beyond all question. We shall afterwards compare the advantages and disadvantages of paper-money; but, at present, let us leave out the consideration of the evil that it does, and it is manifest, that there is so great a facility and safety in the transportation of paper, above that of gold and silver, that it must greatly expedite all mercantile transactions, internal and external. Suppose one hundred thousand pounds were to be transported, but three hundred miles—if it were to be carried in silver, what an immense load would it be? But, besides the weight, as it could not be concealed, there would be a very great risk of inviting robbers to share in it. Let it be carefully observed, that this good effect of paper, is not from the additional quantity, thrown into circulation; but from its possessing some advantages superior to gold and silver, provided, that the credit of it be supported. Nor must it be forgotten, that it is in great and extensive negotiations only, that this advantage is possessed by paper; for, in smaller bargains, and that intercourse between man and man, that is carried on every hour, it possesses no advantage at all; on the contrary, it is liable to wear and waste, and therefore the smaller coins are, in all respects, to be preferred.

2. Another use of paper, in commerce, is, to extend credit. Though in very large transactions, the advantage of paper may be great, as it facilitates commerce; yet, when we consider paper, as generally circulating and doing the office of gold and silver, it is by the extension of credit only, or chiefly, that it can be of any advantage. It is unnecessary for me, and, perhaps, not in my power, to mention all the ways in which credit may be increased or facilitated, by paper. Some will,

probably, be mentioned afterwards ; at present, my business is to shew, that giving credit is one of the advantages, and, indeed, in my opinion, it is the principal advantage, to be derived from paper-circulation, of any kind. There are many people, whose industry is damped or limited, by want of stock or credit, who, if they were properly assisted, in these respects, might do signal service to themselves, and the community of which they are members. It has been generally said, and I believe with truth, that the institution of the banks in Scotland, has improved that country, in the course of little more than half a century, to a degree that is hardly credible. It is also probable, that the manufactures and commerce of England, have been greatly promoted by the easy and regular methods of obtaining credit from the public and private banks. I am sensible, that some very intelligent persons, in Britain, have condemned the paper circulation, even there, and affirmed, that it does more harm than good. It is not necessary, for me, to enter into the arguments on either side of that question. All that I am concerned to prove, is, that if it does good upon the whole, or whatever good it does in any degree, arises from the credit which it is the occasion of extending : and this, I think, can hardly be denied.*

NOTE.

* That I may state the matter with fairness and fullness, I will just observe, that the enemies of paper say, the improvement was only coeval with the banks, but not caused by them, in whole, nor in any great degree. The banks happened to be nearly coeval with the revolution, and the union of England and Scotland ; both which important events are supposed to have been causes of improvement to Scotland. However,

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Let us next consider the evil that is done by paper. This is what I would particularly request the reader to attend to, as it was what this discourse was chiefly intended to evince, and what the public seems but little aware of. The evil is this : all paper, introduced into circulation, and obtaining credit, as gold and silver, adds to the quantity of the medium, and thereby, as has been shewn above, increases the price of industry, and its fruits.† This consequence is unavoidable, and follows as certainly from good paper, as bad, or rather more certainly, for the medium is increased only by that which obtains credit. At the same time, this consequence is local, because the paper does not pass among other nations, and therefore, it works against the interest of the people who use it, and necessarily draws off their gold

NOTES.

the experience of the last thirty or forty years appears to be considerably in favour of banks, and dealers in money and bills, which I consider as essentially the same.

† This will, perhaps, be misapprehended, by some readers. They will say, a high price for our industry ! This is just what we want, and what all desire. But the price, I mean here, is not the price which you get for your industry, but that which you pay for it. A high price, by a great demand from foreign nations, is your profit ; but the cost which you pay for servants, tools, rent of land, &c. lessens that profit, and it is that which is increased, by increasing the circulating medium, and not the other. Make us much money as you please, this will not make foreign nations call for any more of your grain, fish, lumber, tobacco, rice, &c. but it will just as certainly make them cost you more, before you can bring them to the market, as adding two to three will make five.

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and silver, which must be made use of in all foreign payments. Men may think what they please, but there is no contending with the nature of things. Experience has every where justified the remark, that, wherever paper is introduced, in large quantities, the gold and silver vanishes universally. The joint sum of gold, silver, and paper, current, will exactly represent your whole commodities, and the prices will be accordingly. It is, therefore, as if you were to fill a vessel brim-full, making half the quantity water, and the other oil, the last, being specifically lightest, will be at the top, and if you add more water, the oil only will run over, and continue running, till there is none left. How absurd and contemptible then, is the reasoning, which we have, of late, seen frequently in print, viz. the gold and silver are going away from us, therefore, we must have paper, to supply their place. If the gold and silver are indeed going away from us, that is to say, if the balance of trade is much against us, the paper-medium has a direct tendency to increase the evil, and send them away by a quicker pace.

I have said, that this consequence follows from all paper, as such, good and bad, so far as it enters into circulation; but every one must perceive, that there is a peculiar, and indeed a different evil to be feared from paper of a doubtful kind, and especially from that, which, being doubtful, is obliged to be supported by coercive laws. This must raise general suspicion, and, consequently, bring on a stagnation of commerce, from universal and mutual distrust. For the same reason, it must annihilate credit, and make every cautious person lock up his real money, that is gold and silver, as he cannot tell but he may be cheated in the repayment. This evil is very extensive, indeed, for it makes people suspicious, not

only of what is, but what may be. Though the injury should be but partial, or inconsiderable, at present, it may become wholly ruinous by some unknown future law.

Hence it may be seen, that the resolution of the question, whether it is proper to have paper-money, at all, or not, depends entirely upon another, viz. whether the evil that is done, by augmenting the circulating medium, is, or is not, overbalanced, by the facility given to commerce, and the credit given to particular persons, by which their industry and exertions are added to the common stock. As it is upon this, that the question depends, we shall find, that as the circumstances of a nation may be different, it may be for or against its interest, to use a paper medium. If any nation were in such circumstances, as that credit were either not necessary, or easily obtained; if the country were fully settled, and the inhabitants fully employed in agriculture, manufactures and internal commerce, with little foreign trade, any addition to the true money, would be unnecessary or pernicious. This is probably, the state of China, at present, perhaps, in some degree, also, of France. On the contrary, if a nation had an extensive and complicated commerce, and much land to settle and improve, the facilitating of commerce, and extending of credit, might be highly beneficial. I do not pretend to so exact a knowledge of the state of this country, or the different parts of it, as to judge with absolute certainty, of what is necessary or would be useful to it, but am inclined to think, that there must be something, in the state of things, in America, that makes it either more necessary or more expedient, to have paper here, than in the European states. We are assured, that, in former times, many of the states, then colonies, thought it a privilege, to be allowed to strike paper-money;

and we are told by people of good understanding, that it contributed to their growth and improvement. If this was the case, I am confident, it was chiefly because it was emitted in the way of a loan-office, and, by giving credit to husbandmen, accelerated the settlement and improvement of the soil. This question I do not take upon me to decide, and therefore in what follows, desire I may be considered as speaking only hypothetically, the rather, that, at present, the inclination after paper of some kind or another, seems to be so strong that it would be in vain to withstand it.

If, therefore, paper is to be employed in circulation, we may see, from what has been said above, what are the principles on which it ought to be conducted, the ends that ought to be aimed at, and the evils that ought to be avoided. The ends to be aimed at, are the facilitating of commercial transactions, and extending of credit to those who are likely to make a proper use of it. The plan should be so conceived, as that the increase of the circulating medium should be as little as possible, consistently with these ends. It should be perfectly secure, so as to create an absolute confidence. And as it is of the nature of an obligation, no force whatever should be used, but the reception of it left entirely to the inclination and interest of the receiver. It may be safely affirmed, that any deviation from these principles, which are deduced from the theory above laid down, will be an essential defect in the system. If we enquire what sort of paper will best answer this description, we find that there is no other sort used in Europe than that of banking companies. The government, stamping paper, to pass current for coin, is unknown there. Notwithstanding the immense sums, which have been borrowed by the English government, they always

prefer paying interest for them, to issuing paper without value, for money. The only thing resembling it in the English history, is, James the second, coining base metal, and affixing a price to it by proclamation; a project contemptible in the contrivance, and abortive in the execution. This seems to be a considerable presumption, that the measure is, upon the whole, not eligible.*

The paper of banking companies has many advantages. It is considered as perfectly safe, because it can be exchanged for gold and silver at any time upon demand. Having this security, at bottom, it is perfectly convenient for transportation, which, indeed, is common to it with all paper. In addition to this, it is considered as the principal business of all banks to give credit, which, though directly only in favour of commercial, is ultimately useful to many different classes of men. I may upon this observe, that it is the duty of banking-companies, so to conduct their operations, as to extend their regular credit, as far as is safe for themselves. If, instead of this, as has been supposed, at least to have been done by some banks in Britain, they circulate their notes by agents, making purchases in different and distant places, that the sum issued may

NOTE.

* It seems to me, that those who cry out for emitting paper-money, by the legislatures, should take some pains to state clearly, the difference between this and the European countries, and point out the reasons why it would be serviceable here, and hurtful there; or else insist, that it would be a wise measure, every where, and recommend the use of it to the states of England, France, Holland, &c. who will be much indebted to them for the discovery.

very far exceed the sum necessary to be kept for probable demands; they are, in that case, not serving the public at all, but using the money of other people, to their own profit. It is also to be observed, that the denomination of their notes should never be very small; it should, indeed, be as high as is consistent with such a general use as will bring in a sufficient profit. Very small denominations of paper, do the greatest injury, by entering into universal circulation, and chiefly affecting the industrious part of the community. It was a very great complaint against some banks in Scotland, that they brought down the denominations of their notes as far as ten shillings, and some of them, even five shillings. If this was an evil, what shall we say of paper, as has been seen in this country, as low as one shilling, sixpence, or even threepence value? It is a rule, that will hardly admit of any exception, that the higher the denominations of paper-bills, the greater the benefit, and the less the evil; and, on the contrary, the smaller the denominations, the greater the evil, and the less the benefit. High sums, in paper obligations, may, perhaps, change hands once a week, but a shilling or sixpenny ticket may be in fifty hands in one day.

I must mention here, what has been often objected against banks in America, which, if just, would, from the reasoning in the preceding part of this discourse, tend to their condemnation. It is, that they have destroyed credit instead of extending it, and have introduced or given occasion to excessive usury. I am not sufficiently informed to say how far this is really the case; but cannot help observing, that treating the matter theoretically, as I have all along done, and considering the nature of the thing, this does not appear to be a necessary consequence. One would rather think that the regular credit,

which is or ought to be given by banks, should prevent usury, by supplying all those who deserve to be trusted. Agreeably to this, it was found in fact, that the institution of banks in Scotland lowered the interest of money, which indeed seems to be the natural effect of every such institution, from the increased circulation. But if any instances, more than before, have happened of this kind, it may be by persons in extreme necessity applying to others who have credit with the bank, and who have so little conscientious scruple as to take advantage of their neighbour's poverty. If this is the case, it is only a particular abuse, or occasional bad consequence of a thing otherwise good and useful. It is not a just objection against any thing, that it may be or has been in some instances abused. Besides, as it is the duty of every banking-company to guard against this evil as much as possible, even by personal resentment, against those who make this use of their confidence, so it is an evil not out of the reach of legal punishment or general infamy. Wise and well executed laws against usury, would at least so far restrain it, as to make it an evil of little consequence.

But in examining the nature and operations of different kinds of paper, I must consider an objection of much greater importance, upon the principles of this discourse, against the paper of banks, or at least, a defect in their system, that seems to call for other measures in addition to it. This is, that banking-companies give credit only so as to be serviceable to merchants, and those immediately connected with them, but do not extend it to husbandmen, or those who improve the soil, by taking mortgages for a considerable time: yet, according to the theory above laid down, this is not only one of the advantages, but perhaps the chief advantage to be derived from a paper circulation.

on of any kind. Now, I admit, that the settlement and cultivation of the soil are the radical source of the prosperity of this country. It is, indeed, the source of the prosperity of every country, but comparatively more so that of this country than of most others. I also admit, that credit, properly extended to industrious persons in this way, would be exceedingly beneficial. For this reason, and for this alone, dr. Franklin and others perhaps judged right when they said, the country received great benefit from the loan-office paper of former times. I am also sensible, that it is not practicable nor proper for banking companies to give credit upon mortgages on distant lands. Being bound to prompt payment, they must expect the same; therefore they are not to be blamed for refusing it in this form.* For all these reasons, I do not take upon me wholly to condemn a measure in America, which would be unnecessary or improper in Europe. We hear from every quarter, that is to say, from almost every state, a loud cry for paper money. Now, when there is a great and universal complaint, it is seldom without some foundation; and though I have taken much pains in the preceding discourse to shew, that they mistake their own wants, that they do not want a circulating medium, but use that phrase without understanding its meaning; yet they certainly do want something. They particularly want credit; and they look back with desire to the former times when they

NOTE.

* I must here observe, that the banks of Scotland never gave credit upon mortgages, but personal security only, and yet they were universally supposed to put it in the power of landed men to improve their estates; so that the money transactions must have been, though not directly, yet remotely, in their favour.

had paper-money, which, by its name itself, pointed out its nature and use, the notes being then called bills of credit. I will therefore proceed, keeping a steady eye upon the principles above laid down, to state in what manner a loan-office may be established * within moderate bounds, that shall render a service probably greater than the evils necessarily consequent upon it.

I would, therefore, propose, that any state, that thinks it necessary, should emit a sum, of, suppose one hundred thousand pounds, and that the following rules should be laid down in the law, and invariably adhered to. 1. That not a shilling of that money should issue from the loan-office treasury, but upon mortgage of land, to the amount of double the sum in value. 2. That it should not be a legal tender for any debts contracted or to be contracted, but receivable in all taxes within the state, and payable for the wages of council and assembly, and the fees and perquisites of all public officers, after it has been so received. 3. That, at the end of twelve calendar months, a sum, precisely equal to the interest that had accrued or become due in that time, should be consumed by fire, and public intimation given of its being done.

NOTE.

* I am not ignorant that there has been in one of our states, I mean Pennsylvania, a violent controversy for and against the bank, between the political factions which divide that state. On this account, I am sorry I was obliged to mention banks at all; but it was impossible for me to do justice to the subject, without considering their general nature and effects; and I will not so much as name any of the arguments on either side of this question, but what is necessarily connected with money in general as a currency, and its effects upon the national interest.

The same should be done every subsequent year. 4. That, at no time, any part of this money should be made use of in the payment of the public debts, but that which had been first levied in taxes. It would not be proper, even to borrow from the stock, for this purpose, by anticipation.*

If these rules were observed, credit would be given to some persons who needed and deserved it, to the amount of the whole sum. The bills current, would be diminished in quantity every year, so as not to load the circulation, which would have a sensible effect upon the public opinion, and indeed, from the nature of the thing, would increase their value, or rather confirm it, from year to year.† At the end of four-

NOTES.

* The paying of the public creditors, is one of the most common and popular arguments for paper-emissions, but, to pay them with money not loaned, is not paying, but continuing the debt upon the state, and only making it change hands. All such bills, so paid, must be accounted for by the public. It is better, therefore, that, by the loans, men may be enabled easily to pay their taxes; and then let the public creditors be paid by money demanded equally from the whole for that purpose.

† I cannot help observing here, that the titles of most of the acts, for emitting money, do, unawares, confess the justice of all that has been said above; they run thus, "An act for emitting — thousand pounds in bills of credit, and directing the manner of sinking the same." Does not this shew, what sort of a circulating medium they are? Does it not admit, that they will do evil if they continue to circulate? When you coin gold and silver, do you provide for sinking it?

teen or fifteen years, they would be wholly taken out of circulation, and that, not by any tax laid on for the purpose, but by the hire or use of the money itself, and after all, the principal sum would be still due to the state, in good money, which might bear interest for ever. It would be an important addition to this scheme, if no bills less than two dollars, or perhaps three, or five, should be emitted, as this would still keep silver at least, in circulation. On the above principles, all the good that can be produced by paper, would be effected, viz. facilitating commerce, and giving credit; and as little of the evil as possible, because the quantity would be fixed and moderate at first, and continually decreasing, so as, at last, to vanish altogether; and then another emission of the same kind might be made, if the utility of the first should recommend it.

Perhaps it will be said, that this money, not being a legal tender, would not answer the purpose of borrowers, by paying their debts, nor get at all into circulation. To this I answer, that it would not answer the purpose of those who want to pay their debts with half nothing, and cheat their creditors; nor do I wish to see any thing attempted that would produce that effect. But I affirm, that it would get better into circulation than by a tender-law, which creates general and just suspicion. Tender-laws, as has been already proved, may be made use of by deceitful persons to do particular acts of injustice, but are not sufficient to procure general circulation, nor to excite and reward industry, without the opinion and approbation of the public. Such money, as I have described, would excite no alarm; it might easily be tried. It should in my opinion, certainly be tried, for all would know, that it would pay every tax to government, and even borrowers of large sums might make

trial of it, without any risk at all, because, if it would not answer their end, they might, after a few months, repay it, and take up their mortgage. But I cannot help thinking, that the principles of it are so just, and the plan so certain, that all understanding persons would perceive and approve it.

I must here take the occasion and the liberty of saying, that it were greatly to be wished that those who have in their hands the administration of affairs, in the several states of America, would take no measures, either on this, or any other subject, but what are founded upon justice, supported by reason, and warranted to be safe by the experience of former ages, and of other countries. The operation of political causes is as uniform and certain as that of natural causes. And any measure, which in itself has a bad tendency, though its effects may not be instantly discernible, and their progress may be but slow, yet it will be infallible; and perhaps the danger will then only appear when a remedy is impossible. This is the case, in some degree, with all political measures, without exception; yet I am mistaken if it is not eminently so, with respect to commercial dealings. Commerce is excited, directed, and carried on by interest. But do not mistake this; it is not carried on by general universal interest, nor even by well-informed national interest, but by immediate, apparent, and sensible personal interest. I must also observe, that there is in mankind a sharp-sightedness upon this subject that is quite astonishing. All men are not philosophers; but they are generally good judges of their own profit in what is immediately before them, and will uniformly adhere to it. It is not uncommon to see a man who appears to be almost as stupid as a stone, and yet he shall be as adroit and dextrous in making a bargain, or even more

so, than a man of the first-rate understanding, who, probably for that very reason, is less attentive to trifling circumstances, and less under the government of mean and selfish views. As to currency, which has been our general subject, if coins of any particular species happen, as is sometimes the case, to pass at a rate, ever so little higher, in one country or corner of a country, than another, thither they will immediately direct their course; and if the matter is not attended to, nor the mistake rectified, they will be all there in a very short time, and the place which receives them, must bear the loss.

I will now sum up, in single propositions, the substance of what has been asserted, and I hope sufficiently proved, in the preceding discourse.

1. It ought not to be imputed to accident or caprice, that gold, silver, and copper, formerly were, and the two first continue to be, the medium of commerce; but to their inherent value, joined with other properties, that fit them for circulation. Therefore, all the speculations, formed upon a contrary supposition, are inconclusive and absurd.

2. Gold and silver are far from being in too small quantity, at present, for the purpose of a circulating-medium, in the commercial nations. The last of them, viz. silver, seems rather to be in too great quantity, so as to become inconvenient for transportation.

3. The people of every nation will get the quantity of these precious metals, that they are entitled to by their industry, and no more. If by any accident, as plunder in war, or borrowing from other nations, or even finding it in mines, they get more, they will not be able to keep it. It will, in a short time, find its level. Laws against exporting the coin, will not prevent this. Laws of this kind, though they are

still in force in some nations, supposed to be wise, yet are in themselves ridiculous. If you import more than you export, you must pay the balance, or give up the trade.

4. The quantity of gold and silver at any time in a nation, is no evidence of national wealth, unless you take into consideration the way in which it came there, and the probability of its continuing.

5. No paper of any kind is, properly speaking, money. It ought never to be made a legal tender. It ought not to be forced upon any body, because it cannot be forced upon every body.

6. Gold and silver, fairly acquired, and likely to continue, are real national, as well as personal wealth. If twice as much paper circulates with them, though in full credit, particular persons may be rich by possessing it, but the nation in general is not.

7. The cry of the scarcity of money, is generally putting the effect for the cause. No business can be done, say some, because money is scarce. It may be said with more truth, money is scarce, because little business is done. Yet their influence, like that of many other causes, and effects, is reciprocal.

8. The quantity of current money, of whatever kind, will have an effect in raising the price of industry, and bringing goods dearer to market, therefore the increase of the currency in any nation, by paper, which will not pass among other nations, makes the first cost of every thing they do greater, and of consequence, the profit less.

9. It is, however, possible, that paper obligations may so far facilitate commerce, and extend credit, as, by the additional industry, that they excite, to overbalance the injury which they do in other respects. Yet even the good itself may be overdone. Too much money may be emitted even

upon loan; but to emit money any other way, than upon loan, is to do all evil, and no good.

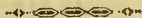
10. The excessive quantity of paper emitted by the different states of America, will probably be a loss to the whole. They cannot, however, take advantage of one another in that way. That state which emits most, will lose most, and vice versa.

11. I can see no way in which it can do good but one, which is, to deter other nations from trusting us, and thereby lessen our importations; and I sincerely wish, that in that way, it may prove in some degree a remedy for its own evils.

12. Those who refuse doubtful paper, and thereby disgrace it, or prevent its circulation, are not enemies but friends to their country.

To draw to a conclusion, it is probable that those who perceive, which it will be easy to do, that the author of this tract is not a merchant or trader by profession, will be ready to say, what has this gentleman to do with such a subject? Why should he write upon what he has no practical knowledge of, money and commerce? To these I answer, that I have written, not as a merchant, but as a scholar. I profess to derive my opinions from the best civilians of this and the last age, and from the history of all ages, joined with a pretty considerable experience and attention to the effects of political causes, within the sphere of my own observation. It is not even too much to say, that one of the mercantile profession, unless his views were very enlarged indeed, is not so proper to handle a general subject of this kind, as some others. His attention is usually confined to the business, and to the branch of that business, in which he is employed. In that his discernment will be clear; and he will find out, if possible, where he can buy cheapest and sell dearest. But as to the theory of commerce, or the great objects of

national interest or connexion, he can have no advantage at all over a person given to study and reflexion, who has some acquaintance with public life. With these remarks, by way of apology, and having no interest in the matter but what is common to every citizen, I freely commit the whole to the judgment of the impartial public.



Account of the life and death of Edward Drinker, who died on the 17th of November, 1782. In a letter to a friend: said to have been written by Benjamin Rush, M. D. &c.

EDWARD DRINKER was born on the 24th of December, 1680, in a small cabin, near the present corner of Walnut and Second-streets, in the city of Philadelphia. His parents came from a place called Beverly, in Massachusetts-bay. The banks of the Delaware, on which the city of Philadelphia now stands, were inhabited, at the time of his birth, by Indians, and a few Swedes and Hollanders. He has often talked to his companions of picking whortle berries, and catching rabbits, on spots now the most improved and populous of the city. He recollected the second time William Penn came to Pennsylvania, and used to point to the place where the cabin stood, in which he and his friends, that accompanied him, were accommodated, upon their arrival. At twelve years of age he went to Boston, where he served his apprenticeship to a cabinet-maker. In the year 1745, he returned to Philadelphia, with his family, where he lived until the time of his death. He was four times married, and had eighteen children, all of whom were by his first wife. At one time of his life, he sat down, at his own table, with fourteen of his children. Not long before

his death, he heard of the birth of a grandchild, to one of his grandchildren, the fifth in succession to himself.

He retained all his faculties till the last year of his life. Even his memory, so early and so generally diminished by age, was but little impaired. He not only remembered the incidents of his childhood or youth*, but the events of latter

NOTE.

* It is remarkable that the incidents of childhood and youth are seldom remembered or called forth until old age. I have sometimes been led, from this and other circumstances, to suspect, that nothing is ever lost that is lodged in the memory, however it may be buried for a time by a variety of causes. How often do we find the transactions of early life, which we had reason to suppose were lost from the mind for ever, revived in our memories by certain accidental sights or sounds, particularly by certain notes or airs in music? I have known a young man speak French fluently, when drunk, that could not put two sentences of that language together, when sober. He had been taught perfectly, when a boy, but had forgotten it from disuse. The countess of L—v—l was nursed by a Welsh woman, from whom she learned to speak her language, which she soon forgot, after she had acquired the French, which was her mother tongue. In the delirium of a fever many years afterwards, she was heard to mutter words which none of her family or attendants understood. An old Welsh woman came to see her, who soon perceived that the sounds which were so unintelligible to the family, were the Welsh language. When she recovered, she could not recollect a single word of the language she had spoken in her sickness. I can conceive great advantages may

years; and so faithful was his memory to him, that his son has informed me he never heard him tell the same story twice, but to different persons, and in different companies. His eyesight failed him, many years before his death, but his hearing was uniformly perfect and unimpaired. His appetite was good till within a few days before his death. He generally eat a hearty breakfast of a pint of tea or coffee, as soon as he got out of his bed, with bread and butter in proportion. He eat likewise at eleven o'clock, and never failed to eat plentifully at dinner of the grossest solid food. He drank tea in the evening, but never eat any supper; he had lost all his teeth thirty years before his death, which was occasioned, his son says, by drawing excessive hot smoke of tobacco into his mouth; but the want of suitable mastication of his food, did not prevent its speedy digestion, nor impair his health. Whether the gums, hardened by age, supplied the place of his teeth in a certain degree, or whether the juices of the mouth and stomach became so much more acrid by time, as to perform the office of dissolving the food more speedily and more perfectly, I know not, but I have often observed, that old people are most disposed to excessive eating, and that they suffer fewest inconveniences from it. He was inquisitive after news in the last years of his life. His education did not lead him to increase the stock of his ideas any other way. But it is a fact well worth attending to, that old age, instead of diminishing, always increases the desire of knowledge. It must

NOTE.

be derived from this retentive power in our memories, in the advancement of the mind towards perfection in knowledge (so essential to its happiness) in a future world.

afford some consolation to those who expect to be old, to discover, that the infirmities to which the decays of nature expose the human body, are rendered more tolerable by the enjoyments that are to be derived from the appetite for sensual and intellectual food.

He was remarkably sober and temperate. Neither hard labour, nor company, nor the usual afflictions of human life, nor the wastes of nature, ever led him to an improper or excessive use of strong drink. For the last twenty-five years of his life, he drank twice every day of toddy, made with two table spoons full of spirit, in half a pint of water. His son, a man of fifty nine years of age, told me that he had never seen him intoxicated. The time and manner in which he used spiritous liquors, I believe, contributed to lighten the weight of his years, and probably to prolong his life. "Give wine to him that is of a heavy heart, and strong drink to him that is ready to perish with age, as well as with sickness. Let him drink and forget his sorrow, and remember his misery no more."

He enjoyed an uncommon share of health, inasmuch that in the course of his long life, he never was confined more than three days to his bed. He often declared, that he had no idea of that most distressing pain, called the head ach. His sleep was interrupted a little in the last years of his life with a defluction on his breast, which produced what is commonly called the old man's cough.

The character of this aged citizen was not summed up in his negative quality of temperance; he was a man of the most amiable temper; old age had not curdled his blood; he was uniformly chearful and kind to every body; his religious principles were as steady, as his morals were pure. He attended public worship about thirty years in the rev. dr. Sproat's church, and died in a full assurance

of a happy immortality. The life of this man is marked with several circumstances which perhaps have seldom occurred in the life of an individual; he saw and heard more of those events which are measured by time, than have ever been seen or heard by any man since the age of the patriarchs; he saw the same spot of earth, which, at one period of his life, was covered with wood and bushes, and the receptacle of beasts and birds of prey, afterwards become the seat of a city not only the first in wealth and arts in the new, but rivalling in both, many of the first cities in the old world. He saw regular streets, where he once pursued a hare; he saw churches rising upon morasses, where he had often heard the croaking of frogs; he saw wharfs and warehouses, where he had often seen Indian savages draw fish from the river for their daily subsistence; and he saw ships of every size and use, in those streams, where he had often seen nothing but Indian canoes; he saw a stately edifice, filled with legislators, astonishing the world with their wisdom and virtue, on the same spot, probably, where he had seen an Indian council fire; he saw the first treaty ratified between the newly confederated powers of America and the ancient monarchy of France, with all the formalities of parchment and seals, on the same spot, probably, where he once saw William Penn ratify his first and last treaty with the Indians, without the formality of pen, ink, or paper; he saw all the intermediate stages through which a people pass, from the most simple to the highest degree of civilization. He saw the beginning and end of the empire of Great-Britain in Pennsylvania. He had been the subject of seven successive crowned heads, and afterwards became a willing citizen of a republic; for he embraced the liberties and independence of America in his withered arms, and

triumphed in the last year of his life, in the salvation of his country.



Letter from dr. Franklin to a friend, containing an account of a remarkable whirlwind.

Philadelphia, Aug. 25, 1755.

DEAR SIR,

AS you have my former papers on whirlwinds, &c. I now send you an account of one which I had lately an opportunity of seeing and examining myself.

Being in Maryland, riding with col. Tasker, and some other gentlemen, to his country seat, where I and my son were entertained by that amiable and worthy man with great hospitality and kindness, we saw in the vale below us, a small whirlwind beginning in the road, and shewing itself by the dust it raised and contained. It appeared in the form of a sugar-loaf, spinning on its point, moving up the hill towards us, and enlarged as it came forward. When it passed by us, its smaller part, near the ground, appeared no bigger than a common barrel, but widening upwards, it seemed, at 40 or 50 feet high, to be 20 or 30 feet in diameter. The rest of the company stood looking after it, but my curiosity being stronger, I followed it, riding close by its side, and observed its licking up, in its progress, all the dust that was under its smaller part. As it is a common opinion that a shot, fired through a water spout, will break it, I tried to break this little whirlwind, by striking my whip frequently through it, but without any effect. Soon after, it quitted the road, and took into the woods, growing every moment larger and stronger, raising, instead of dust, the old dry leaves with which the ground was thickly covered, and making a noise with them and the branches of trees, bending some tall trees round in a circle, swiftly and very surprisingly, though the progressive motion of the whirl was not

so swift but that a man on foot might have kept pace with it, but the circular motion was amazingly rapid. By the leaves it was now filled with, I could plainly perceive that the current of air they were driven by, moved upwards in a spiral line; and when I saw the passing whirl continue entire, after leaving the trunks and bodies of large trees which it had enveloped, I no longer wondered that my whip had no effect on it in its smaller state. I accompanied it about three quarters of a mile, till some limbs of dead trees, broken off by the whirl, flying about, and falling near me, made me more apprehensive of danger; and then I stopped, looking at the top of it as it went on, which was visible, by means of the leaves contained in it, for a very great height above the trees. Many of the leaves, as they got loose from the upper and widest part, were scattered in the wind; but so great was their height in the air, that they appeared no bigger than flies. My son, who was, by this time, come up with me, followed the whirlwind till it left the woods, and crossed an old tobacco-field, where, finding neither dust nor leaves to take up, it gradually became invisible below, as it went away over that field. The course of the general wind, then blowing, was along with us as we travelled, and the progressive motion of the whirlwind was in a direction nearly opposite, tho' it did not keep a strait line, nor was its progressive motion uniform, it making little sallies on either hand as it went, proceeding sometimes faster, and sometimes slower, and seeming sometimes, for a few seconds, almost stationary, then starting forwards, pretty fast again. When we rejoined the company, they were admiring the vast height of the leaves, now brought by the common wind over our heads. These leaves accompanied us as we travelled, some falling now and then round about us, and some not reach-

ing the ground till we had gone near three miles from the place where we first saw the whirlwind begin. Upon my asking col. Tasker if such whirlwinds were common in Maryland, he answered pleasantly, No, not at all common; but we got this on purpose to treat mr. Franklin. And a very high treat it was, to,

Dear sir, your affectionate friend,
and humble servant, B. F.



*Letter from dr. Franklin to a friend,
on the subject of the North-East
storms.*

DEAR SIR, May 12, 1760.

A GREEABLE to your request, I send you my reasons for thinking that our north-east storms in North America begin first, in point of time, in the south-west parts: That is to say, the air in Georgia, the farthest of our colonies to the south-west, begins to move south-westerly before the air of Carolina, which is the next colony north-eastward; the air of Carolina has the same motion before the air of Virginia, which lies still more north-eastward; and so on north-easterly through Pennsylvania, New-York, New-England, &c. quite to Newfoundland.

These north-east storms are generally very violent, continue sometimes two or three days, and often do considerable damage in the harbours along the coast. They are attended with thick clouds and rain.

What first gave me this idea, was the following circumstance. About twenty years ago, a few more or less, I cannot from my memory be certain, we were to have an eclipse of the moon at Philadelphia, on a Friday evening, about nine o'clock. I intended to observe it, but was prevented by a north-east storm, which came on about seven, with thick clouds as usual, that quite obscured the whole hemisphere. Yet when the post brought us the Boston news pa-

per, giving an account of the effects of the same storm in those parts, I found the beginning of the eclipse had been well observed there, though Boston lies N. E. of Philadelphia about 400 miles. This puzzled me, because the storm began with us so soon as to prevent any observation, and being a N. E. storm, I imagined it must have begun rather sooner in places farther to the north-eastward than it did at Philadelphia. I therefore mentioned it in a letter to my brother, who lived at Boston; and he informed me the storm did not begin with them till near eleven o'clock, so that they had a good observation of the eclipse: and upon comparing all the other accounts I received from the several colonies, of the time of the beginning of the same storm, and since that of other storms of the same kind, I found the beginning to be always later the farther north-eastward. I have not my notes with me here in England, and cannot, from memory, say the proportion of time to distance, but I think it is about an hour to every hundred miles.

From thence I formed an idea of the cause of these storms, which I would explain by a familiar instance or two.—Suppose a long canal of water stopped at the end by a gate. The water is quite at rest till the gate is open; then it begins to move out through the gate; the water next the gate is first in motion, and moves towards the gate; the water next to that first water moves next, and so on successively, till the water at the head of the canal is in motion, which is last of all. In this case all the water moves indeed towards the gate, but the successive times of beginning motion are the contrary way, viz. from the gate backwards to the head of the canal. Again, suppose the air in a chamber at rest, no current through the room till you make a fire in the chimney. Immediately the air in the chimney being rarefied by the fire,

rises; the air next the chimney flows in to supply its place, moving towards the chimney; and, in consequence, the rest of the air successively, quite back to the door. Thus to produce our north-east storms, I suppose some great heat and rarefaction of the air in or about the gulph of Mexico; the air thence rising, has its place supplied by the next more northern, cooler, and therefore denser and heavier air; that, being in motion, is followed by the next more northern air, &c. &c. in a successive current, to which current our coast and inland ridge of mountains give the direction of north-east, as they lie N. E. and S. W.

This I offer only as an hypothesis to account for this particular fact; and perhaps, on farther examination, a better and truer may be found. I do not suppose all storms generated in the same manner. Our north-west thunder-gusts in America, I know are not; but of them I have written my opinion fully in a paper which you have seen.

I am, &c.

B. F.



Description of a water-spout.

A SPOUT is a small ragged piece, or part of a cloud, hanging down, about a yard seemingly, from the blackest part thereof. Commonly it hangs down sloping from thence, or sometimes appearing with a small bending, or elbow, in the middle. I never saw any hang perpendicularly down. It is small at the lower end, seeming no bigger than one's arm, but still fuller towards the cloud from whence it proceeds.

When the surface of the sea begins to work, you shall see the water, for about one hundred paces in circumference, foam and move gently round, till the whirling motion increases; and then it flies upwards in a pillar, about one hundred paces in compass, at the bottom, but gra-

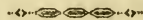
in describing (as well as my memory serves me) the water spout I saw at Antigua; and shall think this, or any other service I can do, well repaid, if it contributes to your satisfaction in so curious a disquisition.

I had often seen water spouts at a distance, and heard many strange stories of them, but never knew any thing satisfactory of their nature or cause, until that which I saw at Antigua; which convinced me that a water-spout is a whirl-wind, which becomes visible in all its dimensions by the water it carries up with it.

There appeared not far from the mouth of the harbour of St. John's, two or three water spouts, one of which took its course up the harbour. Its progressive motion was slow and unequal, not in a strait line, but, as it were, by jerks or starts. When just by the wharf, I stood about 100 yards from it. There appeared in the water a circle of about twenty yards diameter, which, to me, had a dreadful, though pleasing appearance. The water in this circle was violently agitated, being whisked about and carried up into the air with great rapidity and noise, and reflected a lustre, as if the sun shined bright on that spot, which was more conspicuous, as there appeared a dark circle around it. When it made the shore, it carried up with the same violence shingles, staves*, large pieces of the roofs of houses, &c. and one small wooden house it lifted entire from the foundation on which it stood, and carried to the distance of fourteen feet, where it settled without breaking or oversetting: and, what is remarkable, though the whirlwind moved from west to east, the house

moved from east to west. Two or three negroes and a white woman were killed by the fall of timber, which it carried up into the air, and dropt again. After passing through the town, I believe it was soon dissipated; for, except tearing a large limb from a tree, and part of the cover of a sugar-work near the town, I do not remember any farther damage done by it. I conclude, wishing you success in your enquiry.

And am, &c. W. M.



Remarkable encounter of a white man with two Indians. In a letter to a gentleman of Philadelphia.

Westmoreland, April 26, 1779.

DEAR SIR,

I WROTE you a note a few days ago, in which I promised you the particulars of an affair between a white man of this county, and two Indians: now I mean to relate the whole story, and it is as follows:

The white man is upwards of sixty years of age; his name is David Morgan, a kinsman to col. Morgan, of the rifle battalion. This man had, through fear of the Indians, fled to a fort about twenty miles above the province line, and near the east side of Monongahela river. From thence he sent some of his younger children to his plantation, which was about a mile distant, there to do some business in the field. He afterwards thought fit to follow, and see how they fared. Getting to his field, and seating himself upon the fence, within view of his children, where they were at work, he espied two Indians making towards them; on which he called to his children to make their escape, for there were Indians. The Indians immediately bent their course towards him. He made the best haste to escape away, that his age and consequent infirmity would permit; but soon found he would be overtaken, which made him think of defence.

NOTE.

* I suppose shingles, staves, timber, and other lumber, might be lying in quantities on the wharf, for sale, as brought from the northern colonies.

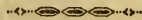
B. F.

Being armed with a good rifle, he faced about, and found himself under the necessity of running four or five perches towards the Indians, in order to obtain shelter behind a tree of sufficient size.

This unexpected manœuvre obliged the Indians, who were close by, to stop where they had but small timber to shelter behind, which gave Mr. Morgan an opportunity of shooting one of them dead upon the spot. The other, taking the advantage of Morgan's empty gun, advanced upon him, and put him to flight a second time, and being lighter of foot than the old man, soon came up within a few paces, when he fired at him, but fortunately missed him. On this Mr. Morgan faced about again, to try his fortune, and clubbed his firelock. The Indian by this time had got his tomahawk in order for a throw, at which they are very dextrous. Morgan made the blow, and the Indian the throw, almost at the same instant, by which the little finger was cut off Morgan's left hand, and the one next to it almost off, and his gun broke off by the lock. Now they came to close grips. Morgan put the Indian down; but soon found himself overturned, and the Indian upon him, feeling for his knife, and yelling most hideously, as their manner is when they look upon victory to be certain. However, a woman's apron, which the Indian had plundered out of a house in the neighbourhood, and tied on him, above his knife, was now in his way, and so hindered him getting at it quickly, that Morgan got one of his fingers fast in his mouth, and deprived him of the use of that hand, by holding it, and disconcerted him considerably by chewing it; all the while observing how he would come on with his knife. At length the Indian had got hold of his knife, but so far towards the blade, that Morgan got a small hold of the hinder end; and as the Indian pulled

it out of the scabbard, Morgan giving his finger a severe screw with his teeth, twitched it out through his hand, cutting it most grievously. By this time they were both got partly on their feet, and the Indian was endeavouring to disengage himself; but Morgan held fast by the finger, and quickly applied the point of the knife to the side of its savage owner; a bone happening in the way, prevented its penetrating any great depth, but a second blow directed more towards the belly, found free passage into his bowels. The old man turned the point upwards, made a large wound, burying the knife therein, and so took his departure instantly to the fort, with the news of his adventure.

On the report of Mr. Morgan, a party went out from the fort, and found the first Indian where he fell; the second they found not yet dead, at one hundred yards distance from the scene of action, hid in the top of a fallen tree, where he had picked the knife out of his body, after which had come out parched corn, &c. and had bound up his wound with the apron aforementioned; and on first sight he saluted them with, How do do, broder, how do do, broder? but alas! poor savage, their brotherhood to him extended only to tomahawking, scalping, and, to gratify some peculiar feelings of their own, skinning them both; and they have their skins now in preparation for drum heads.



Maxims for republics.

1. **T**HERE is a material difference between the principles and form of a government. We judge of the principles of a government by our feelings—of its form by our reason. The bulk of mankind are judges of the principles of a government, whether it be free and happy. Men of education and reflexion on-

ly, are judges of the form of a government, whether it be calculated to promote the happiness of society, by restraining arbitrary power and licentiousness—by excluding corruption—and by giving the utmost possible duration to the enjoyment of liberty, or otherwise. Forms in government, are not like forms in religion. They are essential to the very existence of freedom in a government. There cannot be a greater mistake, therefore, than Mr. Pope's position, that "that form of government is best, which is best administered."

2. There is a wide difference between power being derived from the people, and being seated in the people. The former proposition cannot be too often inculcated in a free country. Disorder and tyranny must ensue from all power being seated in the bulk of the people.

3. The great art of government, says the bishop of St. Asaph, is, not to govern too much.—This excellent maxim should be written in golden characters over the door of every state-house.

4. The opinions of the people at large, are often erroneous—their feelings are generally right.

5. Some men think that tyranny can be opposed only in the person of a king, but this is a mistake. The "*ardor civium prava jurentium*" is as much to be dreaded as the "*vultus instantis tyranni*." There are men who are undaunted in their opposition to a single tyrant, but are, notwithstanding, the slaves of the prejudices and passions of the people.

6. It is wrong, to measure a man's love of liberty by his zeal, or by the degrees of hunger and cold he has endured in serving his country. Who fought and suffered more than Cromwell; and yet in what history of mankind shall we find a worse man? There were, in former times, martyrs

to religion without charity—so there are, in all countries, martyrs to liberty without patriotism.

7. The great source of all the evils which afflict republics, is, that we are too apt to make choice of rulers, who are either politicians without being patriots, or patriots without being politicians.

8. The science of government is the most sublime (next to religion) of any science in the world. It relates to that most complicated of all God's works, the mind of man. It is less understood than astronomy; and yet where do we find a man so modest, as not to think himself equal to every branch of it! We know no more of taxes—commerce—war—and crimes and punishments—as objects of legislation, than was known five hundred years ago. We read history, not to avoid, but to imitate the blunders of antiquity.

9. A good husband—a good father—and a good master, are proper characters for a monarchy, where selfishness reigns in proportion to the degrees of tyranny. A good citizen is the highest character for a man in a republic. The first duty we owe is to God—the second to our country—and the third to our families. The man who inverts the gradation of these duties, breaks in upon the order of nature, established by God for the happiness and freedom of the world.

10. It is of the utmost importance, that the women should be well instructed in the principles of liberty, in a republic. Some of the first patriots of ancient times, were formed by their mothers. The strength and union of parties—the ambition—the wealth and even the popularity of individuals, should be carefully watched and properly restrained in all republics. There is a species of charity to the poor, which is dangerous to the liberties of a community. The people of Rome were

corrupted by large presents of corn. The effects of excessive popularity in an individual, are still more to be dreaded in a republic. The ostracism of Athens was instituted to prevent the great danger to liberty which arose from that quarter.

12. Fear is the principle of despotic governments—honour of monarchies—but virtue alone should be the ruling principle in republics. Laws, and not opinions, should govern in all free countries. The resentment of individuals should vent itself only through courts of justice, and never through the medium of scurrility, clubs, or duels. This last monarchical custom of deciding disputes, or avenging injuries, was unknown to the republican army of Oliver Cromwell—and has never been able to gain a footing in the republics of Switzerland.

13. Every man in power will be a tyrant as far as he dares to be so. The best principles will not save the heart from the corruption of high office. Cromwell's army was composed of republicans and saints, and yet they oversat the civil power of their country. Nothing but a frequent rotation in the first offices in a republic can preserve or perpetuate its liberty.

SIDNEY.



Sermon on the combat of the duel. By the rev. William Macfee, a chaplain of the army. Preached at the camp, at Valley-Forge, Feb. 1778.

Two men of the Hebrews strive together. Exodus i.

THE sacred book abounds with several instances of duels. The first that we read of, is, that of Cain and Abel; where the elder brother sent a challenge to the younger, because his sacrifice had been more acceptable to the Lord. They met, and

Abel fell, having received the end of a club, as is generally supposed, somewhere above his right temple.

The second instance, of which we read, is that of the text; where two young Hebrews had met, with their seconds, to decide a small difference, but what it was, has perplexed all commentators. Moses, like a young man as he was, endeavoured to quiet their resentment to each other, or to overcome it, by putting them in mind that they were brethren. The conduct of the young man was indiscreet, and he received a proper check by the rebuke of the two bricklayers.

The next instance that we read of, is, that of a young officer of a bear who sent a challenge to young David, who reported that he was fond of eating sheep; which calumny, true or false, it behoved him, as a bear of honour, to resent. David met him, and, having discharged their pistols, they took to the points, and in the scuffle while the bear had thrown himself too far forward, in attempting a lunge, David caught him by the beard, and smote him through the body.

Having given these few instances from scripture. I shall go on to shew the necessity of the duel, and then to press it a little on my audience.

It is necessary. For it is not every man that has the command of his passions; and these, unless they are suffered to evaporate in some manner, will burst out into robberies, and burglaries, and do damage to society. The passion of pride is one of the most troublesome amongst men, and to this there is nothing so powerful an antidote as fear, which never fails to be excited when the challenge comes to hand. The duel is like an electrical conductor to all evil passions. The man who this moment was boiling hot, with pride and every haughty passion, is now calm and moderate, for somebody

has sent him a challenge. It is the only misfortune that this very principle of fear prevents the certainty of the execution: for by giving a trembling to the hand, it comes to pass, that very few are wounded, and still fewer fall in the combat. To remedy this, I would propose, that the duellists should stand nearer, and put their noses into each other's barrels, while the pistols are discharged. Swift says, "He should be sorry to see the legislatures make any more laws against duelling, for if villains and rascals will dispatch one another, it is for the good of the community." But the misfortune is, they will not dispatch one another; for this principle of fear, and the distance at which they stand, prevents any shot being effectual.

The philosophers of the former time, and the ecclesiastics of the present, are against duelling, forsooth, because by study and thinking, their warm passions are rendered tame, and they have no need of blood-letting; but they do not consider, that there are many others, who, if they were not suffered to give themselves vent this way, would rage and roar like mad bears, and set the world on fire.

Having now seen the necessity of this exercise, it remains that I press it a little on my audience. Who is there amongst you that did not praise the corporal the other day, who having observed something like a smile on the countenance of his neighbour, and not being able to assign the cause of it, sent him a challenge. The corporal, it is true, received a ball through the rim of his belly, and was buried that evening; but it is his consolation, that he is now with the angel Michael in Abraham's bosom.

When I mention the angel Michael, it brings to my mind the circumstance of the devil sending him a challenge. But, according to the apostle Jude, he (that is Michael)

durst not accept of it, or, as it is in the translation, "bring a railing accusation" but said, "the Lord rebuke thee." I do not know what to say for Michael, for certainly it must be granted, that, in this instance, he acted not like an angel of honour.

The only objection that I know of against the practice of the duel, and with an answer to which I shall conclude, is, that in the new testament it is considerably discouraged by the spirit of forbearance, inculcated in these words, "If any man smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also." But to this it is to be said, that "the pilot of the Galilean lake," as Milton calls him (for I know my business better than to speak plainly out, and to say "Christ," in an army) the pilot of the Galilean lake, I say, and his apostles, among whose discourses and writings, sentiments like these are found, were not what we call men of honour. Bred up about the sea of Tiberias, they had not the best opportunity, by travelling, to become acquainted with the world. Nay, our Saviour himself plainly tells you so, "Verily I say unto you, my kingdom is not of this world." Now, as men of honour never propose to go into his kingdom, why shall they frame themselves agreeable to its customs? It is absurd; and while they live in this world, let them live as becomes men that know the world; and when they go to the devil, let them send challenges as he has done, and fight duels according to his dictates.



Letter from Mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary from the united states at the court of Versailles, to Dr. David Ramsay.

Paris, October 27, 1786.

DEAR SIR,

HAVING observed the immense consumption of rice in this country, it became matter of

wonder to me, why so few ships come here with that article from South Carolina and Georgia. The information I received on my first enquiries, was, that little Carolina rice came here, because it was less clean and less good than what is brought from the Levant. Further enquiry, however, has satisfied me of the inexactitude of this information. The case is as follows : about one half the rice consumed in France, is from Carolina : the other half is from Piedmont. The Piedmont rice is thought, by connoisseurs, to be best *au gras* ; the Carolina rice best *au lait* : yet the superior whiteness of the latter is so much more pleasing to the eye, as to compensate with many purchasers its deficiency in quality. Carolina rice sells at Havre, by wholesale, at 22, 23, and 24 livres, the French quintal ; the livre being 10d. sterling ; and the French quintal 109lb. English. At the approach of Lent, it rises to 27 livres. It is retailed in Paris, at from six to ten sous the French pound, according to its quality, being sorted. Piedmont rice sells always at ten sous (5d. sterling) the pound. In the wholesale, it is three or four livres the quintal dearer than Carolina rice ; this would supplant that of Piedmont, if brought in sufficient quantity, and to France directly ; but it is first carried and deposited in England : and it is the merchant of that country who sends it here, drawing a great profit himself, while the commodity is moreover subjected to the expenses of a double voyage. You will perceive, by the enclosed letter,* that government here is disposed to encourage its importation. I think they will receive it duty free, or under a very light duty, barely sufficing to indicate

the quantity imported. When I compare the price of this article here, with what it is in London or Charleston, I cannot help hoping the difference will be sufficient to draw to this country immediately what its consumption would call for. It must come to Havre or Rouen, and must arrive there in time to reach Paris by the first of February, that is to say, a month before the *careme*, as most persons lay in their provision of rice during that period ; this condition is so indispensable, that it certainly loses its sale, if it arrives later. I send you some specimens of the different kinds of rice sold here. If by making known these details, you think the intercourse between our country and this may be improved, I am sure you will take on yourself the trouble of doing it, no body being more sensible than you are, of the motives, both moral and political, which should induce us to bind the two countries together by as many ties as possible, of interest and affection.



Richmond, June 7.

An address of the convention of the protestant episcopal church in Virginia, to the members of that church.

WE, your pastors and lay deputies, in convention assembled, have, by the favour of divine providence, and according to the privilege secured by the laws of our country to every society of christians, of managing its own temporal concerns, and of regulating its discipline and worship, instituted certain fundamental canons, made necessary by the repeal of the incorporating act, and have framed rules for the order, discipline, and worship of our church. We think, however, that to discharge fully the duty we owe on this occasion to God and to you, it is incumbent on us briefly to put you in mind of some things which remain for you

NOTE.

* See American Museum, Vol. I. page 200.

to do, and to which, if you do not attend, all our labours here must be ineffectual. To render our church truly respectable, and our institutions of service to the cause of christianity, a general and regular attendance on public worship, and practice of piety and morality, in all times and in all places, are indispensable. This is so obvious, that we trust, we need only mention it to you. A moderate but adequate provision for your pastors is another thing which must claim your attention and exertions. Both scripture and common-sense point out this to be your duty, and the omission of it involves consequences, which no real christian can think of without horror. The want of proper teachers must be the effect of this omission; and ignorance and error with all their train of evils will follow. The very idea of being the authors of so great an injury to the temporal and eternal concerns of mankind, must rouse and alarm you, and we trust will excite your most serious endeavours to provide for the preservation of the pure doctrines of religion. The general affairs of our church also require from you a small contribution. We have been careful to frame our constitutions of a nature as simple and unexpensive as possible, but we could not constitute a church, which would call for no support from its members. Recommending these things to your attention, and you to the Almighty guidance and protection, we are your affectionate brethren in Christ.



On the use of oxen in husbandry.

THE use of horses in husbandry would not be so general here, if farmers would think for themselves. That oxen would be of equal utility (beast for beast) in point of working, is a fact decided by the experience of old countries. This being granted, the four following proofs of the superior

convenience and profit of cattle, must give them an undoubted preference.

1st. To a new settler, the cost of stocking his farm with oxen is much less than with horses.

2d. The facility of feeding oxen also gives them the preference—they will eat a coarser food than horses, and consume less in quantity.

3d. They are more hardy, and less subject to disease; and they can better endure labour, inclemency of weather, and the unavoidable exposure in new settlements.

4th. With loss of sight, old age, or broken limbs, they will command, if fat, a price equal to the original value.

As the strength of your cattle, and their value to the butcher, depend entirely on their shape, strict attention must be observed in the choice of your breeding stock. The form which should be the criterion of a cow, bull, or ox, is that of a hog's head, nearly circular, with small, and as short legs as possible: The smaller the bones, the truer will be the make of the beast—the quicker it will fatten—and the weight, we may easily conceive, will have a larger proportion of valuable meat. Flesh, not bone, is the butcher's object; and strength, not size, is the farmer's.

To make the ox most serviceable, you must begin with it when a calf; handle it frequently, treat it gently, and feed it well. If you have room, it should be housed with your cows, and should have a separate stall, early. It must be broken to labour by degrees, and early put into harness;* but only used as leader to a light load for a year, before it shares the labour of a farm. The slowness of an ox

NOTE.

* By this means, their strength is entirely applied to the draft of the load, and not divided as with yokes.

appears to be the only objection ; and this will be effectually removed by the above treatment and care, in breaking them.

Should the above only induce a few to adopt the use of cattle, experience of their superior utility, must make it general.

Directions for raising flax on old ground.

LET your land run over with grass, until the month of June ; then plough it in, and dung the ground with sheep's dung, or yard your sheep upon it ; plough it eight or nine times more before winter. Early in the succeeding spring, plough it three times more, and at the last time, plough in your seed with some ashes, if you have any ; roll a roller over the ground, to beat it down hard, and make it smooth.

To impregnate the ground with nitrous salts, and generate proper nourishment for the growth of the flax ; let the ploughing be done early in the morning, before the dew is off by the exhalation of the sun. Wet land, where the water stands in the spring, or after a heavy rain, ought not to be ploughed until it is dry.

The ploughing of the land often prevents the generation of devouring insects. Part of the ground may be sown as early as the season will admit, and the rest at or near the full moon in May ; you may expect a good crop from both parts ; but if one should fail, you will, in all probability, have a good one from the other.

AGRICOLANUS.

The origin of tobacco: by Dr. Franklin.

A Swedish minister took occasion to inform the chiefs of the Salsquehannah Indians, in a kind

of sermon, of the principal historical facts on which the christian religion is founded ; and particularly the fall of our first parents, by eating an apple. When the sermon was over, an old Indian orator replied, “ what you have told us is very good ; we thank you for coming so far to tell us those things you have heard from your mothers ; in return, we will tell you what we heard from ours.

“ In the beginning, we had only flesh of animals to eat ; and if they failed, we starved ; two of our hunters, having killed a deer, and broiled a part of it, saw a young woman descend from the clouds, and seat herself on a hill hard by. Said one to the other, “ It is a spirit, perhaps, that has smelt our venison ; let us offer some of it to her.” They accordingly gave her the tongue ; she was pleased with its flavour, and said, your kindness shall be rewarded ; come here thirteen moons hence, and you will find it.” They did so, and found, where her right hand had touched the ground, maize growing ; where her left hand had been, kidney-beans ; and where her back-side had been, they found tobacco.” The Swedish minister was disgusted. “ What I told you, said he, is sacred truth : yours is fable, fiction, and falsehood.” The Indian, offended in his turn, replied, “ My friend, your education has not been a good one ; your mothers have not done you justice ; they have not well instructed you in the rules of common civility. You saw that we, who understand and practice these rules, believed all your stories ; why then do you refuse to believe ours ? We believe, indeed, as you have told us, that it is bad to eat apples ; it had been better that they had all been made into cyder ; but we would not have told you so, had you not disbelieved the method by which we first obtained maize, kidney-beans and tobacco.”

The way to make money plenty in every man's pocket. By doctor Franklin.

AT this time, when the general complaint is, that "money is scarce," it will be an act of kindness to inform the moneyless, how they may reinforce their pockets. I will acquaint them with the true secret of money-catching—the certain way to fill empty purses—and how to keep them always full. Two simple rules, well observed, will do the business.

1. Let honesty and industry be thy constant companions: and,

2. Spend one penny less than thy clear gains.

Then shall thy hide-bound pockets soon begin to thrive, and will never again cry with the empty belly ache: neither will creditors insult thee, nor want oppress, nor hunger bite, nor nakedness freeze thee. The whole hemisphere will shine brighter, and pleasure spring up in every corner of thy heart. Now, therefore, embrace these rules and be happy. Banish the bleak winds of sorrow from thy mind, and live independent; then shalt thou be a man, and not hide thy face at the approach of the rich, nor suffer the pain of feeling little when the sons of fortune walk at thy right hand; for independency, whether with little or much, is good fortune, and placeth thee on even ground with the proudest of the golden fleece. Oh, then, be wise! and let industry walk with thee in the morning, and attend thee until thou reachest the evening hour for rest. Let honesty be as the breath of thy soul, and never forget to have a penny, when all thy expenses are enumerated and paid; then shalt thou reach the point of happiness, and independence shall be thy shield and buckler—thy helmit and crown; then shall thy soul walk upright, nor stoop to the silken wretch, because he hath riches, nor pocket an abuse, because the hand which offers it, wears a ring set with diamonds.

Height of different giants.

BYRNE, the Irish giant, who lately died in London, measured 8 feet 2 inches.

Cornelius Magrath, who died in the year 1760, measured 7 feet 8 inches.

Edward Malone, another Irishman, was 7 feet 7 inches, and was nearly equal in stature and size to Daniel Cardanus, the Swedish giant.

The celebrated dr. Cheselden, the famous anatomist, speaks of a skeleton, discovered in a Roman camp near St. Albans, and near to an urn, inscribed *Marcus Antoninus*, which he judged to have been 8 feet 4 inches.

Goliath, of Gath, the champion of the Philistines (who was slain by David) measured 6 cubits and a span, which, according to bishop Cumberland, is 11 feet English.

Maximinus, the emperor, was 9 feet high; and in the reign of Augustus, there were said to be many others as tall.



A curious account of dress in England in the fourteenth century.

WHAT could exhibit a more fantastical appearance than an English beau of the fourteenth century? He wore long pointed shoes, fastened to his knees by gold or silver chains: hose of one colour on one leg, and of another colour on the other; short breeches, which did not reach to the middle of his thighs and disclosed the shape of all the parts included in them, a coat one half white, and the other half black or blue; a long beard; a silk hood buttoned under his chin, embroidered with grotesque figures of animals, &c. gold, silver, and precious stones. This dress was the very top of the mode in the reign of Edward the third.

The dress of the gay and fashionable ladies, who frequented the public diversions of those times, was not more decent and becoming. It

is thus described by Knyghton, A. D. 1348. These tournaments are attended by many ladies of the first rank and greatest beauty, but not always of the most untainted reputation. These ladies are dressed in party-coloured tunics, one half being of one colour and the other half of another. Their lirripoops, or tippets, are very short; their caps remarkably little, and wrapt about their heads with cords; their girdles and pouches are ornamented with gold and silver, and they wear short swords, called daggers, before them, a little below their navels; they are mounted on the finest horses, with the richest furniture. Thus equipped, they ride from place to place, in quest of tournaments, by which they dissipate their fortunes, and ruin their reputation. The head-dresses of the ladies underwent many changes in the course of this period. They were some times enormously high, rising almost three feet above the head, in the shape of sugar-loaves, with streamers of fine silk flowing from the top of them to the ground. Upon the whole, I am fully persuaded that we have no good reason to pay any compliments to the people of that period, at the expense of our cotemporaries, either for the frugality, elegance, or decency of their dress.



Instances of the gim crack taste of former times.

IN the sixteenth century, an Italian monk, named Peter Alminus, comprised the acts of the apostles, and the gospel of St. John, within the circumference of a farthing.

An artist endowed with equal patience, presented queen Elizabeth a bit of paper of the size of a finger nail, on which were written the ten commandments, the creed, and the Lord's prayer, together with her ma-

jesty's name, and the date of the year: all the letters of it were easily distinguished by the means of a pair of spectacles, which this artist had himself constructed.

The Iliad of Homer, too, is to be seen written upon vellum, and in so small a compass, that a nut shell contains it.

Jerome Faba, an Italian priest, and a native of Calabria, exercised himself in another species of industry, equally wonderful for its difficulty. He finished a work of box wood, which represented all the mysteries of the passion, and might be put into the shell of a walnut. To him is likewise attributed a coach of the size of a grain of wheat, within which were to be seen a man and a woman, a coachman who drove it, and horses which drew it. These performances were presented to Francis I. and to Charles V.

Another artist constructed an ivory chariot, which a fly covered with its wings, and a ship also of ivory, with its rigging complete.

Paul Colomus tells us somewhere, that he saw a goldsmith at Moulins, who had chained a living flea, to a gold chain, which contained fifty links, and did not weigh three grains.

Madame de Sevigne likewise mentions in one of her letters, that there was a man in Paris, who, as a masterpiece, had constructed a chariot which was drawn by fleas. The Dauphin, on this occasion, asked the prince of Conti, his cousin, who it was that had made the harness, and was told by him, with a smile, "that it certainly must have been some spider in the neighbourhood."



A very useful custom which prevails in Holland.

THERE are private persons who raise in their gardens the fruits which nature had appointed only to ripen under the line. We have a

thousand wise laws, and a thousand excellent customs at our very doors.—These are the fruits we ought to raise in our own country—these the trees we ought to transplant; they will thrive in every climate, and will prosper in every soil. The most salutary law—the most excellent and the most useful custom I have ever seen, is in Holland. When two persons are about to enter upon a lawsuit, they are first obliged to go before a tribunal of reconciling judges, called peace-makers. If the parties happen to bring with them a lawyer and a counsellor, the first thing done, is to send those gentlemen about their business, as we take off wood from a fire we want to extinguish. The peace-makers tell the parties, “You are certainly great fools to spend your money to procure your own ruin; we will bring you to an accommodation without costing you one farthing.” If the rage of chicane happens to be too violent in the parties, they put them off to another day, in order that time may soften and mitigate the symptoms of their disorder; after the expiration of which time, the judges summon them before them a second and third time. If their folly is of the incurable sort, they promise them they will consent to their having their cause tried in a court of justice, in the same manner as we abandon an incurable member to the surgeon; and then the law has its course.—There is no necessity to make long declamations, or to calculate how much it would be to the advantage of humanity, were this law universally adopted—and besides, I am by no means desirous to follow the traces of the abbe de St. Pierre, whose projects a certain minister, and a man of sense, called the dreams of a worthy man. I know that if a private person of integrity and good sense offers a proposal for the public good, it too often happens that he is abused or laughed at

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for his pains.—“What meddling fellow is this,” some will say, “who pretends to make us happier than we choose to be, and goes about to reform abuses by which so many people get their living?”—What reply can be made to this? for my part I know of none. VOLTAIRE.



Value of various estates in Europe.

THE following enormous estates of a few, contrasted with the deplorable indigence of the multitude in Europe, should afford cause of exultation to every American, at the happy equality and mediocrity so generally prevailing throughout this country:—

The duke of Orleans, when certain reversions centre in his person, will have a rental of sterl. £.	300,000
The prince of Conde has above	200,000
The prince of Conti near	100,000
Comte Sheremeroff	170,000
Prince Lubomitski	110,000
Comte Czernicnew	90,000
Prince Radzivel	80,000
Duke of Medina Sidonia	90,000
Duke of Bedford	70,000
Duke of Marlborough	53,000
Duke of Northumberland	47,000
Duke of Devonshire	36,000
Sir Watkin W. Wynn	35,000



Recipe for the cure of the scurvy, leprosy, &c.

TO THE PRINTER.

SIR,
AS I am conscious of having no other motive in troubling you on this occasion, than the good of my fellow-creatures, I shall make no apology for requesting permission to present the public with a recipe of a most valuable and sovereign remedy, from the vegetable kingdom, which, by ample and extensive experience,

L

rience, has hitherto been found to prove extremely powerful and efficacious, in entirely eradicating, with perfect ease and safety, every species of the scurvy, leprosy, and all disorders whatever, which derive their origin from any impurities of the blood and juices. Those afflicted with the scrophula, vulgarly called the king's evil, though in general an hereditary disease, by duly persevering in the regular use of it, will assuredly find such amazing benefit, as happily to convince them of its great value and utility. In the very worst stages of the true rheumatism, its effects are remarkably successful; and I know not any thing in the whole *materia medica* that bids fairer to prove of infinite service also in the gout. The medicine which, unsolicited, I now lay before the public, is an agreeable vegetable syrup, very easily made, exceedingly pleasant to take, and at the same time so mild and safe in its operation, as not in the least to endanger or disturb the economy of the human frame (which is so often the case with many medicines, that the remedy sometimes proves worse than the disease) attended likewise with the satisfaction of knowing, together with the liberty of freely examining and investigating, upon the true principles of botany, every ingredient of which it is composed: Even with the *Veronica* alone (male speedwell) the great Boerhaave, in his history of plants, declares that he has cured above a hundred diseases; and many of the inhabitants of France can also testify the very powerful and happy effects of that single plant in removing a great variety of disorders.

I have only to observe, that the present season of the year is the most proper time to enter upon a course of the above-mentioned syrup.

July 12.

R E C I P E.

Take of the leaves of male speedwell, four ounces; bark of elder, two

ounces; winter's bark, three ounces; angelica root, sliced thin, half a pound; cumfrey root, fennel root, of each (sliced) four ounces.

Boil these ingredients together in two gallons of salt water, over a slow fire, till one half is consumed; then strain off the decoction into a clean earthen pan, and let it stand all night to settle; in the morning, carefully pour off the liquor from the sediment, and dissolve therein three pounds of treble-refined sugar, and two pounds of virgin honey, which are to be gently simmered into a thin syrup.

The dose is a large tea cup full, night and morning, or rather, in some cases, morning, noon, and night, adding to each dose at the time of taking it, a small tea spoonful of the late celebrated dr. Huxam's essence of antimony, which greatly heightens and improves the virtue of the medicine.



The following is to be inscribed on the monument to be erected in St. Paul's church, in New-York, in memory of the late major-general Montgomery:

THIS MONUMENT
was erected by the order of
CONGRESS, 25th January, 1776,
to transmit to posterity
a grateful remembrance of the
patriotism, conduct, enterprize, and
perseverance
of major-general
RICHARD MONTGOMERY,
who, after a series of success,
amidst the most discouraging
difficulties, fell, in the attack on
Quebec,
31st December, 1775,
aged 39 years.



On the virtues of a billiard table.
NOTHING but the virtue of
the people is wanting to se-
cure and perfect that glorious sys-
tem of jurisprudence, which the wis-

dom of our senators has prescribed, and our arms have secured. Without virtue, freedom is a curse—liberty a loose for licentiousness—and independence breaks down the political moulds, which from necessity might have withstood the torrent of vice.

The natural disposition of mankind, is originally much the same in all nations—external circumstances, influencing that disposition, must be the sources of national characteristics. This influence is acquired first from our passion for novelty, but continued from habit. The passion for novelty is constitutional. Adam and Eve had it in paradise. No man, therefore, can be to blame for possessing it—he is only answerable for his conduct, under the influence of it. Let virtue direct it, and the end is very laudable—it will be attended with glorious effects.

This caused the great improvements in arts during the war, and the refinements in manners, which are visible in and characterise this country. Few nations ever made such rapid strides. The many instances, wherein we have refined upon our former manners in this city, it would be tedious to repeat. I will confine myself to one improvement, whose happy effects, from its novelty, are not universally known. For the benefit of the friends to mental improvement—to the refinement of human nature—and to the happiness of society—the theme of this letter shall be, THE VIRTUES OF A BILLIARD TABLE.

The art of playing dextrously on this table, is one of the most elegant accomplishments of gentlemen of spirit and spunk, in every quarter of the refined world.

There is something in it peculiarly adapted to the happy political constitution of the state. It reduces all to a perfect level. The sot, merchant, cobbler, captain, blacksmith, spruce gallant, pick-pocket, and jockey are all hail-fellows well met, and,

agreeably to the true spirit of republicanism, merit is the only, the true criterion of eminence.

Such a general and promiscuous collection must certainly have a most happy influence upon the gay and thoughtless youths of this city. It was ever a virtue in the young to revere and imitate the aged. Happy for them it is, that here they may follow the example even of those whose grey hairs stimulate them to a redemption of their time, by the constant repetition of *memento mori*.

Idleness is attended with most unhappy consequences in all societies. One essential virtue of the billiard table, is, to open a genteel employment for those who would otherwise have nothing to do; and so happy is the effect, that, when once engaged, the risque of health and interest are scarce sufficient to call aside their *passionate attention*.

By the pleasures of society, and the genial warmth of merry Bacchus, and the flowing bowl, we imbibe the feelings of the patriot and philanthropist.

Are you a moralist? here you may draw a lesson of improvement. A philosopher? here you may apply the principles of your profession. A mathematician? here you may put in practice the rules of your art—the art of levelling—the use of diagonals—the momentum of impinging bodies—the compound direction of oblique forces—the perfect equality of the angles of incidence and reflexion,—with almost the whole science of trigonometry, so useful for seamen.

In short, this excellent employment inspires us with reverence for religion, by frequently addressing, invoking, and calling upon the name of that sacred majesty, who disposes the fortune of our game. To close all, it opens a useful school for the knowledge of human nature—it displays, in the most lively pictures, the

whole catalogue of passions which torture the soul; from the beginning of fear and anxiety, the anguish of grief—and black despair, which ends the wretch in horror.

To the pusillanimous and faint-hearted I whisper, that they need not fear the lash of authority, or the stern hand of power—our wise legislature not only connive at this efficacious accomplishment, and their enlarged consciences not only swallow the pretended camel, but—*mirabile dictu* ! make it a means for the support of government.



Narrative of the adventures of capt. Isaac Stewart; taken from his own mouth in March, 1782.

I WAS taken prisoner about 50 miles to the westward of Fort Pitt, about 18 years ago, by the Indians, and was carried by them to the Wabash, with many more white men, who were executed with circumstances of horrid barbarity; it was my good fortune to call forth the sympathy of Rose, called the good woman of the town, who was permitted to redeem me from the flames, by giving, as my ransom, a horse.

After remaining two years in bondage amongst the Indians, a Spaniard came to the nation, having been sent from Mexico on discoveries. He made application to the chiefs, for redeeming me and another white man in the like situation, a native of Wales, named John Davey; which they complied with, and we took our departure in company with the Spaniard, and travelled to the westward, crossing the Mississippi near la riviere Rouge, or Red River, up which we travelled 700 miles, when we came to a nation of Indians remarkably white, and whose hair was of a reddish colour, at least mostly so; they lived on the banks of a small river that empties itself into the Red River, which is called the River Post. In

the morning of the day after our arrival amongst these Indians, the Welchman informed me, that he was determined to remain with them, giving as a reason that he understood their language, it being very little different from the Welch. My curiosity was excited very much by this information, and I went with my companion to the chief men of the town, who informed him (in a language I had no knowledge of, and which had no affinity to that of any other Indian tongue I ever heard) that their forefathers of this nation came from a foreign country, and landed on the east side of the Mississippi, describing particularly the country now called West-Florida, and that on the Spaniards taking possession of Mexico, they fled to their then abode; and as a proof of the truth of what he advanced, he brought forth rolls of parchment, which were carefully tied up in otter skins, on which were large characters, written with blue ink; the characters I did not understand, and the Welchman being unacquainted with letters, even of his own language, I was not able to know the meaning of the writing. They are a bold, hardy, intrepid people, very warlike, and the women beautiful, when compared with other Indians.

We left this nation, after being kindly treated and requested to remain amongst them, being only two in number, the Spaniard and myself, and we continued our course up the waters of the Red River, till we came to a nation of Indians, called Windots, that never had seen a white man before, and who were unacquainted with the use of fire arms. On our way, we came to a transparent stream, which we to our great surprise, found to descend into the earth, and, at the foot of a ridge of mountains, disappeared; it was remarkably clear, and, near to it, we found the bones of two ani-

mals, of such a size that a man might walk under the ribs, and the teeth were very heavy.

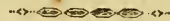
The nation of Indians who had never seen a white man, lived near the source of the Red River, and there the Spaniard discovered, to his great joy, gold dust in the brooks and rivulets; and being informed by the Indians, that a nation lived farther west, who were very rich, and whose arrows were pointed with gold, we set out in the hope of reaching their country, and travelled about 500 miles, till we came to a ridge of mountains, which we crossed, and from which the streams run due west, and at the foot of the mountains, the Spaniard gave proofs of joy and great satisfaction, having found gold in great abundance. I was not acquainted with the nature of the ore, but I lifted up what he called gold dust from the bottom of the little rivulets issuing from the cavities of the rocks, and it had a yellow cast, and was remarkably heavy: but so much was the Spaniard satisfied, he relinquished his plan of prosecuting his journey, being perfectly convinced that he had found a country full of gold.

On our return he took a different route, and, when we reached the Mississippi, we went in a canoe to the mouth of the Missouri, where we found a Spanish post; there I was discharged by the Spaniard, went to the country of the Chickesaws, from thence to the Cherokees, and soon reached Ninety-six, in South Carolina.

It is impossible for me to give an adequate description of the country on the south-west side of the Mississippi: I was charmed with the richness of the lands on the north-east side of that noble river, till I beheld the other country; the luxuriance of the soil, the richness of the herbage, the majesty of the forests, and the fertility of the meadows, which in many places are of an amazing extent, and

covered with rich grass and clover, in height at least three feet; the woods are full of deer, elk, buffalo, &c. and in the autumn, grapes and apples are every where to be found: in short every other part of America is a desert compared to that country, known in Europe by the name of Louisiana; the air is pure and serene, and the climate as healthy as any in the world: Nature has been wonderfully bountiful in furnishing water in the greatest abundance; and in many places, acres of ground are covered with salt rock, where the animals go at certain seasons, and it is extremely pleasing to observe the marks of the tongues of various wild beasts on the surface of the rocks of salt.

No country in the world is better calculated for the culture of rice, indigo, and tobacco, when it is considered, that, on the banks of the Mississippi, and Red River settlements, a quantity of these articles might be made sufficient to supply all Europe; and for 1000 miles from the confluence of each of those rivers, ships could be built, and, for three months of the year, the current runs with such rapidity that they could go down the stream 100 miles in 24 hours.



An address to the public.

THAT the present era bids fair to finish the human character, in this our happy hemisphere, must be evident from an enumeration of some late discoveries. In Massachusetts, an unlettered mariner has hit upon the art of separating fresh-water from salt water, without the instrumentality of heat! In Connecticut, a *tallow chandler* has laid open the secret of uniting *water with tallow*, a discovery of no small importance to mankind; inasmuch as it must *render light cheap*, by lowering the price of candles! In Pennsylvania, a society of *sages*, assisted by the

legislature of the state, have found out a method of improving philosophy by means of *digging of cellars*, and keeping *rooms to let*. It is likewise notorious, that certain alchemists, in the pay of New-Hampshire and South-Carolina, have instructed the people of those republics in the mystery of converting old household furniture or barren land into *bona fide* gold or silver.*

Inspired by such examples, it is not to be presumed that so respectable a state as Maryland will dose away the bright morning of peace, without a single attempt at discovery, beyond a *town-clock*, which, perhaps, may never *strike*, or a *foundered corporation*, which may never recover the use of its *limbs*. Surely it is time for an independent people to leave the path trodden by their shackled ancestors, and astonish the world by some *new* and extraordinary *effort of genius*! Now is the fortunate moment when habit is to give place to imitation: when stronger inducements have arisen, to call upon every lover of his country to unite in providing against an evil, which philosophy fees approaching with rapid strides—I mean, my fellow citizens, a direful *scarcity of plank* and scantling even in this timber-state and its *extensive territory*.†

Heretofore, it is true that the po-

NOTES.

* This alludes to the laws making property a tender in payment of debts.

† If it should be objected that Maryland is a limited state, and does not, like Virginia, possess *extensive uncultivated territory*, the objection offers one of the most cogent reasons for making the most of what we have.

litical economists have widely differed respecting the superiority between *deal boards* and *pine trees*. In this point, however, they all agree, *that there must have been pine trees, before they could be cut into deal boards.*† Taking this *surprising discovery of the economists* for a guiding maxim, it is humbly proposed, that the carpenters, the joiners, the sawyers, and all the workers in wood, do forthwith commune together, and form themselves into a society for *inventing the easiest and cheapest method of melting down sawdust and chips, and casting them into deal boards, without cracks or knots.*||

I am aware that this undertaking is subject to be considered as expensive without being profitable: and that it may also be said of it, that the *great labour* required to make *deal boards after this fashion* will prove an insurmountable obstacle to success. I trust, however, that such objections can be easily obviated, and that a people *sufficiently liberal*, will not condemn what is proposed, *merely because it is new!!!*

THOMAS COLIFLOWER.
Baltimore, April 3, 1786.

NOTES.

† Here it would seem as if the author had read *every writer* in political economy, as they are quaintly styled; his modesty, however, leads him to confess that he is not sure that he has read *any one of them*. In this instance, he has followed the practice of great writers, who make a parade of their reading.

|| The writer's candor compels him to acknowledge that he has taken the hint of this society from a London news-paper, printed in the year 1720.

P O E M S,

(By JOHN TRUMBULL, esq. author of *M'Fingal*.)

The speech of Proteus to Aristæus, containing the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, translated from the fourth book of Virgil's Georgics. A collegiate exercise: written, anno 1770.

A GOD pursues thee with immortal hate,
By crimes provok'd, that prompt the wrath of fate,
In guiltless woe, the hapless Orpheus died,
And calls the pow'rs t' avenge his injur'd bride.

Along the streams, with flying steps she strove,
To shun the fury of thy lawless love ;
Unhappy fair ! nor on the fated way
Saw the dire snake, that ambush'd for his prey.

Her sister Dryades wail'd the fatal wound ;
The lofty hills their melting cries resound ;
Then wept the rocks of Rhodope, the tow'rs
Of high Pangæus and the Rhesian shores ;
The mournful sounds the Attic lands convey,
And Hebrus rolls in sadden'd waves away.

He, on his lyre, essay'd with tuneful art,
To soothe the ceaseless anguish of his heart ;
Thee, his fair bride, to lonely grief a prey,
Thee sung at rising, thee at falling day :
Then sought the realms of death and Stygian Jove,
Through black'ning horrors of th' infernal grove,
Mid direful ghosts and pow'rs of deep despair,
Unknown to pity, and unmov'd by pray'r :
From hell's dark shores, to Orpheus' melting song,
On every side, the gloomy nations throng,
Thin, airy shades, pale spectres void of light,
Like fancied forms, that glide athwart the night ;
As flitting birds in summer's chequer'd shade,
Dance on the boughs, and flutter through the glade,
Or seek the woods when night descends amain,
And pours in storms along the wintry plain :
Men, matrons, round the sweet musician press'd,
The spouseless maidens and the youths unblest,
Snatch'd from their parents' eyes, or doom'd to yield
The war's dire combats on the bloody field ;
Whom the deep fens, that drain the moory ground,
And black Cocytus' reedy lake surround,
Where baleful Styx her mournful margin laves,
And deadly Lethe rolls th' oblivious waves.

Hell heard the song ; and, fix'd in deep amaze,
On the sweet bard the snaky furies gaze ;
Grim Cerb'rus hung entranc'd ; and ceas'd to reel
The giddy circle of Ixion's wheel.

These dangers 'scap'd, he seeks the upper air,
Elate with joy, and follow'd by the fair ;
Such law the fates impos'd ; but doom'd to prove
The sudden madness of ill-omen'd love !
(Could fate relent, or melt at human woe—
A venial crime, were venial aught below !)
Light gleam'd at hand ; the Stygian shades retire ;
With wishes wild, and vanquish'd with desire,
His fears forgot, he turn'd ; his lovely bride
Giv'n to his hope, with trembling glance espy'd.
'There end his joys, and vanish'd into air
His fancied raptures and his fruitless care,
Broke is the league—and thrice tremendous roars
The distant thunder on the infernal shores.

What rage, she cried, hath dash'd our joys again,
Pair'd in sad fates, and doom'd to endless pain ?
I hear the voice that calls me back to woes,
My swimming eyes eternal slumbers close,
A last farewell ! th' infernal glooms arise,
And, rapt in night, my parting spirit flies ;
Vain my weak arms, extended, to restore
The bridal hand, that must be thine no more.

She said, and vanish'd instant from his eye,
Like melting smoke that mingles with the sky.
No kind embrace, his deep'ning grief t' allay,
No farewell word, tho' much he wish'd to say,
Nor hope remain'd. Stern Charon now no more
Consents to waft him to th' infernal shore.
For ever snatch'd from all his soul could love,
What pray'rs, what tears, what songs the fates could move ?
Her, breathless, pale, to mansions of the grave,
The bark bore floating on the Stygian wave.

In gelid caves, with horrid glooms array'd,
Where cloud-topt hills project an awful shade,
Along the margin of the desert shore,
Where lonely Strymon's rushing waters roar,
Sev'n hapless months he wail'd his fatal love,
His ravish'd bride, and blam'd the hand of Jove.
Stern tygers soften'd at the tuneful sound,
'The thickets move, the forests dance around ;
So in some poplar's shades with soothing song,
Sad Philomela mourns her captive young,
When some rude swain hath found th' unfeather'd prey,
Her nest despoil'd, and borne the prize away ;
Thro' the long night she breathes her plaintive strain,
'The slow, deep moan resounds, and echoes o'er the plain.

Pleasure no more his soul estrang'd could move,
The charms of beauty, or the joys of love,

Alone he stray'd where wintry Tanais flows,
Thro' deserts whiten'd with eternal snows;
Mourn'd his lost bride, th' infernal powers' deceit,
And curs'd the vain, illusive gifts of fate.

When Bacchus' orgies stain'd the midnight skies,
Their proffers scorn'd, the Thracian matrons rise :
Their hopeless rage the bleeding victim bore,
His sever'd limbs are scatter'd on the shore ;
Rent from his breathless corse, swift Hebrus sweeps
His gory visage to the distant deeps.

Yet when cold death sat trembling on his tongue,
With fainting soul, Eurydice he sung,
Ah dear, ah lost Eurydice, he cries,
Eurydice, the echoing shore replies.



The downfall of Babylon.—An imitation of sundry passages in the 13th and 14th chapters of the prophecy of Isaiah, and the 18th chapter of the Revelations of St. John. Written, anno 1775.

TWAS now the day, devote to blest repose,
From realms of darkness, when the Saviour rose,
In Patmos' Isle, with sacred light inspir'd,
The great apostle from the world retir'd ;
Before his eyes, eternal wonders roll,
And future visions open on his soul,
Unfolding skies the scenes of fate display,
And heav'n descending in the beam of day.

He saw with joy the promis'd church arise,
Fam'd thro' the earth, and favour'd from the skies ;
A starry crown invests her radiant head,
Around her form the solar glories spread,
Her pow'r, her grace, by circling realms approv'd,
By angels guarded, and by heaven belov'd :
'Till mystic Babel, with blaspheming pride,
For idol forms th' eternal pow'r def'd :
Then martyr'd blood the holy off'ring seal'd,
And persecution dy'd the carnag'd field,
Religion sunk in superstitious lore,
And heav'n-built temples swam with fainted gore,
But not in rest, 'till virtue should expire,
Slept the just vengeance of eternal ire,
'The seer beheld till God's avenging hand
Smote the proud foe, and swept the guilty land ;
Then pious rapture triumph'd on his tongue,
And inspiration breath'd th' exulting song.

“ What sudden fall hath dimm'd thy boasted ray,
“ Son of the morn ! bright Phosphor of the day !
“ How sunk in death, a victim of the grave,
“ Thy pride so vaunting, and thy arm so brave !
“ Where now thy haughty boast ? “ Above the skies,
“ O'er the starr'd arch my tow'ring steps shall rise.

"To heav'n's high walls, my glories shall ascend,
 "My throne be 'stablish'd, and my pow'r extend,
 "O'er the wide world to stretch my arm abroad ;
 "A god in splendor, and in might a god."

Behold from rage the bold oppressor ceas'd ;
 Thy glory wan, and all thy treasures waste !
 Eternal wrath, awaken'd o'er thy land,
 Tears the weak sceptre from th' injurious hand ;
 Heav'n gives its captive sons a kind release,
 And earth smiles, joyous, at the songs of peace.

Lo, at thy fall, in realms of night below,
 Hell greets thine entrance to the worlds of woe !
 See from their thrones, along th' infernal shade,
 Rise the dark sceptres of the mighty dead,
 Friends to thy sway, and partners in thy crimes,
 Kings once on earth, and tyrants in their times.

"And art thou fall'n ?" their looks of wonders crave,
 "Swept, undistinguish'd, to the darksome grave,
 "O'er thy pale cheek, funereal damps are spread,
 "And shrouds of sable wrap thee with the dead ;
 "What aw'd the world oblivion's shadows hide,
 "And glad worms revel on the wrecks of pride.

"Is this the pow'r whose once tremendous eye
 "Aw'd the wide earth, and dar'd th' avenging sky,
 "Opposing kingdoms from their sceptres hurl'd,
 "And spread sad ruin o'er the vanquish'd world ?
 "Is this the pow'r, that rose in boasted state,
 "Proud judge of thrones, and arbiter of fate ?
 "The pow'r, whose forc'ries, us'd in ev'ry clime,
 "Stain'd the dark annals of recording time,
 "While persecution taught th' infernal lore,
 "And zeal was sated with the martyr's gore—
 "Lo ! clos'd thine eyes, that wont the heav'ns to brave ;
 "Expos'd thou ly'st, an outcast from the grave ;
 "No splendid urn thy fun'ral dust contains,
 "Nor one kind turf conceals thy sad remains ;
 "For thee no marble lifts its tablet high,
 "Where kings deceas'd in mournful glory lie ;
 "For just renown divides thee from the blest,
 "Nor decks the clods that lull thy bones to rest."

And see destruction from th' Almighty hand,
 Sweeps her broad besom o'er thy guilty land ;
 Careering flames attend her dreadful way,
 And rising darkness intercepts the day ;
 The dim sun sinks in fearful shades of night,
 The moon and planets veil their trembling light,
 O'er thy doom'd walls the lowering storms ascend,
 And fate's dead omens mark thy hast'ning end.

See mid th' o'er-arching canopy of shade,
 An angel-form, in robes of blood array'd,
 Lifts his red arm, that bids the tempest rise,
 Wing'd with th' etherial vengeance of the skies :

And calls the wintry winds, that all around,
 Roil on the storm, and sweep the delug'd ground.
 And far beneath, where direful earthquakes sleep,
 Burst the dark chambers of th' affrighted deep !
 Lo, heav'n avenging pours the fiery tide :
 Thy whelm'd walls sink, thy tott'ring turrets slide,
 Thy glitt'ring domes sulphureous torrents lave,
 And doom thy seats, a desert and a grave !

For there no more shall gay assemblies meet,
 Croud thy full marts, and throng thy spacious street ;
 No more the bridegroom's chearful voice shall call
 The viol, sprightly in the sounding hall ;
 No more the lamp shall yield her cheering light,
 Gild thy lone roofs, and sparkle thro' the night.
 Each morn shall view thy desolated ground,
 With falling domes and shatter'd spires around,
 And clad in weeds, in wild confusion thrown,
 'The marble trophy, and the sculptur'd stone,
 No future age thy glories shall recall,
 Thy turrets lift, or build thy desert wall :
 Where the gilt palace pierc'd th' admiring skies,
 The owl shall stun thee with funereal cries,
 The baleful dragon thro' thy gardens rove,
 And wolves usurp the consecrated grove.
 No shepherd there the wand'ring flock shall spread,
 Nor, tir'd, repose beneath the tented shed :
 No stranger there with devious footstep stray,
 Where circling horrors guard the fated way ;
 Eternal ruin rears her standard wide,
 And vengeance triumphs o'er the realms of pride.



*The prophecy of Balaam. Numbers : Chap. xxiii. xxiv.
 An irregular ode. Written anno 1773.*

I.

ON lofty Peor's brow,
 That rears its forehead to the sky,
 And sees the airy vapours fly,
 And clouds in bright expansion sail below,
 Sublime the prophet stood.
 Beneath its pine-clad side,
 The distant world her various landscape yields ;
 Winding vales and length'ning fields,
 Streams in sunny maze that flow'd :
 Stretch'd immense in prospect wide,
 Forests green'd in summer's pride ;
 Waving glory gilds the main,
 The dazzling sun ascending high :
 While earth's blue verge, at distance dimly seen,
 Spreads from the aching sight, and fades into the sky.

II.

Beneath his feet along the level plain,
 The host of Israel stretch'd in deep array ;
 Their tents rose frequent on the enamell'd green ;
 Bright to the winds the colour'd streamers play.
 Red from the slaughter of their foes,
 In awful steel th' embattled heroes stood ;
 High o'er the shaded ark in terror rose
 The cloud, the dark pavilion of their God.
 Before the seer's unwilling eyes,
 The years unborn ascend in sight.
 He saw their op'ning morn arise,
 Bright in the sunshine of the fav'ring skies :
 While from th' unsufferable light,
 Fled the dire demons of opposing night.
 No more, elate with Stygian aid,
 He waves the wand's enchanted pow'r,
 And, baleful thro' the hallow'd glade,
 His magic footsteps rove no more.
 Fill'd with prophetic fire, he lifts his hand,
 O'er the dim host in deep array,
 And, aw'd by heav'n's supreme command,
 Pours forth the rapture of the living lay.

III.

“ Fair, oh Isreal, are thy tents !
 “ Blest the banners of thy fame !
 “ Blest the dwelling of the saints,
 “ Where their God displays his name !
 “ Fair as these vales, that stretch their lawns so wide,
 “ As gardens smile in flow'ry meadows fair,
 “ As rising cedars on the streamlet's side
 “ Rear their glad branches to the fragrant air :
 “ Vain is magic's deadly force,
 “ Vain the dire enchanter's spell,
 “ Waving wand, or charmed curse,
 “ Vain the pride, the rage of hell !
 “ From Peor's lofty brow,
 “ I see th' Eternal Pow'rs reveal'd,
 “ And all the lengthen'd plains below
 “ O'ershrouded by th' Almighty shield !
 “ God, their guardian God descends,
 “ And o'er the favour'd host Omnipotence extends.

IV.

“ And see, bright Judah's star ascending
 “ Fires the east with crimson day,
 “ Awful o'er his foes impending,
 “ Pours wide the lightning of his ray,
 “ And flames destruction on th' opposing world !
 “ Death's broad banners, dark, unfurl'd,
 “ Wave o'er his blood encircled way !
 “ Scepter'd king of Moab, hear
 “ Deeds, that future times await,

- “ Deadly triumph, war severe,
“ Israel’s pride, and Moab’s fate !
“ What echoing terrors burst upon my ear !
“ What awful forms in ghastly horror rise !
“ Empurpled Rage, pale Ruin, heart struck Fear,
“ In scenes of blood ascend, and skim before my eyes.

V.

- “ Dimly on the skirt of night
“ O’er thy sons the cloud impends,
“ Louring storm with wild affright
“ Loud th’ astonish’d ether rends.
“ Long hosts, emblaz’d with sun-bright shields appear,
“ And victory severe
“ Sits on their length’ning swords : along the shores,
“ Arm’d with the bolts of fate,
“ Impending navies wait ;
“ Above, around, the shout of ruin roars.
“ For nought avails, that, clad in spiry pride,
“ Thy rising cities glitter’d on the day ;
“ The vengeful arms wave devastation wide,
“ And give thy pompous domes to smould’ring flames, a prey.

VI.

- “ Edom bows her lofty head ;
“ Seer submits her vanquish’d lands,
“ Amelek, of hosts the dread,
“ Sinks beneath their wasting hands.
“ See, whelm’d in smoky heaps, the ruin’d walls
“ Rise o’er thy sons’ unhappy grave ;
“ Low their blasted glory falls ;
“ Vain the pride that could not save :
“ Israel’s swords arrest their prey ;
“ Back to swift fate thy frightened standards turn ;
Black desolation rolls along their way ;
“ War sweeps in front, and flames behind them burn:
“ And Death and dire Dismay
“ Unfold their universal grave, and ope the mighty urn.”



A N E L E G Y,

*On the death of mr. Buckingham St. John, who was drowned in his passage
from Newhaven to Norwalk, May 5th, 1771.*

THE world now yields to night’s returning sway ;
The deeper glooms lead on the solemn hour,
And call my steps, beneath the moon’s pale ray,
To roam in sadness on the sea-beat shore.

Now glide th’ inconstant shadows o’er the plain,
The broad moon swimming thro’ the broken clouds,
The gleam of waters brightens on the main,
And anchor’d navies lift their waving shrouds.

Deep silence reigns ; save on the moory ground,
The long reed rustling to the passing gales,

The noise of dashing waves, and hollow sound
Of rushing winds, that murmur thro' the fails.

Far hence, ye pleasures of a mind at ease,
The sprightly joys, that rural scenes can yield,
When spring, led jocund by the soft'ning breeze,
Wakes the glad morn, and robes the dewy field!

Far be the giddy raptures of the gay,
The midnight joys licentious youth can share,
When ruin, smiling o'er her destin'd prey,
In sweet allurements hides the deadly snare.

Mine be the music of the rolling wave,
The moonlight shadows and surrounding gloom;
Mine the dread haunts of Contemplation grave,
That lift the soul to scenes beyond the tomb.

Here while deep midnight holds her silent reign,
And fancy bears the ravish'd thought along,
Dark Melancholy spreads her airy train,
And Friendship calls, and Grief inspires the song.

As thro' these mournful glooms I stretch my sight,
Mid sounds of death, that bid the soul attend,
Mid empty forms, and fleeting shapes of night,
Slowly I view a white-rob'd shade ascend,

That says—"I once was St. John! from the bounds
"Of unknown realms, beneath the dreary wave,
"Where ever-restless floods, in nightly rounds,
"Roll their dark surges o'er my wat'ry grave;
"From seats, which, ne'er to mortal sight display'd,
"The gates of dread eternity surround,
"In night conceal'd and death's impervious shade,
"My voice ascends: attend the warning sound!

"Oh thou, attend! who flush'd with early bloom,
"In life's new spring, and vernal sweetness gay,
"Heedless of fate, that must thy branch entomb,
"Spread'st thy green blossoms to the morning ray.

"With thee how late, how like, alas! to thee;
"To mortal joys, by op'ning youth beguil'd,
"I stretch'd my airy wish, and follow'd free,
"Where pleasure triumph'd, and where fancy smil'd!
"Then, while fond Hope her glitt'ring pinions spread,
"Pointing to climes beyond the distant wave,
"Ev'n then, unnotic'd, o'er my destin'd head,
"Hung Death's dire form, and seal'd me for the grave."

"How vain the thought, for many a joyous morn,
"To taste of raptures unallay'd by woe!
"At once from life and ev'ry pleasure torn,
"From all I wish'd, and all I lov'd below.

"The faithless morning, on our op'ning fails,
"Smil'd out serene, and smooth'd our gliding way.

NOTE.

* Mr. St. John was meditating a voyage to Europe.

“ While the gay vessel, fann’d by breathing gales,
“ Play’d on the placid bosom of the sea.

“ When lo, descending on the dark’ning wind,
“ Burst the dire storm !—and feeble to sustain
“ The rushing blasts, in warring fury join’d,
“ The frail skiff sinks beneath the furling main.

“ And see, afar the oarless boat conveys
“ The trembling sailors to the distant shore :
“ Alone, of aid bereft, with one last gaze,
“ I sunk in deeps ; and sunk to rise no more.

“ In that sad hour, what fearful scenes arise,
“ What pangs distress, what unknown fears dismay,
“ When future worlds disclosing on our eyes,
“ The trembling soul forsakes her kindred clay ?

“ Before the awful bar, th’ Almighty throne,
“ In dread I’ve stood th’ Eternal Judge to see,
“ And fix’d in bliss, or doom’d to ceaseless moan,
“ Have heard the long, the unrevolv’d decree ;

“ Nor earth must know the rest.” Where art thou now,
In youthful joys my partner and my friend ?
Of those blest hours thy fortune gave below,
Of all our hopes is this the fatal end !

Ah what avail’d that energy of mind,
The heights of science and of art t’ explore
That early led where genius unconfin’d
Spreads her glad feast, and opens her classic store !

Ah what avail’d in earthly bliss so frail,
The same gay dawning of thy rising years ?
Ah what avail’d (for what could then avail ?)
Thy friends’ deep sorrows or thy country’s tears !

In pleasure’s paths by vivid fancy led,
Mid every hope, that blooming worth could raise,
The wings of death, with fatal horror spread,
Blank’d the bright promise of thy future days.

So, from the lowering west, the darken’d clouds
Rush on the sun, and dim his orient ray,
And hateful night in glooms untimely shrouds
Th’ ascending glories of the vernal day.

Adieu, my friend, so dear in vain, adieu,
’Till some short days their fleeting courses roll ;
Soon shall our steps thine earlier fate pursue,
Mov’d in the race, and crowding to the goal.

Th’ approaching hour shall see the sun no more,
Wheel his long course, or spread his golden ray ;
Soon the vain dream of mortal life be o’er,
Soon down the brightness of celestial day,

Then, join’d in bliss, as once in friendship join’d,
May pitying heav’n our purer spirits raise,
Each crime aton’d, each virtue well refin’d,
To pass a blest eternity of praise ?

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THE
AMERICAN MUSEUM:

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OF ANCIENT AND MODERN
FUGITIVE PIECES, &c.

PROSE AND POETICAL.

For AUGUST, 1787.



..... "With sweetest flowers enrich'd,
"From various gardens cull'd with care."

..... "Collecta revirescunt."



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T H E

A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For A U G U S T, 1787.



Essay on the consequences of emitting paper-money; the necessity and advantages of encouraging American manufactures; the beneficial effects of an alteration in the present mode of taxation, &c. In a series of letters. Written in North Carolina. By dr. Hugh Williamson.

L E T T E R I.

On the present scarcity of money—on paper-emissions—Law's schemes in France.

To the freemen inhabitants of the united states.

Friends and fellow citizens,

I N every part of these states, the great scarcity of money is become a common subject of complaint. This does not seem to be an imaginary grievance, like that of hard times, of which men have complained in all ages of the world. The misfortune is general, and in many cases it is severely felt. The scarcity of money is so great, or the difficulty of paying debts has been so common, that riots and combinations have been formed in many places, and the operations of civil government have been suspended. This is the more remarkable, because three years have not passed since money was very plenty. A calamity of such magnitude has deservedly drawn the attention of every legislature in the union. In some of the states, paper-

money has been emitted, as the best or the most convenient remedy by which the sufferings of the people can be relieved. The general assembly of this state [North Carolina] has already had recourse to two emissions of paper. Certainly, when any article is scarce, the general remedy is, to make more: and if it shall be found, when money is scarce, that private and public debts can be honestly discharged by a new emission of paper, the expedient is admirable, for it is the most easy process by which debts were ever paid: this, however, is a subject on which many doubts have arisen. It is not questioned whether there are means by which we may be enabled to discharge our debts, and become opulent and powerful: but there are many who believe that our debts cannot be fairly discharged, nor our citizens relieved, much less can they become rich, by the manufacture of paper-money. It has also been my lot to entertain some doubts whether the best regulations have hitherto been adopted, for preserving justice, for relieving the oppressed, and for securing the prosperity of the state. These doubts have given rise to the present address.

This is a question, my fellow citizens, that claims your utmost attention: for no subject of equal importance has been presented to your view, since the declaration

of independence. We are going to consider whether the administration of government, in these infant states, is to be a system of patchwork, and a series of expedients—whether a youthful empire is to be supported, like the walls of a tottering ancient palace, by shores and temporary props, or by measures which may prove effectual and lasting—measures which may improve by use, and strengthen by age. We are going to consider whether we shall deserve to be a branch of the most poor, dishonest, and contemptible, or of the most flourishing, independent, and happy nation on the face of the earth.

The reader is not interested in knowing who the writer of these letters may be. A bad argument is not mended by the supposed abilities of its author: and a good argument does not require parental support. In the mean while, he counts it his duty to declare, and he does it with humble gratitude, that his complaints are not occasioned by personal misfortunes; but he finds himself a member of a great family; he interests himself as a brother in the happiness of his fellow-citizens; and he suffers when they are grieved.

The more I consider the progress of credit, and the increase of wealth in foreign nations, the more fully am I convinced that paper-money must prove hurtful to this country; that we cannot be relieved from our debts except by promoting domestic manufactures; and that, during the prevailing scarcity of money, the burdens of the poor may be relieved by altering the mode of taxation. Here are three separate and distinct propositions; they shall be considered apart, in order that each of them may fall or stand by its own weakness or strength.

In public measures as in the conduct of private life, it will be constantly found that “honesty is the best policy.” This maxim is some-

what old: but it is not become useless. A paper-currency, which is a legal tender, even when it may be depreciated twenty or thirty per cent, is not generally considered as an honest tender; and there are many reasons for believing that such a currency will not finally prove useful to the states. I say it has not generally been considered an honest tender. There are many people who say the money ought not to have depreciated. They say that necessity justified the manufacture; and that we are bound to receive such payments as the law prescribes: but I never have heard any man say, that it would be perfect justice to pass a law, by which every creditor should be compelled to receive three fourths or two thirds of his debt, instead of the whole debt; and yet such a law would be perfectly similar to the tender of depreciated paper, except that it would be a proof of more frugality and plain dealing: for it would be calling things by the right name, and would save the expence of paper-coinage.

However convenient depreciated paper may appear to those, who use it in the discharge of debts, we have already discovered that the credit and finances of these states are injured by paper-currency: and we shall certainly continue to suffer, unless we can be relieved from it. There has ever been found much difficulty in shaking off the prejudices of education. We have been accustomed to the use of paper-money while we continued a dependent province. Such a currency was properly calculated to prevent the growth of manufactures, and to continue our dependence and poverty. Surely, under a change of circumstances, there should be a change of measures. We ought now to consult our own prosperity, and not to the emolument of Great Britain, or any other kingdom. If we are willing to take a lesson from other governments, we shall find that money is

not to be made out of paper, for there is not an empire, kingdom, or state under the sun, where debts may be legally discharged by paper-money, except in some of the united states of America. It is admitted that a paper-medium, under the form of bank-notes or government-securities, is circulated in France, England, and most other commercial countries: but nobody is compelled by law to receive the payment of any debt in such money: hence it is, that the paper of those countries bears no resemblance to ours, except in name. Every man receives a bank-note or refuses it at pleasure. When he receives it, he knows that on the next hour he may have it changed for gold or silver, as the bank is obliged to make such payments on demand. For this reason, bank-notes, being portable, are frequently preferred to coin of the weighty metals. But it never was found that bank-notes could be circulated at par, unless when it was believed that they might be exchanged for solid money: nor could they be circulated, if they were declared to be a legal tender. The reason is obvious—the whole value of paper is imaginary, and men do not believe by compulsion. Every attempt to force a man to believe that paper is equal in value to silver, implies a consciousness, that it is not equal. It injures what it was intended to serve. Though the paper-money which had been emitted in North Carolina in the year 1783, had depreciated twenty per cent. arguments were invented on the last year for making more money. It was alleged that under the regal government a greater sum of money had been circulated without much depreciation, and consequently a second coinage might take place; it would not depreciate. This argument was plausible, but not solid: for the value of paper is never found to depend

on the quantity in circulation, but on the security that appears for its redemption. The bank of England, which belongs to a company of private subjects, circulates notes to the amount of thirty-two millions of dollars, though it is not believed that they have above fourteen millions in specie at any time on hands; but every man can get money for his note when he demands it. In the year 1716, soon after the death of Lewis XIV. the celebrated John Law, in company with some other gentlemen, obtained a patent for a banking house at Paris. They issued notes, in which they promised to pay the bearer, on sight, a certain sum, in gold and silver of the weight and fineness then established by law. As the late king had altered the weight or quality of the current coin ten times during his reign, and the same thing might be done again, Law's notes, which were not so subject to depreciation, were preferred to specie at one per cent. Such were the effects of a general confidence in good payment. Within the space of four years, notes were issued by Law and company to the amount of two hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars, which was nearly twice as much as all the specie in France; but the notes retained their credit, because the company were thought to be honest and able to pay. On the twenty-first of May, 1721, the duke of Orleans, regent of France, issued a proclamation, by which he reduced the value of bank notes to half the nominal sum. They were depreciated fifty per cent. This was a proof of the want of integrity, and it operated accordingly; it destroyed public confidence. It did not merely diminish the value of the notes—it annihilated them; and on the twenty-second of May, one guinea in gold could not have been purchased in Paris for one thousand guineas in notes. The history of paper-money,

in all ages, is uniform. Its value depends on the confidence of the public. Let government give a single proof that they ought not to be trusted—confidence vanishes, and “like the baseless fabric of a vision, leaves not a trace behind.” Let us compare this with the history of the paper in some of our states, and consider whether it ought to have retained its value. The first emission of the state of North Carolina, in 1783, was to have been redeemed by the sale of forfeited estates. That foundation was soon removed: and those estates were converted to another use. The money depreciated, and recourse was had to another coinage. This second structure was raised, if possible, on a worse foundation, for it had not even the appearance of stability. Taxes are laid for calling in the money, and it is immediately restored to circulation. Was it expected that such money should pass as gold or silver? No, certainly. The legislature themselves do not seem to have expected that it should be considered of equal value. Tobacco, a staple of North Carolina, has been purchased by the public for two prices in this new money: and creditors at the same time are compelled to receive it as specie, in the payment of debts. Is this justice? Strangers will call it by a different name.

I have attempted to shew, according to the fate of paper in other countries, that it was not to have been expected that our money should pass as gold or silver. Every body knows, that it is more or less depreciated in all the states which have emitted it. It is therefore not a good payment, though it be a legal one. I shall now endeavour to shew that it must finally prove hurtful to the states, and that it could not have brought us substantial relief, though the whole of it had passed as specie.

SYLVIVS.

LETTER II.

On paper-money—consequences of debasing the coin of a nation—imports of Pennsylvania—ditto and exports of North Carolina—causes of the scarcity of money—ruinous effects of importing such immense quantities of luxuries as are introduced into America—injustice of tender laws.

Friends and fellow citizens,

IT is painful in all cases to advert on public measures, lest we should hurt the feelings of any citizen with whom such measures have originated. But truth is the friend of every man: and the author of every public measure, if he be a good man, treats as other men do: he supports it while he believes it to be good; he forsakes it whenever he finds it to be hurtful. For this reason, I shall proceed freely in considering the effects of paper-money. I have said, that paper-money, which is a legal tender, must prove hurtful to this country; when made, it must depreciate, and the effects of depreciation are unfriendly to industry, injurious to the poor, and destructive of good morals. On the supposition that the paper-currency in some of the states has depreciated one third, it will follow, that the different citizens to whom this money was first paid, in its depreciated state, must have lost $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. on every payment: but as every bill of paper may have passed frequently from hand to hand, it will follow that the several citizens of that state may have suffered the loss of ten times that sum by receiving bad money, instead of solid coin, to which they were entitled. This must have been a very considerable tax: and unfortunately it was a tax of the most pernicious kind: for it was a tax on the frugal and temperate in favour of the idle, the profligate, and luxurious. It cannot be right in government to protect and encourage vice. It is a plant that

thrives sufficiently in every soil, without the help of legislative authority. In support of a measure that agrees so little with the common ideas of justice, we have been told, that money was wanted for the sake of the poor, that they might have a medium wherewith to pay their debts and taxes. Whoever has reflected on the circulation of paper-money, will be apt to say, that the honest poor man has not been the chief gainer by it. There is some difficulty in discovering how the poor man should be profited by a coinage of money. If he had been possessed of marketable property, before the money was made, he might have sold it for the full value: for there has been no season in which produce has not sold for more than its worth. The exporters have been losers. If the poor man had no property for sale, neither could he have got any of the new money, unless it was to have been given away. There is doubtless some obscurity in this business, unless we allege, that depreciation was intended, and this we are not willing to suspect. Let us suppose that the poor man may have gained a trifle by the depreciation of money; what is such a gain when compared with his sufferings by the loss of credit? No man can expect to borrow money, nor obtain goods on credit, when government does not support the creditor against dishonest payments by base money. When the rich are taught by government not to give credit, the sufferings of the poor must be increased: and when credit is destroyed, industry must languish: for they are constantly found to flourish in proportion to the honesty of government, and the stability of the legal money. So lately as in the 43d year of queen Elizabeth, the coin of England was debased almost nine per cent. by parliament, and about that time the coin of France was frequently altered. The commerce of those nations suf-

fered greatly by such instability. They have since profited by their good faith. There is no country in which the value of money has been so perfectly stable, as in Holland, for the last two hundred years; and it is admitted, that no country has prospered so much by commerce, nor is there any in which the interest of money is so moderate. Security of property has ever proved the spur to industry; hence we find that arts and commerce have flourished most in republican governments; for in absolute monarchies, the value of money is not stable, and in despotic governments the case is worse: in such governments we seldom find much industry. In republican governments, the property of the citizen has generally been safe. To this we ascribe the progress of arts and commerce, and the consequent wealth of Athens, Carthage, and Venice; of the Hans Towns and the united Netherlands. In those republics, the governments have not been used to depreciate their coin. Time will shew how the experiment succeeds with us. The chief advantage that appears to have arisen from depreciated money, is, that fraudulent debtors have been enabled to discharge their contracts on easy terms. It is admitted that the debts of citizen to citizen may be somewhat lessened by this species of payment: but the foreign debt is not diminished by such means; on the contrary, while we are using those desperate remedies against one another, our foreign debts have been increasing every year. Most of our debts have been contracted since the spring of 1783. If our imports could be compared with our exports, the balance against us would be the amount of our debts; but it is difficult to determine what has been the amount of foreign goods imported into these states since the peace. Our public accounts cast but a faint light on this question. Generally

speaking without a boat or searcher in any of our ports—the strictest attention not being paid to the revenue—people are invited to smuggle goods; detection is not apprehended; and time has nearly established the contempt of custom-house oaths. The amount of goods imported into Pennsylvania, since the peace, and consumed there, appears to exceed two millions of dollars a year. In fixing its quota of the national debt, we find, that in the year 1783, Pennsylvania was supposed to contain 320,000 inhabitants, and North-Carolina to contain 170,000, which is more by ten thousand than half the number contained in the former state. It is true that, negroes were taken into the estimation: but three negroes were reckoned as two whites. According to this estimation, we should suppose that the consumption of foreign goods in the state of North Carolina has been equal to more than one million of dollars every year. It may be objected, that winter is more severe in Pennsylvania than in North Carolina, and that three negroes do not consume the same value of clothes as two whites. This objection is more than balanced by observing, that nearly two thirds of the citizens of Pennsylvania have originated in Germany, or the north of Ireland; and have imported such habits of industry and dexterity in the mechanic arts, that they make little use of foreign manufactures. Divide one million of dollars by 170,000, and it does not give quite six dollars for each person. Part of the inhabitants, suppose one fourth of them, being slaves, and three slaves being counted as two whites, there will not be four dollars for each slave. We admit that the annual consumption of many slaves, in foreign goods, is below four dollars, even when rum is included: and some white inhabitants do not consume to the amount

of six dollars: but there are many who consume ten times that quantity. This computation was made on the supposition that no goods have been smuggled into Pennsylvania: but some of the citizens of that state have also calculated, that the account of perjury, like the tenor of their respective wills, is not to be examined till after death. They have conducted themselves accordingly. This inference is founded on a late association of merchants in Philadelphia to prevent smuggling. We may fairly add 200,000 dollars for this account.

We shall now consider what have been the annual exports of North Carolina, in order to determine the amount of debts contracted since the peace. The produce exported from Currituck, Edenton, Bath, Newbern, and Wilmington, in the last year, seems to be valued too high*, when stated at 506,700 dollars. The tobacco, rolled into Virginia, and produce conveyed to South Carolina, may be stated at 400,000 dollars, and there will remain a balance of £.117,320 not accounted for. According to this computation, North Carolina has contracted a debt of 293,300 dollars every year to foreigners, or to people who live out of the state, to be paid to foreigners. No part of this debt has been discharged by the operations of paper-money, the whole advantage of depreciation being a mere juggle, by which one

NOTE.

* In this computation, tobacco has been valued at 26s. the hundred; pitch and turpentine at 10s. tar 6s. pipe staves 8l. hhd. staves and heading 4l. corn 15s. the barrel. The whole to be paid in specie at the port where they are shipped. Merchants know best whether they are worth more, considering the various burdens with which our commerce at this time is loaded.

citizen is injured for the convenience of another. Their extravagance, therefore, is the sole cause of this alarming scarcity of money. They consume more than they can pay for: and, until they become frugal and more industrious, the grievance must increase, notwithstanding their little attempts to elude the burden, by throwing it upon one another. If no debts were due in the state, except those which are due to merchants, or the importers and retailers of goods, they would long since have discovered the true cause of the scarcity of money; the merchants' books would have told the amount of their debts; but it is an unfortunate circumstance, that a small share of those may be directly due to the importers of goods, though the whole of them are occasioned by such importations. In order to account for this, we are to consider, that merchants have a better opportunity than other people to receive payment of debts: for produce of all sorts will suit them instead of money.

Thus it may happen, that A buys a horse from B, for which he is to pay eight dollars, as soon as he shall have sold his crop. B purchases cattle from C, for eight dollars, which he is to pay, when he receives payment for his horse: and C employs D to repair his house, for which he is to pay him out of the price of his cattle. In the mean while, A, tempted by the allurements of a neighbouring store, buys foreign goods silks, gauzes, rum, and such other *necessaries*, for the use of his family, and he delivers the whole of his crop in payment, for which he is allowed a generous price. Thence it must follow, that B, C, D, and every other letter in the alphabet, are disappointed, each of them is in debt, and they all complain of the scarcity of money, without perceiving that all these debts continue to be unpaid, from the folly of A in buying fo-

reign goods, and yet the goods are paid for. Thus it is, that our citizens are universally involved: many of the debts are due to merchants: but a much greater amount is due to people who are not merchants: and we seem not to have discovered, that we are nearly ruined by foreign luxuries. Let any man cast his eye on this account: let him think of a state whose citizens are given up to indolence and vanity—who, in the space of three years, have plunged themselves in debt at least three hundred thousand pounds: let him observe how the property of our citizens is daily mortgaged to strangers and foreigners, and the inheritance of our children bartered away for fineries and fopperies: let him observe the desperate situation to which we are reduced, merely to obtain a transient relief. The dignity of government is wounded—base money is declared to be a legal tender—the diligent man is plundered, for the benefit of the indolent and extravagant—industry languishes, for property is not safe—the orphan is defrauded*—and the most atrocious frauds are practised under the sanction of the law. Surely, it is high time that other measures were adopted.

SYLVIVS.

NOTE.

* Some months ago, a young adventurer, in North Carolina, married a widow who had three children. She chanced to have three thousand hard dollars in the house, of which two thirds belonged to the children. The guardians claimed their share of the specie for the children: and the honest step-father is now buying up paper at twelve or thirteen shillings for the dollar; and such money will be a legal payment for the use of the orphans. Is it strange that paper depreciates, when such men are profited by the depreciation!

B

LETTER III.

On frugality and industry. In old nations, it is wise and politic to encourage luxury in dress—this conduct folly and madness in America—expenses of the poor in England and France—fallacy of the idea that it is better to consume foreign goods than American, as the former are cheaper.

To the freemen inhabitants of the united states.

Friends and fellow citizens,

IN all cases, it is more easy to complain, than to point out the means of relief. It is also more easy to give wholesome advice, than to adopt proper remedies. It is a downward, easy path that leads to ruin: but it is a rough and uphill road, which leads to prosperity. Every amendment is at first unpalatable. For this reason, I shall recommend with indifference, what is likely to be followed with reluctance.

We complain in general, that money is scarce. We are mistaken about facts: for the thing alleged is not altogether true. Pride, or the force of habit, prevents us from discovering the truth. There is no country in which money may be acquired with more ease than in America: and every man has it, who has any right to expect it, except in cases where government interferes. But most of us ought not to have any money: we have not deserved it: for we have expended more money since the peace, than we have gained: whence it is, that we neither have money, nor any kind of marketable property, by which we can pay our debts: no man or body of men can have either, whose expenses exceed their income. There is a certain and plain process by which our complaints may be relieved:—the bad effects of indolence and luxury must be cured by diligence and economy: and the whole of our debts may be discharged in a few

years by industry and frugality. When are we likely to obtain money by such means? No man can attend to the prevailing conduct of the Americans, without expressing his fear that the period is very distant. Instead of finding general proofs of industry, economy, temperance, and other republican virtues, he sees a nation that is more luxurious, more indolent, and more extravagant, than any other people on the face of the earth. In drawing this figure, I may be charged with high colouring; but the reader is requested to examine the original, and if he finds us the most luxurious and improvident of all nations, he will certainly admit that some restraints might help to increase the quantity of money among us, or might prevent the occasion for it.

Every empire under the sun is supposed to be independent of any other: that is to say, the subjects of every empire are supposed to enjoy a natural as well as a political independence. It is presumed that they clothe and feed themselves. This, in former times, was obviously the case in all countries: but the introduction of commerce has produced many seeming variations from the rule. Industrious nations, which have more provisions or clothing, of any particular quality, than are necessary for their own consumption, send them abroad to be exchanged for money, or for some other kind of clothing or provisions which they like better, or which they cannot prepare with the same ease: but still their exports and their imports are nearly equal: and the quantity of imported goods consumed by every nation, bears a very small proportion to what they consume of their own manufacture. This is true even of the Spaniards, though national pride or indolence seems to furnish them as an exception to this general rule. They depend on other nations

for many important manufactures. The consequence is obvious. Though they possess the rich mines of Mexico and Peru, they are, by neglecting useful manufactures, become a poor nation; and are every year decreasing in numbers and strength.

We observe that most other nations maintain a kind of barter or exchange of manufactures with one another: but still the great body of the inhabitants, rich and poor, are clothed in the manufactures of their own country. Is this the case in the united states? With us the master and his slave, the farmer, the mechanic, and merchant, are all clothed, from head to foot, in foreign manufactures: this is not because we have not got hemp, flax, and cotton sufficient: there is no country where those articles are produced with less trouble; nor is there any difficulty in procuring wool. But our imports are not confined to clothing. No small share of our furniture is of British manufacture. Saws, hammers, hoes, and axes, are also imported, as if the wolf had made war against our iron as well as against our sheep. In every small town, we are cherished with Irish butter and beef, and with British ale porter, and cheese, as if the country did not produce hops, barley, or black cattle. Left absurdity should not go on stilts, and folly ride the great horse, we make large importations of hazle and oak sprouts, under the name of walking canes. Surely there is no scarcity of wood among us: but our sticks are not foreign. In excuse for all those follies, we are told, that a man has a right to all the comforts of life which he can pay for. This may be true: but he has no right to use the luxuries of life which he cannot pay for: and perhaps it may be questioned, whether he has a right to give examples and introduce follies, that may prove ruinous to his fellow

citizens. Under the head of luxuries, we may fairly include every imported article, because this country certainly produces all the necessaries of life. It is hardly requisite to visit a large town, in order to determine whether the luxury of dress is become an offence against decency, as well as a sure road to bankruptcy. In this remark, no particular reference is made to the dress of either sex: for they are equally attentive to the privilege of being in fashion. It is true, that some doubts have arisen concerning the meaning of the word fashion. In most countries, fashion in dress is understood to mean the form and quality of clothing, which is used by the most respectable inhabitants, or by the great majority of the nation. From late observations, we are taught to suspect that the word has a different meaning in the united states. Among us, a person is understood to be in perfect fashion, who is rigged off with something that has not been seen or heard of before in the state. On this principle it is, that we have seen new forms of head-dress, like bullets in a pop-gun, kick one another out so fast, that we could hardly learn their names as they passed in review. Perhaps we shall be told, that an American is not in fashion, who dresses like other Americans: he must dress as people do in London. If they change their clothes once in the month, so must we. If they wear buttons of the size of a saucer, in the form of a hexagon, or a square, so must we. What a pity it is, that fashions should wear out in London, before they can arrive at New York or Philadelphia! If there was a glass in the moon, we might catch the fashions as they rise. How does it fare with nations who have no change in the fashion of their clothes? Have the women in those countries fewer charms, or have the men less discre-

tion, than we have, who are subject to weekly revolutions? Surely, the whim of this day has no more intrinsic beauty than the whim of yesterday.

In old nations where manufactures flourish, and where wealth is unequally distributed, some of the inhabitants being exceedingly rich, and the great body of them miserably poor, it is wise in the government to encourage luxury and caprice in dress. By those means the wealth of the rich circulates through the hands of the manufacturing poor. But our situation being entirely the reverse of theirs, what is sound policy in those countries, must be folly and madness among us. When we encourage luxury, it is to enrich another nation, and to make our own citizens poor. Can there be a greater treason committed against the states! The Chinese and Japanese, great, politic, and wise nations, are distinguished by a national dress. The Dutch, though they are surrounded by nations who are as changeable as the moon, have submitted to little variation in dress for two hundred years. Their commerce does not, like that of France and England, depend on their manufactures: and nothing less than rigid economy could make them respectable. Nothing but necessity can justify us in the use of any foreign manufacture. Doubtless, the word necessity is very ambiguous. Most people contend that what they buy is necessary, provided they can barely discover the use of it. We have seen the daughter of a labouring mechanic pay her afternoon's visit, dressed out in more lace, ribands, gauze, and silk, than her father could have earned in twelve months in any part of Europe. Were those things necessary? We have seen a young buck, the son of a planter, who scarcely sold one hoghead of tobacco in the year, on his way to

quarter-races, fitted out, for the sake of propriety, with white silk stockings under his boots, a pair of durable black silk breeches, and more silver on his saddle and bridle, than the value of his father's estate, if his debts were paid. These were a few of his necessities. It is very observable, that in other countries, people who live by their industry, and are obliged to pay their debts, do not find such things necessary. It is alleged that in England, the food, raiment, and other necessities of a labouring man, cost him annually about 7l. 10s. sterling: deduct a moderate allowance for food, fuel, and house-rent, how much will remain for clothes? The marechal de Vauban, considering what taxes may be paid by a labouring man in France, estimates his annual expense in clothing at somewhat less than forty shillings of our money: this includes the clothing for himself, his wife, and two children. It may be noted, that half of the subjects both in France and England, come within the foregoing predicament: they are either mechanics or day-labourers. Compare their expense with ours, in the article of dress; and it must be admitted that an epidemic madness has laid hold of us.

It is alleged, that the citizens of the united states have contracted debts, within the last three years, with the subjects of Great Britain, to the amount of near six millions of dollars; consequently, our estates are mortgaged for that sum. Painful sensations must arise to every man who loves his country, from the prospect of such beginnings. Thus it was that Corsica was mortgaged to the more industrious citizens of Genoa, for silks and velvets: and it was afterwards sold to a foreign power.

We shall be told, in excuse for imported luxuries, that we buy goods cheaper than we can make them; and that a man earns more in

is tobacco or corn-field, than he could earn at a loom, or by other manufactures. These positions are allacious and ill-founded. Both experiment and calculation prove them to be false. During the late war, goods were dear, and we did not run into debt: for we bought few—manufactured some—and were fruitful. Since the peace, goods have been cheap, and we have nearly become bankrupts. It appears, that our earnings in the field have not been equal to the price of the goods that we have consumed. Every domestic manufacture is cheaper than a foreign one, for this plain reason: by the first, nothing is lost to the country—by the other, the whole value is lost: it is carried away never to return. It is perfectly indifferent to this state, or to the united states, what may be the price of domestic manufactures, because that price remains in the country. Every man is supposed to be employed in some profession—he is a mechanic, &c. or he is employed in raising provisions for those who are. In Great Britain, the farmers are to the manufacturers as four to three. In this state [North Carolina], where provisions are more easily raised, the number may be equal, because the labour of one man in the field is more than sufficient for the nourishment of two. Let the manufacturer demand what he pleases for the produce of his labour, the farmer can easily settle the account, by selling his provisions accordingly. The annual consumption of goods in this state has been estimated at a million, or rather a million two hundred thousand dollars. What is the result? One million two hundred thousand dollars in specie, or produce to that value, have been sent out of the state, and we are so much the poorer. Suppose the whole of those goods had been manufactured within the state, or a sufficient quantity for our consumption, and

that they had cost the consumers, or been valued at, two millions of dollars; would the citizens of this state have lost eight hundred thousand dollars by this difference in price? The very reverse would have happened. They would have gained, or they would have saved one million two hundred thousand dollars: for not a single dollar would have been sent out of the country.

No man is to say, that a thing may be good for individuals, which is not good for the public; or that our citizens may thrive by cheap bargains, while the nation is ruined by them. He is neither a politician nor a patriot, who would use such a cloak. Let us turn our attention to manufactures; and the staple of our country will soon rise to its proper value: for we have already glutted every foreign market. By this expedient, instead of using fictitious paper, we shall soon obtain hard money sufficient: instead of toiling in the field, and becoming poor, that we may enrich the manufacturers of other countries, we shall prosper by our own labour, and enrich our own citizens.

SYLVIUS.



LETTER IV.

Further remarks on tender laws—necessity of encouraging American manufactures—advantages of a national dress—absurdity of servilely copying the fashions of Europe—New England well calculated for manufactures—interesting statement of the sum contributed by America to the support of the government of Great Britain, by consuming her manufactures.

To the freemen inhabitants of the united states.

Friends and fellow citizens,

IT has ever been found, that speculative reasonings are weak and inconclusive, when opposed to the

prejudices or passions of a nation, There is something so bewitching in luxury and idleness, that nothing short of hard necessity can banish them: perhaps this great reformer is not far distant. When a man sees his fellow citizens posting at full speed to destruction—when he sees them attempt to mortgage their whole estate for a whistle and bells, and the legislatures of some of the states holding a candle to the prevailing folly, by cherishing the idle, at the expense of the industrious—he comforts himself that the race is nearly run. It was not sufficient that the whole produce of our country during the last three years has been exchanged for luxuries—all the hard money that could be collected was also exported; but there was still a remnant of hard money in many of the states—the people retained it for the necessary purposes of exchange—and merchants could not get it out of their hands. In order to banish this remnant of hard money, our legislatures are following one another in making a paper tender. By this happy expedient, people will be enabled to ruin themselves; every farthing of specie, which seems to be obnoxious, will be exported, and we shall be as poor and penniless as Tartars.

When our merchants are involved in a general bankruptcy, and when the officious friendship of foreign merchants is sufficiently punished, who tempted us to run in debt, there will be an end to the importation of foreign goods, and necessity will effect what prudence could not.

I have for some time looked for those marks of political virtue, those proofs of self denial, which produced the revolution. I have expected to see associations formed by gentlemen in the several states, for promoting American manufactures. For as soon as we can make our own clothes, and our own arms, we shall

be perfectly independent. Sure the man who is clothed in American manufactures, which he wears the sake of enriching his native country, and relieving his fellow citizens, may be allowed to have so claims to patriotism, which is the most honourable garb that can be worn.

While we are considering of various means by which our fellow citizens may be relieved from a scarcity of money, the subject of disclaims our particular attention. Our interest and our honour are united in recommending a national dress. National prejudices are useful: they attach people to those of their own country, and induce them to aid one another. In most cases, a national language answers the purpose of distinction: but we have the misfortune of speaking the same language with a nation, who, of all people in Europe, have given, and continue to give us fewest proofs of love. We do not count it an honour to imitate the forms of government that prevail in Europe—why should we think it honourable to imitate the fashion of their coats! "*O imitate res, servile pecus!*" Why should we imitate the dress of a man from London, more than of a man from Isfahan, Pekin, or Constantinople? Surely we do not mean this imitation as a mark of homage to a Briton, nor do we pay it as tribute, though it renders us tributary. We do not mean to acknowledge that Britons are superior to ourselves in everything, whence we should imitate and strive to copy them. How, then, are we to account for this sycophantism? Though it was profitable, we are placed thereby in a point of view so humiliating, and so offensive to the common feelings of men, that we ought to break the fetters, and give another proof of our being free. But since the imitation of English fashions cannot cost the united states

than five millions of dollars per annum—every argument from economy as well as pride seems to recommend a national dress. What would be the best form of a national dress from head to foot—a dress to be adopted and persevered in? This question may possibly be answered by the person who shall attempt the change. If a few respectable citizens of every state should undertake the change, beyond doubt it would soon become universal. It is true, that a national dress, like their several forms of government, has been established in most countries by a long process of time and accidents: but the Americans have had the resolution to shake off a set of prejudices, and attempt to establish a new system of government. Such a nation might easily shake off the trammels of English fashion in the hat or coat, especially when it is considered that great savings and other solid advantages would accrue from such a measure. If a national dress be adopted, we shall have nothing to apprehend from the effects of caprice. We are not to be least every adventurer, who arises among us with a new figaro on his back or head, should eclipse our fashions, and claim the greater attention of the ladies. It will constantly be found, that the national dress in every country, is more decent and pleasing to people at large, than any very adventurous or foreign dress. Every stranger who comes among us, will think it best to assume the dress of the country. If he affects to become a citizen, he will find it necessary. It is the privilege of a conquering nation, to impose its dress upon the conquered. This becomes a mark of subjection. There has been a notable exception to this rule. When the Tartars conquered China, the Chinese had the good fortune to preserve their dress, and the Tartars submitted to a change: hence the Tartars in that very empire are con-

sidered as secondaries and inferiors. Whether we shall submit to the perpetual rule and customs of England, and acknowledge ourselves subordinate, is a question that is not likely to be determined speedily. The present appearances are against us. I have mentioned the English, because it is certain that we do not copy French dress, though that also would be folly.

The measures to which I have referred, would certainly relieve us from a scarcity of money: but they are rather to be effected by the spirit of the nation, than by legislative interposition. They are rather to be effected by voluntary patriotic associations, than by express and particular statutes. It is impossible to foretell where any salutary measure is to have its beginning: but as the amendment in question will doubtless be produced by the combination of sundry causes, I should naturally expect that some of the eastern states would give us the example. Not because the citizens of those states are at this time distinguished by the frugality of their dress; for we believe that no people in the united states have sought more greedily to ruin themselves, by the luxury of dress, than some of the inhabitants of the eastern states. Nor is it because the tradesmen or mechanics in those states have any particular claims to patriotism, if it be true, as has been reported, that as soon as the legislature of Massachusetts had imposed a heavy tax on certain imported goods, to encourage the manufacture of similar articles at home, the mechanics raised the price of those very articles by the full amount of the tax. For instance, two dollars being the tax that was laid on beaver hats—the hatters immediately added two dollars to the eight dollars they had formerly demanded for a beaver, as if they wished by extravagance to provoke a repeal of the law, or to promote

smuggling. If such reports are well founded, and if such instances of extortion are common among the mechanics in the eastern states, we are not to look for proofs of signal patriotism among them. The eastern states are particularly circumstanced with respect to foreign commerce. They produce nothing fit for exportation. The fishery cannot be considered as theirs; for it is common: and the trifling amount of lumber and live stock, the produce of the country, that is exported, cannot be sufficient to clothe one tenth of the inhabitants. In the mean while it is very observable, that no people can be more conveniently situated for the purpose of extending manufactures than the citizens of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. The climate is extremely healthy, nor is it too warm for a white man to labour through the whole summer. Domestic slavery, which has ever been found unfriendly to manufactures, does not prevail among them. A great proportion of the inhabitants are contiguous to one another in small towns, which are the proper nurseries of manufactures: and most of those towns are situated on or near a water-carriage. The citizens are naturally industrious and tractable. Whatever raw materials they want, can easily be procured from the southern states. As the number of citizens increases in the manufacturing towns, provisions may become scarce; but the corn and rice of the southern states must afford them a convenient and constant supply. Vessels that are not employed by winter in the fishery, may be usefully engaged in carrying provisions in exchange for manufactures: for in such a soil and climate as the southern states, there must ever be a redundancy of provisions. Surely, then, it may be expected, that the citizens of the eastern states will be among the first manufacturers.

There we see a people who can long persevere in the course they have been running—a people who are persuaded by every argument of prudence and sound policy to adopt other measures—are we not to expect some useful, some great and patriotic examples from that quarter?

If other arguments are wanted to induce us to promote domestic manufactures, and a national dress, we had best consider the question concerning imported goods, as it affects our own revenue, compared with the revenue of a foreign kingdom. When the subject is viewed in this light we must admit that our present measures are neither supported by patriotism, nor by any other civil or political virtue.

The foreign goods annually consumed in this state, have been estimated at more than one million dollars; perhaps we may fairly state the amount of British goods at the same sum; consequently, the subjects of Great Britain are enriched by our follies, to the amount of four hundred thousand pounds per annum. How much do we contribute towards the taxes of Great Britain, such a consumption of her manufactures?

This is a question that has not been fully considered: but I think the amount may be fairly stated at seven hundred thousand dollars per year. To some Americans, this computation may appear extravagant: but gentlemen who have seen the burdens that are borne in foreign countries, will not think it too large. It is generally alleged that a man pays fifteen shillings for the use of government, out of every twenty shillings that he spends in England. Some have stated the public tax at seventeen shillings in the pound. Let us take an instance from the article of beer.

The lands pay a tax. The barley which grows on it, when malted

pays an excise of six-pence by the bushel. Hops pay one penny by the pound. The beer, when brewed, pays an excise, greater, in some cases, than the original value. And all the persons, who labour in the premises, contribute to the national revenue, by their sundry consumptions, to the amount of three-fourths of the whole price of their labour: this also must be charged on the beer. Surely, then, the consumer of beer pays more than seventeen shillings to government, for every twenty shillings, which he expends in that liquor. But I have taken fourteen shillings in the pound, as a moderate estimate of the sum, that a man in America, who consumes British manufactures, pays towards the support of government in Great Britain. It follows of course, that we have, for the last three years, been paying into the British treasury a tax of about two hundred thousand pounds a year. Strange liberality! While our own taxes are neglected, our government degraded, and our private debts unpaid, we are freely giving up the last farthing, for the support of a foreign government. The whole of our foreign debt would have been discharged by a smaller sum, than we have already paid into the British treasury: but our money is gone, and every part of the foreign loan remains unpaid. While we are neither honest, nor grateful, to those, who befriended us in the hour of distress, we are extremely beneficent to those, who stand in a different predicament. A nation that takes so much pains to injure itself, cannot possibly prosper. If the general use of British goods, in these states, could be improved, so as to bring into our treasury, a fifth part of the sum that it brings into the treasury of Great Britain, our civil government would be well supported, our foreign loans discharged, our national honour preserved, and

our citizens fully relieved from the burden of positive taxes. These are objects devoutly to be wished.

S Y L V I U S.



LETTER V.

On the necessity of altering the present mode of taxation—hardships of the land and capitation tax—an excise on luxuries peculiarly calculated for America.

To the freemen, inhabitants of the united states.

Friends and fellow citizens,

I N all governments, the relief of the poor should be one of the chief objects of legislative attention. Every citizen demands justice and protection from government. These should not—they cannot be refused. But the poor man has other claims. His wants and his sufferings must be in proportion to his degree of poverty. Humanity requires that his sufferings be prevented or relieved, so far as may consist with the steady and impartial administration of justice. It is inconsistent with honesty or sound policy, that the rich should be defrauded or plundered, for the sake of the poor: but the fiscal and economical laws of every state should be so framed, as to encourage and assist the poor, in their usual employments. The necessary burdens of civil government should be so fashioned, as to press on their shoulders in the most convenient and easy manner that is possible. The general payment of taxes is absolutely necessary to the support of any government: but when money is remarkably scarce, it must be difficult for the poor man to pay his taxes: and, in many cases, he may find it impossible to make the annual payments, without the public sale of some part of his property. Every distress of this kind ought to be prevented, if possible. Perhaps the most easy and

effectual method of preventing the poor man from being distressed in the payment of taxes, is by altering the general form of taxation, or by substituting an excise, in the place of a tax on property—which is common in North Carolina.

That tax, or additional price, which, in most countries, is laid upon certain goods, when they are sold for consumption, is called excise. Thus, a retailer of spiritous liquors may be required to pay, for the support of government, one shilling, for every gallon of rum that he sells; and the shopkeeper may be obliged to pay half a crown, for every yard of silk or cloth he sells. This tax is very different from the customs, or duties, that are usually paid, on the importation of foreign goods. It is a subsequent tax, and frequently much heavier. In many cases, it is laid on articles of domestic production. In England, several millions sterling are annually raised by an excise: in France, the revenue from an excise is larger: and in Holland, almost the whole of the national expense is paid by different excises. In that country, almost every thing that a man eats or drinks, is subject to an excise: and, in some cases, the excise is nearly equal to the prime cost.

It has been frequently said, that, when the citizens of any state are obliged to raise a certain sum of money by the means of taxation, there can be little difference, by what name the tax is called, or how it is laid. But this opinion is ill founded. The capitation-tax, and land-tax, such as are usual among us, are inevitable and positive taxes: they are not to be averted. The industrious man cannot elude them: the unfortunate cannot escape them. Every citizen must take out his purse, and pay the amount. But the excise is a negative or indirect tax. When it is laid on foreign goods, no

man is obliged to pay any part of it: and when it is laid on domestic luxuries, no prudent man will pay much of it. It will frequently happen, that the most virtuous and industrious citizens are greatly distressed by domestic sickness: and it will happen, that whole counties are distressed by intemperate seasons and short crops. In all such cases, the excise operates as a relief to the citizen: for he buys no luxuries during that year; and consequently he pays no taxes, provided luxuries only are excised.

Let us suppose a very frequent case: a poor man is possessed of 100 acres of poor land, hardly worth one hundred dollars. His land-tax will be twenty-five, and his poll or personal tax fifteen shillings. Does it not frequently happen, that the public officer, at the season for collecting taxes, finds such a man without forty shillings in his pocket? perhaps he is seldom possessed of so much money at a time. It would certainly be strange, if the poorest man in the state, who is not a cripple, could not earn, in the year, three times the sum that has been mentioned, besides what is necessary for the support of his family: but economy and a provident foresight, are not the characteristics of the poor. In fact, the poor, in these states, are generally poor, because they want the qualities: why, then, are we to suppose a man to have the thing, which we ought rather to suspect he has not? Or why shall we make it necessary for a man, to treasure up money for several months, who never cared for to-morrow? The land-tax or the personal tax, may appear, at first sight, to be small burdens: but experience has taught us, that they are not easily borne. On the other hand, the most indolent, or the most careless citizen, cannot possibly be incommoded by an excise. If he should have no money, in the court

of the year, nor any thing to sell, he will not be able to buy any thing, and consequently will not pay any tax. Whenever he shall be able to buy any foreign commodities, he will pay his tax in buying the goods; for the excise is added to the price of them: it is paid by the merchant. Suppose the excise on rum to be one shilling the gallon, whoever buys one gallon of rum, must pay a tax of one shilling: for in this case, the rum will cost him six shillings instead of five. The same rule may be applied to every article of foreign make. Prudence would dictate, that articles, which are least necessary, and articles which may soonest come to perfection in the state, should bear the heaviest tax. The natural and constant operation of this tax in favour of the poor is twofold. It is a voluntary tax, and it is a spur to industry. No man pays the tax, who is not able and willing to buy foreign luxuries: therefore it is voluntary. The man who is diligent, and manufactures for himself, has no occasion for those luxuries: therefore it is a spur to industry. In a word, all taxes on property are burdens on the good citizen: they discourage industry. All excises, or taxes on consumption, are taxes on luxury and dissipation: they punish idleness, and promote industry. Can we hesitate in making our choice?

The opinions of men have been variously affected in different countries, on the question concerning an excise or a land-tax, according to their passions, or their prejudices. In England, the excise has been unpopular, because the multitude, who are poor, suspect that they are chiefly affected by such taxes. They continue to prefer a land-tax, because none of themselves have any land. Doubtless, a land-tax is very proper in that country, because the owners are wealthy: but, in America, the

case is different: the poorest of our citizens commonly possess a little land. In France, a land-tax is very obnoxious, because it is thought to infringe upon the privileges of a number of nobility. Their excise is chiefly on the necessities of life; and is, for that reason, very burdensome. The revenue of the Roman empire, in its prosperous days, arose chiefly from excise and customs. That jealous and wise nation did not readily submit to a personal or to a land tax. There was a very hurtful trade carried on between Rome and the East Indies, by the way of Alexandria and the Red Sea. By this trade, a large balance of silver was exported from the empire; frequently to the amount of three millions of dollars a year. The returns were chiefly in silks, jewels, and spices—perfect luxuries; for which reason their East India trade was charged with a heavy excise*. Augustus ventured to impose a tax of five per cent. on legacies and inheritances, which was very productive, with the advantage of being a negative tax. The land-tax, and poll-tax, had been long in use through the provinces: but they do

NOTE.

* If we admit that the excise on East India goods was equal, as we are told, to an eighth part of their price—and if we also admit, as Pliny alleges, that East India goods were sold in Rome at one hundred for one on the prime cost, and that 3,733,332 dollars and upwards, were annually transmitted to India for the payment of those goods, the excise must have exceeded forty-six millions of dollars annually: but though silk may have been sold, as is affirmed, for its weight in gold, the general advance seems to have been stated too high: be this as it may, it was very proper, that a trade so destructive of money, should be compelled to contribute greatly to the public revenues.

not appear to have been generally imposed on the Roman people before the reign of Galienus, who succeeded Dioclesian. From that period, direct or positive taxes, became universal. What was the condition of the Roman people under the administration of customs, excises and other negative taxes, compared with the times in which the land-tax, the poll-tax, and other positive taxes, were universal? It was an age of gold compared to that of iron. Humanity is shocked at the tales of woe that are told. Parents are said, during the latter ages of the empire, to have sold their children and themselves into slavery, in order to shun the burden of taxes.

All wise governments have thought it their duty, on special occasions, to offer bounties for the encouragement of domestic manufactures: but an excise on foreign goods must operate as a bounty. Suppose that our annual imports into these states are worth 4,000,000*l.* an excise equal to a tenth part, would bring 1,100,000 dollars into the treasuries. This would be a very respectable addition to the revenues of these states; and would operate in proportion as a bounty for the encouragement of domestic manufactures. It is true, that as our manufactures increase, our revenue by excise must decrease: but our abilities to pay taxes by some other means, must increase much faster than the excise decreases. Thus an excise of two shillings may be paid in the purchase of a pair of imported shoes, which are supposed to be worth ten shillings: the tax goes into the treasury: but ten shillings, the price of the shoes, are sent out of the country. The next year such a pair of shoes is made in the country: in that case, the two shillings are sunk in the revenue, but ten shillings are saved in the state, and some of the citizens are so much the richer.

When I say that an excise is more favourable to the poor, than a poll-tax, or a land-tax, or any other tax on property, and that it tends to promote industry and wealth, I must constantly be supposed to mean an excise on luxuries, or imported goods: and I would also be understood to mean an excise that is impartially laid, and fairly collected. Our expectations on this head, are not sanguine; nor is the prospect very pleasing: for some of the laws that we have hitherto made for collecting duties, are shamefully defaced by the want of public spirit: they are full of ambiguities, through which the knavish and the cunning may creep. In North Carolina, it was enacted, that a merchant importing goods by land to the value of five pounds, should pay duties on the same: but a planter might import goods to the value of twenty pounds, though he imported them for sale or merchandise, without paying any duty. The author of such a clause must have forgotten that he was bound to serve the public rather than himself, and that the revenues of the state are not to be sacrificed to the convenience of a few individuals.

The general advantage of a sumptuary law, or an excise upon imported goods, is so obvious, that I question whether any objections can be made to it, except the expense of collecting the tax, and the probability of frauds being committed in secreting the goods. Surely the expense of collecting any tax, cannot be an object, when the happiness and prosperity of a state are contrasted with discontent, poverty, and disgrace. If the expense of collecting the revenue should amount to ten per cent. no part of that money would be lost to the state: and the diligence of public officers might prove the means of enriching the country.

In all places, and at all times, it

has been too common for merchants to endeavour to defraud the revenue by smuggling goods. The frequency of this offence seems at length to have altered men's ideas concerning the turpitude of perjury, or the baseness of stealing: and there are men who would steal from the nation, or defraud the revenue, yet would not on any account cheat a private citizen. Be this as it may, there are means by which smuggling may be prevented*; and when the people at large have discovered, that they must submit to poverty and to oppressive taxes, or must support the faithful execution of the revenue-laws, they will presently admit, that it is both honourable and useful to set a mark upon the man who violates the laws of the state.

I have said, that an excise is more favourable to the poor than a land or poll-tax. I will venture an additional sentiment: there never was a government in which an excise could be of so much use as in the united

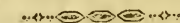
NOTE.

* Every merchant or vender of goods may be required, once in a month, to settle his accounts, and pay up the public money or excises he has collected: though he sells on credit, he is to account for the excise. It may be required of every citizen, that he shall receive from the seller a bill of parcels for every article of foreign goods he may buy in the state or out of it. Once in every six months, every freeman or head of a family should render an account to the revenue-officer for the county, of all the foreign goods he has purchased, by producing the bills, upon oath. And he should then pay the excise upon all goods he may have bought out of the state. The several bills for goods purchased from particular merchants, when compared together, may prove a pretty sure mode of detecting frauds.

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states of America. In all other countries, taxes are considered as grievances: in the united states, an excise on foreign goods would not be a grievance: like medicine to a sick man, it would give us strength: it would close that wasteful drain, by which our honour and our wealth are consumed. What though money was not wanted—though we did not owe a florin to any foreign nation—though we had no domestic debt—and though the expenses of civil government could be supported for many years without a tax—still it may be questioned, whether an excise would not be desirable. It would certainly be the best expedient for promoting domestic manufactures: and the condition in which we now live—our general dependence on a foreign country for arms and clothing—is dishonourable—it is extremely dangerous.

SYLVIOUS.



LETTER VI.

Further remarks on an excise—hardships of the present system of taxation on the inhabitants of the western counties of the several states—alarming calculation of the ruinous consequences of employing British vessels as the carriers of the produce of this country.

To the freemen inhabitants of the united states.

Friends and fellow citizens,

IN all ages of the world, and in all governments in which the people have been oppressed, their chief complaints have arisen from the weight of their taxes, or other impositions of a similar tendency. Some tyrants there have been, whose cruelty has extended to life as well as property: but the common distinction between tyrants has been, that one of them has imposed more grievous taxes, or laid them on with less regard to the convenience or

* 2 C

to the abilities of the subject. Hence it is, that governments are preferred, where the power of taxing is in the hands of the people: because it is presumed, that they will impose such taxes as are most profitable, and most easily paid.

It may happen, nevertheless, that in a republican government, the general system of taxing, arising from prejudice or inattention, may not be of that kind which is most conducive to the ease or prosperity of the people. This I take to be the case in many of these states; and as the subject is extremely interesting, the reader will doubtless excuse me, though I detain him somewhat longer in considering the particular equity, as well as the general operation of an excise or impost, by which the whole of the national debt may be discharged.

Part of our taxes must be paid in specie, and some of them may be paid in paper. The interest and principal of our foreign debt—the salaries of our ministers, in foreign and home departments—and the pay of such troops, as are necessarily employed in the service of the united states, must be discharged in hard money. We shall state the expenses of the federal government to be at 400,000 dollars by the year; for we presume that great economy will be used, till we are able to pay our debts; and that we shall try to be just, before we are generous. The states have not hitherto been called upon for any thing more than the interest of the foreign debt: but the principal of the French loan, as well as that from Holland, is to be paid off by instalments, and the first of those payments is to be made in the year 1787, from which time, some part of the principal is to be paid off every year. Within twelve years, the debt is to be reduced to a quarter of its present size: but, in the mean while, the payments of the principal and interest will amount to near one

million of dollars by the year. This must be paid in specie, or in such payments as will command specie to that value: but there is a considerable debt, which may possibly be discharged by paper. The annual tax, that may be paid in this manner, is very uncertain: for though we should discover that some of the states have, by assuming a considerable part of the continental debt, and by other means, nearly paid their quota of the domestic debt contracted by the united states, still it will follow, that the particular debts contracted by the states, or those which they have assumed, must be paid. Certificates have been issued for the amount of those debts, by one class of auditors or another: how is the certificate-debt of this state to be reduced? how is it to be discharged? These are difficult questions: they are beyond the powers of ordinary calculation: conjecture itself can hardly reach them. It has been alleged, that our certificate-debt bears some resemblance to that many-headed monster of antiquity, which defied danger: whenever one of its heads was cut off, two other heads arose to support the loss. Debts of this kind cannot be reduced to the ordinary rules of finance.

We have seen that a tax is to be collected annually, in specie, for the use of the federal treasury, unless we are willing to forfeit our honour, and give up all pretensions to national character. Is it probable, that we shall be able to raise half of this sum by all the various taxes on property? I think not. It is certain that the whole of our taxes for the present year, after the civil list of the state is paid off, will not produce half the sum in specie, required for the use of the federal treasury. Let the poll tax, or land tax, be increased to three times the sum that is now demanded, and there would still be a deficiency; but the

consequence would be, great distress to the poorer class of citizens, and multitudes would be constrained to go into the western territory; thousands would complain of the scarcity of money; more paper must be emitted; that paper would again depreciate, and the taxes must again be doubled. Thus we should for ever be climbing the hill, and for ever sinking to the bottom. But we have other objections to taxes on property—they are extremely unequal: they cannot be justified, except by necessity, and such necessity does not appear. Is it equal or just, that a citizen who lives on a thick settlement, or one who lives in the wilderness, should pay the same tax for his land, his slave, or any other property which he possesses, as a citizen pays, who lives near the sea coast? The last mentioned makes his lumber, and every thing at his farm produces, to a ready market; the other can get nothing for his lumber; corn itself is of no value to him, when money is wanted, and there are few things his farm produces, that will pay much more than the expense of carrying them to market. Those people complain of the present—and their complaints are well founded—though our taxes are small as hardly to deserve the name: what would they say, if the taxes were such as the honour and safety of the nation require?

Let us consider, on the other hand, the effects of a substantial tax on luxuries. As it would be an easy matter to raise the whole sum that is wanted both for the federal treasury, and for our own civil list, by an excise on foreign goods, I conceive that all other taxes might be given up, except a small land tax. Under such an administration of the public revenue, the whole of our paper money might be called in, within the space of three or four years; for, in that time, the industrious citizen may have discharged his private debts; and as he

will not be called on for the payment of taxes, there can be no honest reason for making more paper. The immediate and necessary consequence of such taxes will be, the increase of domestic manufactures, and the general circulation of hard money. Let us raise 1,000,000 dollars in the next year by imposts and excise; the consequence will be, that, in the following year, we shall import less goods by at least the amount of 500,000 dollars, and thus we shall become £. 200,000 the richer—that is to say, we shall have paid off so much of our debt; or, being out of debt, we shall have laid up so much hard money; for, whenever our exports exceed our imports, the balance returns in specie. If any man has doubts concerning the effects of large taxes on foreign manufactures, he should turn his eyes to the eastern states, and he will discover, that during the late war, sundry manufactures had there been carried to considerable perfection. We had not been six months in the enjoyment of peace, before those manufactures were all ruined. The mechanic is generally the first who perceives the effects of a pernicious commerce; for the support of his family depends on his daily labour. Hence it is, that the merchant may be profited by a particular branch of commerce, and may promote it diligently, while his country is sinking into a deadly consumption. It is the duty of the statesman, either to check or to promote the several streams of commerce, by taxes or bounties, so as to render them profitable to the nation. Thus it happened in Massachusetts—A tax of twenty five per cent. was lately imposed on nails, and the poor of Taunton were immediately restored to life and vigour. If our informant is correct, there are at least two hundred and fifty labourers employed in the manufacture of nails in that little town. The effects of sumptuary laws must

be extremely favourable to the industrious citizen, who lives one or two hundred miles from any navigable water. In those parts, the land in general is fertile, and provisions are cheap, for they cannot be sent to a foreign market: there it is that the manufactures of linen, woollen, and iron may flourish. The citizen near the coast may possibly indulge in the use of foreign luxuries, while he can get them in exchange for a piece of timber, or a bushel of corn: by such men our taxes must be paid. But the citizen, in the interior country, will attend to his manufactures, which may readily be transported to any part of the state: and within a few years, we may expect to see the most plentiful circulation of specie in those remote settlements, which are now labouring under the unequal burden of taxes. By such a system of finance, perfect justice will be rendered to every citizen; they will stand on equal ground: and no man will have reason to complain: for every man will fix the amount of his own taxes. They will be limited by his abilities, his caprice, or his prudence.

In every regulation of finance, we should have an eye to a vast unsettled country: fertile soil and happy climate invite the foot of the adventurous citizen. The inhabitants of that country, whenever they are formed into separate states, are bound, by the present federal rule, to pay their quota of the national debt, according to the value of their lands and improvements; or, it may possibly be expected, in order to shun the impracticable estimation of property, that their quota shall be as the number of citizens. Is it to be expected, that men, who live at such distance from market, will, for many years, pay taxes to any amount? Surely it is not. Though they should promise, they will not be able to pay. For this reason, we should take care

that the operations of finance shall not banish any man into that country. Let the citizen have it in his power to live on the sea-coast, equally secure as in the western countries without risque of troublesome visits from the collectors of taxes. In course of time, manufactures must flourish in those settlements: and the citizen on the sea-coast, who exports his produce, may find it his interest to buy goods that are made in the western countries. At such time, we may expect that our brethren there shall, without difficulty contribute their share to the support of government. In the mean while little can be expected from them except that they may consume a small portion of the foreign goods which pay tax when they are imported into some of the original states.

As our manufactures increase, our imports must decrease in proportion: and before the foreign debt is discharged, or before thirteen years have revolved, our annual importation may fall short of 200,000 dollars. In this case, certainly the revenue of consumption must be greatly diminished; but we are to recollect that many articles, which grow in these states, must be in constant demand in other countries, and that our sale is very productive; whence our exports may be near half of what they are at present, after our import reduced to a fourth or a fifth part of that sum. Such a change of circumstances must produce a balance of specie in our favour, to the amount of 100,000*l.* every year: and though it did not produce half that sum, there would certainly be a large supply of specie in circulation: and the balance of our quota might easily be raised by sumptuary law of another sort.

Such are the present advantages and future effects that may be expected to spring from large and general taxes on foreign goods. *L*

us contrast this with our present condition and system of finance; we have stated, in a former letter, that by the consumption of British manufactures, to the amount of one million of dollars, we contribute at least seven hundred thousand towards the revenues of that nation, while our own are perishing; but there are other misfortunes and other marks of servitude, to which we are subjected by our present arrangements, and the general use of British goods. In the several states, to the southward of the Delaware, it is agreed, that three-fourths of the produce are exported, and a similar share of the returns are made, in British bottoms. It will be found, that for exporting lumber, and bringing back the returns, at least one half of the property is paid to the carrier. Tobacco, our chief staple, is exported on better terms. Those who have shipped tobacco for London, have the satisfaction to find, that after all charges are paid, that is to say, freight, commissions, brokerage, and a variety of other expenses, real or imaginary, there are frequently remaining two-thirds of the value for which it was sold. In some cases, three-fourths of the value have been saved. The freight of the returns must be added, and we shall state the whole, though it is considerably below the mark, at $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. Some part of the goods is carried in American bottoms, by which something is saved to the country, under all the present burdens of that trade: for this reason, we shall state the average loss at thirty per cent. From this computation, it appears, that when produce is shipped for London, in one of the southern

states, to the value of one million of dollars, the British merchant draws from that sum at least three hundred thousand dollars, under the name of freight and other contingencies: this money is for ever lost to the country: and the remaining seven hundred thousand, which are returned to us in dry goods, must have contributed to the revenues of Great Britain at least four hundred and ninety thousand dollars; we take them burdened with that expense. Surely, our present commerce is of the most extraordinary kind. Poverty is not the most humiliating circumstance by which it is attended: for under the name of freemen we are little better than slaves—degraded by national bankruptcy—burdened by private debts—and constantly labouring in the soil for the benefit of another empire. When good and evil are before us, we prefer the latter. We have it in our power to promote manufactures—to bring thousands of industrious tradesmen from foreign countries—to discharge our debts—and to become respectable, rich, and powerful: instead of that, we are fluttering about in foreign dress, for which we cannot pay—we are aping the vices of other nations, while we neglect their virtues—without patriotism, and without pride, we are feeding other people, while our own nation is sinking under weakness and poverty: thus we have seen an idle and thoughtless debauchee neglect the improvement of his farm, and spend his time and his estate in a tavern, supporting the family of another man, while his own family were perishing with cold and hunger.

S Y L V I U S.

LETTER VII.

Statement of the labour requisite in North Carolina to support families—comparative view of some countries in Europe—however distressing the present system of Britain, it is likely to be attended with beneficial consequences to America.

To the freemen inhabitants of the united states.

Friends and fellow citizens,

IN these letters, I have endeavoured to explain the true cause of the present scarcity of money—the surest and best method of obtaining a sufficient supply of substantial coin—and the safest method of administering the public revenue, so as to prevent the poor from being oppressed, while money is scarce. We are told by medical people, that in discovering the true cause of any disease, a considerable progress is made towards its cure. It might appear strange, that a fact, so obvious as the true cause of the general scarcity of money, should have escaped the notice of any person. But it must be remembered, that when troubles are occasioned by our own vices, we are generally dextrous at evasions, and ingenious at fictions: for if we confessed our fault, it would be expected that we should amend. Our farmers contend that the merchants are the cause of all our troubles: they export the specie, and make it scarce. The merchant will have it, that our commercial system is bad: his profits are too small, for which reason he cannot pay his debts: but all of them, who are in debt, are agreed, that it is hard living in this country. Strange positions: the farmer buys fineries: his family are idle: all the crop that he can sell, does not pay for half the goods he has bought: but he wants more fineries, and more rum. He can get no more credit: and he pulls out all the specie that lay in his chest. Is the merchant to

be blamed, for shipping this specie, when the extravagance or indolence of the planter could furnish him with nothing else to ship?

As for the merchants, or people who are so called, their complaints are just as well founded as those of the planter. Thousands of adventurers from the British dominions have added to the thousands of our own citizens, who are too lazy to plough or labour at any other calling, and for this good reason are become merchants, or more properly traders. This tribe increases much faster than any other class of citizens; and this class we have to maintain, besides the misfortune of paying for their goods; but when any of those gentlemen find it inconvenient to pay their debts, they gravely complain of the scarcity of money, because our commercial system is bad. Certainly part of our system is bad; for by proper regulations, nine-tenths of those merchants that are here, might be exchanged for ten times the number of mechanics, who would render much more service to the public and to themselves. The general charge of its being hard to live in America, has a worse foundation, if possible, than the other complaints. There is not, at this time, a civilized country on the face of the earth, in which a poor man may live with so much ease, as in the united states of America. The modes of living are various in the different states: I shall take an example from a southern state, namely, North Carolina.

The necessities of life are food and clothing. Three-fourths of the labour of the human species are, doubtless, employed in procuring food. In the most luxurious countries, where the greatest number of unnecessary things are used, more than half of the labouring inhabitants are employed in agriculture. It is observed, that in England, the very nursery of manufactures, the

farmers are to the mechanics as four to three: the difference is greater in France and Germany: but many people are to be fed in those countries, who are neither farmers nor mechanics. Let us suppose that half of the subjects employed in farming, would raise provisions sufficient for the whole nation, and for their cattle; or that the labour of one family in the field is sufficient to maintain two. The produce of our labour is greater, and the labour we employ is less. Every man, who has visited foreign countries, knows with what diligence farmers and mechanics are obliged to labour through the year. In the winter, their work begins before day: and in summer, it continues through the day. They have little respite, or time for spending money. If one of them is accosted, he seldom stops to answer the question—his work must go on. This is not the case in North Carolina: nor have we any examples of what other people call industry. If my calculations are right, and some of them are annexed*, the citizens

NOTE.

* When the land is good, a labourer, by the help of an indifferent horse, hardly worth twenty dollars, may raise seven hundred and fifty bushels of corn in the season. He may 'tend two thousand five hundred hills, which will produce six barrels to the thousand. In ordinary land, he may raise two hundred and fifty bushels. We may take four hundred bushels for an average, instead of five hundred. Two labourers, when there are two in a family, may raise near twice the quantity: and one good horse is sufficient for both. This corn is planted in May: and the care of it is finished in July, except that it is pulled in November. One quart of corn by the day, is sufficient to make bread for a grown person. There are countries, in which

of this state may live with half the labour that would be requisite to

NOTE.

the same quantity of wheat or rye is the whole daily allowance of a soldier: and if we lived, as three-fourths of the inhabitants of other countries are obliged to live, this would be the end of our calculation: but one pound of pork or beef is the daily attendant on our bread, else we complain of hard fare. Our farmers plant peas among the corn: and each labourer may count on the addition of fifty bushels of peas to his crop, with very little trouble. The planter, his wife, and three children, may be supposed to eat fifty bushels of corn in the year: fifty bushels more may be reserved for the occasional use of his horse and his hogs. This is sufficient, when we consider, that hogs not only support but frequently fatten themselves in the woods. The assistance of peas and potatoes is employed when necessary. The remaining three-fourths of the planter's crop of corn may be sold, and employed as prudence or folly may dictate.

If any man shall cast his eye on this note, who is not acquainted with the state of farming in the lower districts of North Carolina, he might wonder that no allowance was made for the trouble of raising hay, oats, and such other provisions as are usually consumed by horses, sheep, and black cattle. Such a reader may be informed, that the blade or fodder of Indian corn is all the provision for this purpose that is commonly made use of by the farmers; for the reeds, which grow every where, and are green through the winter, serve as food for cattle. Perhaps it may be noted, that the computation is made for a farmer who has land of his own, and that no allowance has been made for the payment of taxes, nor for rents, which are to be

support them in France, England or Germany: for the labour of one fa-

mily in this state is sufficient to raise food for the support of four families.

NOTE.

paid by the miserable tenants. To this it may be replied, that the present land tax is five shillings for the hundred acres: and the poll tax is fifteen shillings: such debts are soon discharged by an industrious man in a country like this, where the Spanish dollar being eight shillings, a pair of shoes is sold at 16s. to 20s. The day's labour of a carpenter or mason, brings him from eight to twelve shillings clear of his provisions, and corn is sold at three or four shillings the bushel. As for the rents, by which the tenants are frequently grieved, no account is to be made of them in a state like this, where nineteen farmers out of twenty cultivate their own land. Though there are few citizens who suffer under the hands of a landlord, there are many who suffer by the indolence of living on poor and piney land. Like the sloth, they are too lazy to gather food, though they see where it is plenty. Such people hardly claim our pity. Every one of them knows that on the other side of their mountains, on the western waters in this state, he may buy lands in great or in small quantities, at twenty-five dollars for the hundred acres—lands of such a quality, as will produce fifty or sixty bushels of corn to the acre. Complaints are not grievous, that can be so easily removed.

According to this calculation, the farmer has been employed three months in raising his corn, and he has raised in that space four times as much as was required for the use of his family. He raised in the same season, at the usual intervals, flax, cotton, potatoes, peas, and sundry other necessary or useful articles. How is he to be exercised on the rest of the year? Some weeks must be employed in saving his fodder,

NOTE.

corn, potatoes, &c. and some weeks in repairing his fences; but a great portion of his time lies vacant, and is usually employed in quarter-races, cock-fights, sauntering in stores and taverns, drinking rum, and spending the residue of his crop. The calculation has been made for the planter labouring in the field, who maintains three children, incapable of work; but in general half the children of every family are capable to work; hence the surplusage of provisions by the labour of two hands will be greater. There they have a planter labouring in the field, hardly six months in the year, who in that space raises four times the food that is required for the support of his family and cattle. In other countries, the farmer, by constant labour through the year, can hardly raise twice the quantity that is required for the same purpose. Is it not pretty clear that provisions, the chief necessary of life, are raised in this state with less than half the labour that is required in France, England, or Germany? In the article of clothing, the difference of labour that may be required, is not so great: but the difference is still in our favour. Our winters being temperate, the inhabitants require less clothing, and the raw materials are procured with more ease, or with less expense, than in the other countries that have been mentioned. Flax grows to great perfection: and the land, on which it is sown, is cheap, and easily cultivated, Cotton is raised with very little trouble: and though the wolf continues to prowl in some neighbourhoods, yet as sheep thrive well in this climate, and require very little feeding, we cannot say that wool ought to be dear. Skins, which are also used in clothing, ought to be cheap in a

is the man candid or honest—is he not ungrateful to heaven, who complains of such a country, or says, that his troubles are occasioned by the necessary difficulty of living—by the difficulty of paying taxes---or of providing food and raiment---or by any other cause than by his own vices---his idleness—and dissipation!

Our present commercial system, if we have any thing that deserves that name, is certainly a bad one: but reason may teach us to be moderate in our complaints. If the English ministry had not cut off all inter-

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country where black cattle maintain themselves through the winter; and where a man may kill a deer when he pleases, for his breakfast. Surely the scarcity of clothing in this settlement, cannot arise from the difficulty of obtaining raw materials. There is a difficulty remaining: the raw materials must be made up, and the people are too lazy to work. Nothing has been said concerning house-rent or fuel. For in a country where a common labourer may in a fortnight build such a house, out of timber, as is frequently used, and in a country where timber, the constant fuel, is profitably cut down, that it may be destroyed, very little can be charged to the account of house-rent or fuel—considerable articles in many other places. If it should be asked, how is the industrious farmer in this country to spend the balance of his time? Every citizen knows, that he may be profitably employed in making tar, pitch, shingles, staves, boards, or some other species of lumber, which come to a ready market. By such means, and by the sale of his pork, or his corn, or other grain, every industrious and frugal planter may, in a few years, double his stock. This cannot be said of farmers in other countries.

course with their West-Indies, and distressed our direct intercourse with Britain and Ireland, we should have continued a good while longer to take her manufactures, and to pay for them. By these means, her mechanics would have thriven: and we should have been insensibly settling down into inveterate and ruinous habits. Diseases, which are slowly contracted, are said to be hard to remove. The measures of Great-Britain have, in a short space, prevented us from being able to pay our debts: and they have at the same time prevented us from feeding her own subjects. They have happily checked our folly, at a time when all are capable of amendment, for we have not altogether forgotten the little we knew of the mechanic arts, nor the few habits of industry that we had formerly acquired. In a few years, we may be reduced to a new system, by which we shall be more wealthy and less dependent.

Perhaps I deceive myself—but I think that I love my country, and that no man living is more desirous to serve it—yet I am not grieved—on the contrary I view it as a fortunate event—that our commercial hopes have been disappointed, and a check given to the baneful spirit of luxury and the general use of British goods that was prevailing. Perhaps the time is not very distant, when we shall be a frugal and virtuous nation. We are not to thank Great Britain for the favour she has done us, for she did not intend those commercial restrictions for our good. Let her continue to exclude us from her West-Indies, and, contrary to good faith, to withhold the western posts. The less we gain by commerce, the fewer of her manufactures we shall buy, and the sooner we shall make our own clothing. A nation less wise might have discovered long since, that liberal conduct is most profitable: but she refuses to be reformed.

The commercial history of the united states is short. At the end of the war, our merchants, forsaking the trade of other nations, by whom we had been well treated, rushed into the arms of Great Britain, with a spirit that was not honourable, and with a haste that was not profitable. They did not wait for terms. They have suffered as they deserved. Our shipping has been oppressed—We have seen a vessel from these states to London, laden with naval stores, bring back, as the whole produce of her cargo, five pounds worth of chalk. The balance of her cargo was absorbed in charges. In consequence of such treatment, our merchants are become bankrupts a little the sooner. The want of payment at home, and the want of profits abroad, have effectually disabled them.

The history of our planters is rather more simple. Discarding their wheels and looms, they used nothing but what was British. They bought more foreign goods in one year, than they could pay for in two. Their produce is gone, and their specie is chiefly gone, but they are still in debt. Let us be more frugal and more industrious—let us buy no more, till we pay our debts. Such are the dictates of honesty and patriotism. Is not this plan of paying our debts preferable to the expedient of making paper money: an expedient that substitutes a shadow for a substance? It converts government, which was instituted for the protection of property into an engine for its destruction. After all, it is the poor expedient of a day, which promises relief that it cannot give. The whole process is such contemptible quackery, that while we are swallowing the potion, the disease increases. It is vain to prophecy: but if the time shall ever come, when the united states are to give up part of their liberty, as men frequently have done for the greater security of property, the rage

of defrauding creditors, by making paper money a legal tender, is like to produce the dishonourable change. If it is true, that men have not virtue enough to bear a government that is perfectly free, the proof is like to come from this quarter. If there were a state in this union, in which it was treason to attempt making paper money, such a state would become the asylum of honesty, arts, and industry; and if any of the new states in the western country shall happily provide this guard, as part of her constitution, that state will certainly flourish with singular speed; it will give a new proof that men are most happy when their property is safe, and that all men approve of virtue, whatever may be their practice.

The reader is fully possessed of the plan that was proposed in the first of these letters, for giving relief under the present scarcity of money. The relief, given by paper money, is neither durable nor honest. Nothing but frugality and industry can bring us substantial relief; but the operations of industry, and the progress of manufactures, are slow. Specie which is banished, cannot immediately return: and the poor man, in the mean while, may be distressed for money to pay his taxes. In order to obviate this misfortune, it is proposed that the expenses of government be paid by an excise on all foreign manufactures, or by sumptuary taxes, which are equally intended to promote domestic manufactures and to give immediate relief to every industrious family. By a steady perseverance in this plan, the poor would be relieved from the burden of their taxes—our citizens would be enabled to discharge their debts—we should increase daily in wealth—our country would be the resort of ingenious artists—public and private credit would revive—and we should become truly independent.

S Y L V I U S.

an oration, delivered at the north church in Hartford, at the meeting of the Connecticut society of the Cincinnati, July the fourth, 1787, in commemoration of the independence of the united states. By Joel Barlow, esq. Published by desire of said society.

Mr. president, gentlemen of the society, and fellow citizens,

ON the anniversary of so great an event, as the birth of the empire in which we live, none will question the propriety of passing a few moments in contemplating the various objects suggested to the mind by the important occasion. But at the present period, while the blessings, claimed by the sword of victory, and promised in the voice of peace, remain to be confirmed by our future exertions—while the nourishment, the growth, and even the existence of our empire depend upon the united efforts of an extensive and divided people—the duties of this day ascend from amusement and congratulation to a serious patriotic employment.

We are assembled, my friends, not to boast, but to realize—not to inflate our national vanity by a pompous relation of past achievements in the council, or in the field; but, from a modest retrospect of the truly dignified part already acted by our countrymen—from an accurate view of our present situation—and from an anticipation of the scenes that remain to be unfolded—to discern and familiarize the duties that still await us, as citizens, as soldiers, and as men.

Revolutions in other countries have been effected by accident. The faculties of human reason and the rights of human nature have been the sport of chance and the prey of ambition. And when indignation has burst the bands of slavery, to the destruction of one tyrant, it was only to impose the manacles of another. This arose from the imperfection of that early stage of society, which necessarily

occasioned the foundation of empires on the eastern continent to be laid in ignorance, and which induced a total inability of foreseeing the improvements of civilization, or of adapting the government to a state of social refinement.

I shall but repeat a common observation, when I remark, that on the western continent the scene was entirely different, and a new task, totally unknown to the legislators of other nations, was imposed upon the fathers of the American empire.

Here was a people thinly scattered over an extensive territory, lords of the soil on which they trod, commanding a prodigious length of coast and an equal breadth of frontier—a people habituated to liberty, professing a mild and benevolent religion, and highly advanced in science and civilization. To conduct such a people in a revolution, the address must be made to reason, as well as to the passions. And to reason, to the clear understanding of these variously affected colonies, the solemn address was made.

A people thus enlightened, and capable of discerning the connexion of causes with their remotest effects, waited not the experience of oppression in their own persons; which they well knew would render them less able to conduct a regular opposition. But in the moment of their greatest prosperity, when every heart expanded with the increasing opulence of the British American dominions, and every tongue united in the praises of the parent state and her patriot king, when many circumstances concurred, which would have rendered an ignorant people secure and inattentive to their future interests—at this moment the eyes of the American Argus were opened to the first and most plausible invasion of the colonial rights.

In vain were we told, and perhaps with the greatest truth and sincerity,

that the monies levied in America were all to be expended within the country, and for our benefit; equally idle was the policy of Great Britain, in commencing her new system by a small and almost imperceptible duty, and that upon very few articles. It was not the quantity of the tax, it was not the mode of appropriation, but it was the right of the demand, which was called in question. Upon this the people deliberated: this they discussed in a cool and dispassionate manner: and this they opposed, in every shape that an artful and systematic ministry could devise, for more than ten years, before they assumed the sword.

This single circumstance, aside from the magnitude of the object, or the event of the contest, will stamp a peculiar glory on the American revolution, and mark it as a distinguished era in the history of mankind; that sober reason and reflexion have done the work of enthusiasm, and performed the miracles of gods. In what other age or nation has a laborious and agricultural people, at ease upon their own farms, secure and distant from the approach of fleets and armies, tide-waiters, and stamp-masters, reasoned before they had felt, and, from the dictates of duty and conscience, encountered dangers, distress, and poverty, for the sake of securing to posterity a government of independence and peace? The toils of ages and the fate of millions were to be sustained by a few hands. The voice of unborn nations called upon them for safety; but it was a still small voice, the voice of rational reflexion. Here was no Cromwell to inflame the people with bigotry and zeal, no Caesar to reward his followers with the spoils of vanquished foes, and no territory to acquire by conquest. Ambition, superstition, and avarice, those universal torches of war, never illumined an American field of battle. But the permanent

principles of sober policy spread through the colonies, roused the people to assert their rights, and conducted the revolution.

It would be wandering from the objects which ought to occupy our present attention, again * to recount the numerous acts of the British parliament which compose that system of tyranny designed for the subjugation of America: neither can we indulge in the detail of those memorable events, which marked our various stages of resistance, from the glooms of unsuccessful supplication, to the splendor of victory and acknowledged sovereignty. The former were the theme of senatorial eloquence, producing miracles of union and exertion in every part of the continent, till we find them preserved for everlasting remembrance in that declaratory act of independence, which gave being to an empire, and dignified the day we now commemorate; the latter are fresh in the memory of every person of the least information. It would be impertinence, if not a breach of delicacy, to attempt a recital of those glorious achievements, especially before an audience, part of whom have been distinguished actors in the scene, others the anxious and applauding spectators. To the faithful historian we resign the task—the historian, whom it is hoped the present age will deem it their duty, as well as their interest, to furnish, encourage, and support,

Whatever praise is due for the task already performed, it is certain that much remains to be done. The revolution is but half completed. Independence and government were

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* This oration was preceded by the lecture of the act of independence; which, by an order of this state society, is in future to make part of their public exercises at every annual meeting.

the two objects contended for: and but one is yet obtained. To the glory of the present age, and the admiration of the future, our severance from the British empire was conducted upon principles as noble, as they were new and unprecedented in the history of human actions. Could the same generous principles, the same wisdom and unanimity be exerted in effecting the establishment of a permanent federal system, what an additional lustre would it pour upon the present age! a lustre hitherto unequalled; a display of magnanimity, for which mankind may never behold another opportunity.

Without an efficient government, our independence will cease to be a blessing. Shall that glow of patriotism and unshaken perseverance, which has been so long conspicuous in the American character, desert us at our utmost need? Shall we lose sight of our own happiness, because it has grown familiar by a near approach? Shall thy labours, O Washington, has been bestowed in vain? Hast thou conducted us to independence and peace, and shall we not receive the blessings at thy hands? Where are the shades of our fallen friends? and what is their language on this occasion? Warren, Montgomery, Mercer, Wooster, Scammel, and Laurens, all ye hosts of departed heroes! rich is the treasure you have lavished in the cause, and prevalent the price you have paid for our freedom. Shall the purchase be neglected? the fair inheritance lie without improvement, exposed to every daring invader? Forbid it, honour; forbid it, gratitude; and oh, may heaven avert the impending evil.

In contemplating the price of our independence, it will never be forgotten, that it was not entirely the work of our own hands; nor could it probably have been established, in the same term of time, by all the blood and treasure that America, un-

assisted, was able to furnish for the contest. Much of the merit is due, and our warmest acknowledgments shall ever flow to that illustrious monarch, the father of nations and friend of the distressed—that monarch who by his early assistance taught us not to despair; and who, when we had given a sufficient proof of our military virtue and perseverance, joined us in alliance, upon terms of equality; gave us a rank and credit among the maritime nations of Europe; and furnished fleets and armies, money and military stores, to put a splendid period to the important conflict.

Where shall we find language to express a nation's gratitude for such unexampled goodness and magnanimity? my friends, it is not to be done with language. Our sense of obligation for favours received from heaven, is best expressed by a wise improvement. Does Louis ask for more? and can duty be satisfied with less? Unite in a permanent federal government; put your commerce upon a respectable footing; your arts, and manufactures, your population, your wealth and glory will increase; and when a hundred millions of people are comprised within your territory, and made happy by your sway, then shall it be known that the hand of that monarch assisted in planting the vine, from which so great a harvest is produced. His generous heart shall exult in the prospect: his royal descendants, fired by the great example, shall imitate his virtues: and the world shall unite in his praise.

Here shall that pride of the military character, the gallant FAYETTE, find his compensation for a life of disinterested service; whose toils have not ceased with the termination of the war; and whose successful endeavours to promote our interest, in commercial and political arrangements, can only be equalled by his achievements in the field. How
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will the posterity of that nobleman, and that of the other brave officers of his nation, who have fought by your sides, on reviewing the American history, rejoice in the fame of their fathers; nor even regret the fate of those who bled in so glorious a field!

An acknowledgement of the merits of Rochambeau and Chastellux, D'Etaign, De Grasse, De Barras, and the other heroes of the French army and navy—affection to the memory of our brethren and companions who have bled in our battles—reverence to the advice of our illustrious commander in chief, and of all those sages and patriots who have composed our councils, from the time of the first congress to the present moment—honour to our worthy creditors in Europe—a regard to the conduct of the imperial sovereigns of Russia and Germany, who evince to the world that they revere the cause of liberality and human happiness, in which we drew the sword—a respect to the memory of the venerable Frederic of Prussia, whose dying hand put the signature to a treaty of commerce with the united states, upon the most liberal principles that ever originated in a diplomatic council—a sacred regard to ourselves and to all posterity—and, above all, a religious gratitude to our heavenly Benefactor, who hath hitherto smiled upon our endeavours—call upon us, in the language of a thousand tongues, for firmness, unanimity, and perseverance, in completing the revolution, and establishing the empire.

The present is justly considered an alarming crisis: perhaps the most alarming that America ever saw. We have contended with the most powerful nation, and subdued the bravest and best appointed armies: but now we have to contend with ourselves, and encounter passions and prejudices, more powerful than armies, and more dangerous to our

peace. It is not for glory, it is for existence that we contend.

Much is expected from the federal convention now sitting at Philadelphia: and it is a happy circumstance that so general a confidence from all parts of the country is centred in that respectable body. Their former services, as individuals, command it, and our situation requires it. But although much is expected from them, yet more is demanded from ourselves.

The first great object is to convince the people of the importance of their present situation: for the majority of a great people, on a subject which they understand, will never act wrong. If ever there was a time, in any age or nation, when the fate of millions depended on the voice of one, it is the present period in these states. Every free citizen of the American empire ought now to consider himself as the legislator of half mankind. When he views the amazing extent of territory, settled and to be settled under the operation of his laws—when, like a wise politician, he contemplates the population of future ages—the changes to be wrought by the possible progress of arts, in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures—the increasing connexion and intercourse of nations, and the effect of one rational political system upon the general happiness of mankind—his mind, dilated with the great idea, will realize a liberality of feeling which leads to a rectitude of conduct. He will see that the system to be established by his suffrage, is calculated for the great benevolent purposes of extending peace, happiness, and progressive improvement to a large proportion of his fellow creatures. As there is a probability that the system to be proposed by the convention may answer this description, there is some reason to hope it will be viewed by the people with that candour and dispassionate respect

which is due to the importance of the subject.

While the anxiety of the feeling heart is breathing the perpetual sigh for the attainment of so great an object, it becomes the strongest duty of the social connexion, to enlighten and harmonize the minds of our fellow citizens, and point them to a knowledge of their interests, as an extensive federal people, and fathers of increasing nations. The price put into their hands is great, beyond all comparison; and, as they improve it, they will entail happiness or misery upon a larger proportion of human beings, than could be affected by the conduct of all the nations of Europe united.

Those who are possessed of abilities or information in any degree above the common rank of their fellow citizens, are called upon by every principle of humanity, to diffuse a spirit of candour and rational enquiry upon these important subjects.

Adams, to his immortal honour, and the timely assistance of his country, has set the great example. His treatise in defence of the constitutions, though confined to the state republics, is calculated to do infinite service, by correcting thousands of erroneous sentiments arising from our inexperience; sentiments which, if uncorrected in this early stage of our political existence, will be the source of calamities without measure and without end. Should that venerable philosopher and statesman be induced to continue his enquiries, by tracing the history of confederacies, and with his usual energy and perspicuity, delineate and defend a system adapted to the circumstances of the united states—I will not say he could deserve more from his distressed country, but he would crown a life of patriotic labours, and render an essential additional service to the world.

While America enjoys the peculiar felicity of seeing those, who have

conducted her councils and her battles, retire, like Cincinnatus, to the humble labours of the plough, it must be remembered, that she there expects a continuance of their patriotic exertions. The society of the Cincinnati, established upon the most benevolent principles, will never lose sight of their duty, in rendering every possible aid, as citizens, to that community which they have defended, as soldiers. They will rejoice, that, although independence was the result of force, yet government is the child of reason. As they are themselves an example of the noblest effort of human nature, the conquest of self, in obeying the voice of their country, and exchanging the habits, the splendor, and importance of military life, for domestic labour and poverty—they will readily inculcate on others, the propriety of sacrificing private and territorial advantages, to the good of the great majority, the salvation of the united states.

Slaves to no party, but servants of the whole, they have wielded the sword of every state in the union, and bled by the side of her sons. Their attachments are as extensive as their labours. Friendship and charity, the great pillars of their institution, will find their proper objects, through the extended territory; and seek the happiness of all.

While we contemplate the endearing objects of our association—and indulge in the gloomy pleasure of recollecting that variety of suffering which prompted the sympathetic soldier to institute this memorial of his friendship—fraternal affection recalls the scene of parting; and enquires with solicitude the fate of our beloved companions.

Since the last anniversary, the death of general Howe has diminished the number of our brethren, and called for the tribute of a tear. With some of the foibles, incident to hu-

man nature, he possessed many valuable accomplishments. His natural good understanding he had embellished with considerable attention to polite literature. As a soldier, he was brave—as an officer, attentive to discipline; he commanded with dignity and obeyed with alacrity; and whatever talents he possessed, were uniformly and cheerfully devoted to the service of his country,

But a few weeks previous to that period, the much lamented deaths of Tilghman and M'Dougall were successively announced, and the tidings received, with a peculiar poignancy of grief. What citizen of the American empire does not join the general voice of gratitude, when contemplating the merits of those distinguishing officers; and swell the tide of sympathy with his bereaved country, when deprived of their future assistance? They were ornaments to the states in which they lived, as well as to the profession in which they acquired their glory.

Amiable and heroic Tilghman! short was the career of thy fame: but much hast thou performed for thy country. Of thee shall it ever be remembered, that no social virtue was a stranger to thy breast, and no military achievement too daring for thy sword. While we condole with thy afflicted father for the loss of so dear a son, permit the tear of friendship to flow for its own bereavement: and as oft as the anniversary of this day shall assemble the companions of thy life, to rejoice in the freedom of their country, they shall mingle a sigh to thy lasting memory, and bewail thy untimely fate.

Untimely also was the death of the brave and patriotic M'Dougall. Though many years were worn away in his unremitted labours for the public safety—though his early and decided exertions against the claims

of Great Britain had an essential influence in determining the conduct of the province in which he resided—though he was the nerve of war, the wisdom of council and one of our principal supporters in the acquiescence of independence—yet these but shew us the necessity of such characters in establishing the blessings of the acquisition. While it shall require the same wisdom and unshaken fortitude, the same patience and perseverance, to rear the fabric of our empire, as it did to lay the foundation—patriotism and valour in sympathetic affection will bemoan the loss of M'Dougall.

Happy would it be for America, thrice happy for the feelings of sorrowing friendship, could the list of our deceased companions be closed even with the names of those worthy heroes. But heaven had bestowed too much glory upon the life of the favourite Greene, to allow it a long duration.

My affectionate auditory will anticipate more than can be uttered, in the melancholy duty of contemplating his distinguished excellence. To any assembly that could be collected in America, vain would be the attempt to illustrate his character, or embellish the scene of his exploits. It is a subject to be felt, but not to be described. To posterity, indeed, it may be told, as an incentive to the most exalted virtue and astonishing enterprise, that the man, who carried in his native genius all the resources of war and the balance of every extreme of fortune—who knew the advantages to be derived from defeat, the vigilance of military arrangement, the rapidity and happy moment of assault, the deliberate activity of battle, and the various important uses of victory—that the man who possessed every conceivable quality of a warrior, was, in his public and private character, without a foible or a fault; that all the ami-

ble as well as heroic virtues were assembled in his soul: and that it was the love, of a rational and enlightened age, and not the stupid glare of barbarity, that expressed his praise.

The map of America may designate the vast extent of conquered country recovered by his sword: the future traveller, in the southern states, may be pointed, by the peasant, to the various regions containing monuments of his valour and his skill; where, amid his marches and countermarches, his studied retreats and his rapid approaches, every advantage, given to the enemy, was resumed with ten-fold utility and certain conquest. The historic muse, as a legacy to future ages, may transmit with heroic dignity the feats of her favourite chief: but who shall transmit the feelings of the heart—or give the more interesting representation of his worth? the hero will remain; but the man must be lost.

The grief of his bereaved consort, aggravated by the universal testimony of his merit, we hope will receive some alleviation from the ardent sympathy of thousands, whose hearts were penetrated with his virtues, and whose tears would have flowed upon his hearse.

But we will not open afresh the wounds, which we cannot close. The best eulogium of the good and great is expressed by an emulation of their virtues. As those of the illustrious Greene were equally useful in every department, in which human society can call a man to act, every friend to America must feel the want of his assistance, in the duties that remain to be performed. Yet, as these duties are of the rational and pacific kind, the performance is more attainable, and emulation the better encouraged. In military operations, none but the soldier can be distinguished; nor any but the fortunate are sure of rendering service: but here is a theatre of action for every

citizen of a great country: in which the smallest circumstance will have its weight, and on which infinite consequences will depend.

The present is an age of philosophy, and America, the empire of reason. Here, neither the pageantry of courts, nor the glooms of superstition, have dazzled or beclouded the mind. Our duty calls us to act worthy of the age and the country that gave us birth. Though inexperience may have betrayed us into errors—yet they have not been fatal: and our own discernment will point us to their proper remedy.

However defective the present confederated system may appear—yet a due consideration of the circumstances, under which it was framed, will teach us rather to admire its wisdom, than to murmur at its faults. The same political abilities, which were displayed in that institution, united with the experience we have had of its operation, will doubtless produce a system, which will stand the test of ages, in forming a powerful and happy people.

Elevated with the extensive prospect, we may consider present inconveniencies as unworthy of regret. At the close of the war, an uncommon plenty of circulating specie, and a universal passion for trade, tempted many individuals to involve themselves in ruin, and injure the credit of their country. But these are evils which work their own remedy. The paroxysm is already over. Industry is increasing faster than ever it declined; and, with some exceptions, where legislative authority has sanctioned fraud, the people are honestly discharging their private debts, and increasing the resources of their wealth.

Every possible encouragement for great and generous exertions, is now presented before us. Under the idea of a permanent and happy government, every point of view, in which the future situation of America can

ets of chemistry. Similar bodies repel each other, while bodies that are dissimilar in figure, weight, and quality, often unite together with impetuosity. With our present imperfect degrees of knowledge of the properties of bodies, we can discover these chemical relations only by experiment. The same may be said of the connexion between *cause* and *effect*, in many parts of government. This connexion often accords with reason, while it is repugnant to our senses—and when this is not the case, from our inability to perceive it, it forces our consent from the testimony of experience and observation.

It has been remarked, that the profession of arms owes its present rank, as a science, to its having been rescued, since the revival of letters, from the hands of mere soldiers, and cultivated by men acquainted with other branches of literature. The reason of this is plain. Truth is an unit. It is the same thing in war—philosophy—medicine—morals—religion and government; and in proportion as we arrive at it in one science, we shall discover it in others.

After this apology, for dissenting from the established opinions and practice, upon the subject of public punishments, I shall take the liberty of declaring, that the great ends proposed, are not to be obtained by them; and that, on the contrary, all *public* punishments tend to make bad men worse, and to increase crimes, by their influence upon society.

I. The reformation of a criminal can never be effected by a public punishment, for the following reasons:

1st. As it is always connected with infamy, it destroys in him the sense of shame, which is one of the strongest out-posts of virtue.

2dly. It is generally of such short duration, as to produce none of those changes in body or mind, which are

absolutely necessary to reform obstinate habits of vice.

3dly. Experience proves, that public punishments have increased propensities to crimes. A man who has lost his character at a whipping-post, has nothing valuable left to lose in society. Pain has begotten insensibility to the whip; and shame, to infamy. Added to his old habits of vice, he probably feels a spirit of revenge against the whole community, whose laws have inflicted his punishment upon him; and hence he is stimulated to add to the number and enormity of his outrages upon society. The long duration of the punishment, when public, by increasing its infamy, serves only to increase the evils that have been mentioned. The criminals who were sentenced to work in the presence of the city of London, upon the Thames, during the late war, were prepared by it, for the perpetration of every crime, as soon as they were set at liberty from their confinement. I proceed,

II. To shew, that public punishments, so far from preventing crimes by the terror they excite in the minds of spectators, are directly calculated to produce them.

All men, when they suffer, discover either fortitude, insensibility, or distress. Let us enquire into the effects of each of these upon the minds of spectators.

1st. Fortitude is a virtue that seizes so forcibly upon our esteem, that wherever we see it, it never fails to weaken, or to obliterate, our detestation of the crimes with which it is connected in criminals. "I call upon you" said major Andre, at the place of execution, to his attendants, "to bear witness, gentlemen, that I die like a brave man." The effect of this speech upon the American army is well known. The spy was lost in the hero: and indignation, every where, gave way to ad-

miration and praise. But this is not all: the admiration which fortitude, under suffering, excites, has in some instances excited envy. In Denmark, uncommon pains are taken to prepare criminals for death, by the conversation and instructions of the clergy. After this, they are conducted to the place of execution, with uncommon pomp and solemnity. The criminals under these circumstances, suffer death with meekness—piety—and sometimes with dignity. The effects of this, I have been well informed, have been, in several instances, to induce deluded people to feign or confess crimes, which they had never committed, on purpose to secure to themselves a conspicuous death, and a certain entrance into happiness. There is something in the presence of a number of spectators, which is calculated to excite and strengthen fortitude in a sufferer. “It is not so difficult a thing,” said Lewis XIV. to his courtiers, who stood round his death-bed, “to die, as I expected.” “No wonder,” says Voltaire, who relates this anecdote, “for all men die with fortitude, who die in company.” The bravery of soldiers is derived, in a great degree, from the operation of this principle in the human mind.

3dly. If criminals discover insensibility under their punishments, the effect of it must be still more fatal upon society. It removes, instead of exciting terror. In some instances, I conceive it may excite a desire in the minds of persons whom debt or secret guilt has made miserable, to seek an end of their distresses in the same enviable apathy to evil. Should this insensibility be connected with cheerfulness, which is sometimes the case, it must produce still more unfriendly effects upon society. But terrible must be the consequence of this insensibility and cheerfulness, if they should lead criminals to retaliate upon the inhuman curiosity of spec-

tators, by profane or indecent insults or conversation.

3dly. The effects of distress in criminals, though less obvious, are no less injurious to society, than fortitude or insensibility. By an immutable law of our nature, distress of all kinds, when seen, produces sympathy, and a disposition to relieve it. This sympathy in generous minds is not lessened if the distress bein the offspring of crimes: on the contrary, even the crimes themselves are often palliated by the reflexion, that they were the unfortunate consequences of extreme poverty—of seducing company—or of the want of a virtuous education, from the loss or negligence of parents in early life. Now, as the distress which the criminals suffer, is the effect of a law of the state, which cannot be resisted, the sympathy of the spectator is rendered abortive, and returns empty to the bosom in which it was awakened. Let us briefly examine the consequences of this abortive sympathy to society. It will not be necessary here to dwell upon all the advantages of this principle in human nature. It will be sufficient to observe, that it is the vicegerent of the divine benevolence in our world. It is intended to bind up all the wounds which sin and death have made among mankind. It has founded hospitals—erected charity-schools—and connected the extremes of happiness and misery together in every part of the globe. Above all, sensibility is the centre of the moral faculty. It decides upon the quality of the actions before they reach that divine principle of the soul. It is of itself, to use the words of an elegant female poet—

“A hasty moral—a sudden sense of right.”

If such be the advantages of sensibility, now what must be the con-

NOTE.

* Miss Moore.

quences to society, of extirpating or weakening it in the human breast? But public punishments are calculated to produce this effect. To prove this, I must borrow an analogy from the animal economy. The sensibility of the human body is said to be active and passive. The first is connected with motion and sensation; the second only with sensation. The first is increased, the second is diminished, by the repetition of impressions. The same phenomena take place in the human mind. Sensibility here is both active and passive. Passive sensibility is lessened, while that which is active, is increased, by habit. The passive sensibility of a physician, to the distress of his patients, is always diminished, but his active sensibility is always increased by time; hence we find young physicians feel most—but old physicians, with less feeling, discover most sympathy with their patients.

If such be the constitution of our minds, then the effects of distress upon them will be, not only to destroy passive, but to eradicate active sensibility from them. The principle of sympathy, after being often opposed by the law of the state, which forbids it to relieve the distress it commiserates, will cease to act altogether; and, from this defect of action, and the habit arising from it, will soon lose its place in the human breast. Misery of every kind will then be contemplated without emotion or sympathy. The widow and the orphan—the naked—the sick—and the prisoner, will have no avenue to our services or our charity—and, what is worse than all, when the sentinel of our moral faculty is removed, there is nothing to guard the mind from the inroads of every positive vice.

I pass over the influence of this sympathy in its first operation upon the government of the state. While we pity; we secretly condemn the

law which inflicts the punishment: hence arises a want of respect for laws in general, and a more feeble union of the great ties of government.

I have only to add, upon this part of my subject, that the pernicious effects of sympathy, where it does not terminate in action, are happily provided against by the Jewish law. Hence we read of a prohibition against it, where persons suffer for certain crimes. To spectators, the voice of heaven, under such circumstances, is, “thine eye shall not pity him.”

4thly. But it is possible the characters or conduct of criminals may be such, as to excite indignation or contempt, instead of pity, in the minds of spectators. Let us therefore enquire briefly, into the effects of these passions upon the human mind. Every body acknowledges our obligations to universal benevolence: but these cannot be fulfilled, unless we love the whole human race, however diversified they may be by weakness or crimes. The indignation or contempt which is felt for this unhappy part of the great family of mankind, must necessarily extinguish a large portion of this universal love. Nor is this all: the men, or perhaps the women, whose persons we detest, possess souls and bodies composed of the same materials as those of our friends and relations. They are bone of their bone; and were originally fashioned with the same spirits. What, then, must be the consequence of a familiarity with such objects of horror, upon our attachments and duties to our friends and connexions, or to the rest of mankind? If a spectator should give himself time to reflect upon such a sight of human depravity, he would naturally recoil from the embraces of friendship, and the endearments of domestic life, and perhaps say, with an unfortunate great man, after having experienced an instance

of treachery in a friend, " Oh !
 " that I were a dog, that I might
 " not call man my brother." The
 Jewish law forbade more than nine
 and thirty lashes, lest the sufferer
 should afterwards become " vile"
 in the sight of spectators. It is the
 prerogative of God alone to con-
 template the vices of bad men,
 without withdrawing from them the
 support of his benevolence. Hence
 we find, when he appeared in the
 world, in the person of his Son, he
 did not exclude criminals from the
 benefits of his goodness. He dis-
 missed a woman, caught in the per-
 petration of a crime, which was cap-
 ital by the Jewish law, with a
 friendly admonition: and he opened
 the gates of paradise to a dying thief.

5thly. But let us suppose, that cri-
 minals are viewed without sym-
 pathy—indignation—or contempt.
 This will be the case, either when
 the spectators are themselves har-
 dened with vice, or when they are
 too young or too ignorant, to con-
 nect the ideas of crimes and punish-
 ments together. Here, then, a new
 source of injury arises from the pub-
 lic nature of punishments. Every
 portion of them will appear, to spec-
 tators of this description, to be mere
 arbitrary acts of cruelty: hence will
 arise a disposition to exercise the
 same arbitrary cruelty over the feel-
 ing and lives of their fellow crea-
 tures. To see blows or a halter, im-
 posed in cold blood, upon a crimi-
 nal, whose passive behaviour, opera-
 ting with the ignorance of the spec-
 tators, indicates innocence more than
 vice, cannot fail of removing the na-
 tural obstacles to violence and mur-
 der in the human mind.

6thly. Public punishments make
 many crimes known to persons who
 would otherwise have passed through
 life in a total ignorance of them.
 They moreover produce such a fa-
 miliarity, in the minds of spectators,
 with the crimes for which they are

inflicted, that, in some instances, they
 have been known to excite a propen-
 sity for them. It has been remarked,
 that a certain immorality has always
 kept pace with public admonitions
 in the churches in the eastern states.
 In proportion as this branch of ec-
 clesiastical discipline has declined,
 fewer children have been born out
 of wedlock.

7thly. Ignominy is universally ac-
 knowledged to be a worse punish-
 ment than death. Let it not be sup-
 posed, from this circumstance, that
 it operates more than the fear of
 death in preventing crimes. On the
 contrary, like the indiscriminate pu-
 nishment of death, it not only con-
 founds and levels all crimes, but by
 increasing the disproportion between
 crimes and punishments, it creates a
 hatred of all law and government;
 and thus disposes to the perpetration
 of every crime. Laws can only be
 respected and obeyed, while they
 bear an exact proportion to crimes.
 The law, which punishes the shoot-
 ing of a swan with death, in Eng-
 land, has produced a thousand mur-
 ders. Nor is this all the mischiev-
 ous influence, which the punish-
 ment of ignominy has upon society.
 While murder is punished with
 death, the man who robs on the
 highway, or breaks open a house,
 must want the common feelings and
 principles which belong to human
 nature, if he does not add murder to
 theft, in order to screen himself, if
 he should be detected, from that
 punishment which is acknowledged
 to be more terrible than death.

It would seem strange, that igno-
 miny should ever have been adopted,
 as a milder punishment than death,
 did we not know, that the human
 mind seldom arrives at truth upon
 any subject, till it has first reached
 the extremity of error.

8thly. But may not the benefit
 derived to society, by employing cri-
 minals to repair public roads, or to

clean streets, overbalance the evils that have been mentioned? I answer, by no means. On the contrary, besides operating in one or in all the ways that have been described, the practice of employing criminals in public labour, will render labour of every kind disreputable, more especially that species of it, which has for its objects the convenience or improvement of the state. It is a well-known fact, that white men soon decline labour in the West Indies, and in the southern states, only because the agriculture, and mechanical employments of those countries, are carried on chiefly by negro slaves. But I object further to the employment of criminals on the high-ways and streets, from the idleness it will create, by alluring spectators from their business, and thereby depriving the state of greater benefits from the industry of its citizens, than it can ever derive from the labour of criminals.

The history of public punishments, in every age and country, is full of facts, which support every principle that has been advanced. What has been the operation of the seventy thousand executions, that have taken place in Great Britain since the year 1688, to the present day, upon the morals and manners of the inhabitants of that island? Has not every prison door that has been opened, to conduct criminals to public shame and punishment, unlocked at the same time the bars of moral obligation upon the minds of ten times the number of people? How often do we find pockets picked under a gallows, and highway-robberies committed within sight of a gibbet? From whence arose the conspiracies, assassinations, and poisonings, which prevailed in the decline of the Roman empire? Were they not favoured by the public executions of the amphitheatre? It is therefore to the combined operation

of indolence, prejudice, ignorance—and the defect of culture of the layman heart, alone, that we are to ascribe the continuance of public punishments, after such long and multiplied experience of their inefficacy to reform bad men, or to prevent the commission of crimes.

III. Let it not be supposed, from any thing that has been said, that I wish to abolish punishments. Far from it: I wish only to change the place and manner of inflicting them, so as to render them effectual for the reformation of criminals, and beneficial to society. Before I propose a plan for this purpose, I beg leave to deliver the following general axioms:

1st. The human mind is disposed to exaggerate every thing that is removed from it, by time or place.

2dly. It is equally disposed to enquire after, and to magnify such things as are secret.

3dly. It always ascribes the extremes in qualities, to things that are unknown; and an excess in duration, to indefinite time.

4thly. Certain and definite evil, by being long contemplated, ceases to be dreaded or avoided. A soldier soon loses, from habit, the fear of death in battle; but retains, in common with other people, the terror of death from sickness or drowning.

5thly. An attachment to kindred and society is one of the strongest feelings in the human heart. A separation from them, therefore, has ever been considered as one of the severest punishments that can be inflicted upon man.

6thly. Personal liberty is so dear to all men, that the loss of it, for an indefinite time, is a punishment so severe, that death has often been preferred to it.

These axioms being admitted (for they cannot be controverted) I shall proceed next to apply them, by suggesting a plan for the punishment of

crimes, which, I flatter myself, will answer all the ends that have been proposed by them.

1st. Let a large house, of a construction agreeable to its design, be erected in a remote part of the state. Let the avenue to this house be rendered difficult and gloomy by mountains or morasses. Let its doors be of iron: and let the grating, occasioned by opening and shutting them, be increased by an echo from a neighbouring mountain, that shall extend and continue a sound which shall deeply pierce the soul. Let a guard constantly attend at a gate that shall lead to this place of punishment, to prevent strangers from entering it. Let all the officers of the house be strictly forbidden ever to discover any signs of mirth, or even levity in the presence of the criminals. To increase the horror of this abode of discipline and misery, let it be called by some name that shall import its design.

2dly. Let the various kinds of punishment, that are to be inflicted on crimes, be defined and fixed by law. But let no notice be taken, in the law, of the punishment that awaits any particular crime. By these means, we shall prevent the mind from accustoming itself to the view of these punishments, so as to destroy their terror by habit. The indifference and levity with which some men suffer the punishment of hanging, is often occasioned by an insensibility which is contracted by the frequent anticipation of it, or by the appearance of the gallows suggesting the remembrance of scenes of criminal festivity, in which it was the subject of humour or ridicule. Besides, punishments should always be varied in degree according to the temper of criminals or the progress of their reformation.

3dly. Let the duration of punishments, for all crimes, be limited: but let this limitation be unknown.

I conceive this secret to be of the utmost importance in reforming criminals, and preventing crimes. The imagination, when agitated with uncertainty, will seldom fail of connecting the longest duration of punishment, with the smallest crime.

I cannot conceive any thing more calculated to diffuse terror through a community, and thereby to prevent crimes, than the combination of the three circumstances that have been mentioned, in punishments. Children will press upon the evening fire in listening to the tales that will be spread from this abode of misery. Superstition will add to its horrors: and romance will find in it ample materials for fiction, which cannot fail of increasing the terror of its punishments.

Let it not be objected, that the terror produced by the history of these secret punishments, will operate like the abortive sympathy I have described. Active sympathy can be fully excited only through the avenues of the eyes and the ears. Besides, the recollection, that the only design of punishment is the reformation of the criminal, will suspend the action of sympathy altogether. We listen with paleness to the history of a tedious and painful operation in surgery, without a wish to arrest the hand of the operator. Our sympathy, which in this case is of the passive kind, is mixed with pleasure, when we are assured, that there is a certainty of the operation being the means of saving the life of the sufferer.

Nor let the expense of erecting and supporting a house of repentance, for the purposes that have been mentioned, deter us from the undertaking. It would be easy to demonstrate, that it will not cost one-fourth as much as the maintenance of the numerous jails that are now necessary in every well-regulated state. But why should receptacles be provided and supported at an immense ex-

se, in every country, for the relief of persons afflicted with bodily disorders, and an objection be made providing a place for the cure of diseases of the mind?

The nature—degrees—and duration of the punishments, should all be determined beyond a certain degree, by a court properly constituted for that purpose, and whose business should be to visit the receptacle of criminals once or twice a year.

I am aware of the prejudices of common sense, against entrusting power to a discretionary court. But let it be remembered, that no power is committed to this court, but what is possessed by the different courts of justice in all free countries; nor so much as is now wisely and necessarily possessed by the supreme and inferior courts, in the execution of the penal laws of Pennsylvania. I shall spend no time in defending the expediency of private punishments, with respect to safe and free government. Truth, on this subject, cannot be divided. If public punishments are injurious to criminals and to society, it follows, that crimes should be punished in private, or not punished at all. There is no alternative. The opposition to private punishments, therefore, is founded altogether in prejudice, or ignorance of the true principles of justice.

The safety and advantages of private punishments, will appear further, when I add, that the best-governed families and schools, are those, in which the faults of servants and children are rebuked privately, and where confinement and solitude are resorted to for correction, to the use of the rod.

In order to render these punishments effectual, they should be accommodated to the constitutions and tempers of the criminals, and the peculiar nature of their crimes. Peculiar attention should be paid, likewise, in the nature, degrees, and du-

ration of punishments, to crimes, as they arise from passion, habit, or temptation.

The punishments should consist of bodily pain, labour, watchfulness, solitude, and silence. They should all be joined with cleanliness and a simple diet. To ascertain the nature, degrees, and duration of the bodily pain, will require some knowledge of the principles of sensation, and of the sympathies which occur in the nervous system. The labour should be so regulated and directed, as to be profitable to the state. Besides employing criminals in laborious and useful manufactures, they may be compelled to derive all their subsistence from a farm and a garden, cultivated by their own hands, adjoining the place of their confinement.

These punishments may be used separately, or more or less combined, according to the nature of the crimes, or according to the variations of the constitution and temper of the criminals. In the application of them, the utmost possible advantages should be taken of the laws of the association of ideas, of habit, and of imitation.

To render these physical remedies more effectual, they should be accompanied by regular instruction in the principles and obligations of religion, by persons appointed for that purpose.

Thus far I am supported, in the application of the remedies I have mentioned, for the cure of crimes, by the facts contained in Mr. Howard's history of prisons, and by other observations. It remains yet to prescribe the *specific* punishment that is proper for each *specific* crime. Here my subject begins to oppress me. I have no more doubt of every crime having its cure in moral and physical influence, than I have of the efficacy of the Peruvian bark in curing the intermitting fever. The only

difficulty is, to find out the proper remedy or remedies for particular vices. Mr. Dufriche de Valaze, in his elaborate treatise upon penal laws, has performed the office of a pioneer upon this difficult subject. He has divided crimes into classes; and has affixed punishments to each of them, in a number of ingenious tables. Some of the connexions he has established, between crimes and punishments, appear to be just. But many of his punishments are contrary to the first principles of action in man; and all of them are, in my opinion, improper, as far as he orders them to be inflicted in the eye of the public. His attempt, however, is laudable, and deserves the praise of every friend to mankind.

If the invention of a machine for facilitating labour, has been repaid with the gratitude of a country, how much more will that man deserve, who shall invent the most speedy and effectual methods of restoring the vicious part of mankind to virtue and happiness, and of extirpating a portion of vice from the world? Happy condition of human affairs! when humanity, philosophy, and christianity, shall unite their influence to teach men, that they are brethren; and to prevent their preying any longer upon each other! Happy citizens of the united states, whose governments permit them to adopt every discovery in the moral or intellectual world, that leads to these benevolent purposes!

Let it not be objected, that it will be impossible for men, who have expiated their offences by the mode of punishment that has been proposed, to recover their former connexions with society. This objection arises from an unfortunate association of ideas. The infamy of criminals is derived, not so much from the remembrance of their crimes, as from the recollection of the ignominy of their punishments. Crimes produce a stain,

which may be washed out by reformation, and which frequently wears away by time: but public punishments leave scars, which disfigure the whole character; and hence persons who have suffered them, are ever afterwards viewed with horror or aversion. If crimes were expiated by private discipline, and succeeded by reformation, criminals would probably suffer no more in character from them, than men suffer in their reputation or usefulness from the punishments they have undergone when boys at school.

I am so perfectly satisfied of the truth of this opinion, that methinks I already hear the inhabitants of villages and townships counting the years that shall complete the reformation of one of their citizens. I hold them running to meet him on the day of his deliverance. His friends and family bathe his cheeks with tears of joy; and the universal shout of the neighbourhood is, "This our brother was lost and is found—was dead, and is alive."

It has long been a desideratum in government, that there should be in it no pardoning power, since the *certainty* of punishment operates much more than its severity, or its clemency, in preventing crimes. But where punishments are excessive in degree or infamous from being public, a pardoning power is absolutely necessary. Remove their severity and publicity, and a pardoning power ceases to be necessary in a code of criminal jurisprudence. Nay, further—it is such a defect in penal laws, as in some measure defeats every intention to prevent crimes, or to correct habits of vice. If punishments were moderate, just, and private, they would exalt the feelings of public justice and benevolence so far above the emotions of humanity in mercy, that juries, and judges, that would forget to conceal or to pardon crimes; and the *certainty* of

ment, by extinguishing all hope of pardon in the criminal, would him to connect the beginning of repentance with the last words of sentence of condemnation. To gain this great and salutary end, we should exist *certain* portions of punishment, both in duration and degree, which should be placed beyond the power of the discretionary court before mentioned, to lessen or mitigate.

I have said nothing upon the manner of inflicting death as a punishment for crimes, because I consider it an improper punishment for *any* crime. Even murder itself is propagated by the punishment of death for murder. Of this we have a remarkable proof in Italy. The duke of Tuscany, soon after the publication of the marquis of Beccaria's excellent treatise upon this subject, abolished death as a punishment for murder. A gentleman, who resided five years at Pisa, informed me, that only five murders had been perpetrated in his dominions in twenty years. The same gentleman added, that at his residence in Tuscany, he spent twelve months in Rome, where death still the punishment of murder, and where executions, according to the mode, are conducted with peculiar circumstances of public parade. During this short period, there were only two murders committed in the precincts of that city. It is remarkable, the manners, principles, and religion of the inhabitants of Tuscany and Rome, are exactly the same. The abolition of death alone as a punishment for murder, produced this difference in the moral character of the two nations.

I suspect the attachment to death, as a punishment for murder, in minds otherwise enlightened, upon the subject of capital punishments, arises from a false interpretation of a passage contained in the Old Testament, and that is, "he that sheds the blood

of man, by man shall his blood be shed." This has been supposed to imply, that blood could only be expiated by blood. But I am disposed to believe, with a late commentator* upon this text of scripture, that it is rather a *prediction* than a *law*. The language of it is simply, that such will be the depravity and folly of man, that murder in every age shall beget murder. Laws, therefore, which inflict death for murder, are, in my opinion, as unchristian as those which justify or tolerate revenge; for the obligations of christianity upon individuals, to promote repentance, to forgive injuries, and to discharge the duties of universal benevolence, are equally binding upon states.

The power over human life, is the solitary prerogative of him who gave it. Human laws, therefore, rise in rebellion against this prerogative, when they transfer it to human hands.

If society can be secured from violence, by confining the murderer, so as to prevent a repetition of his crime, the end of extirpation will be answered. In confinement, he may be reformed: and if this should prove impracticable, he may be restrained for a term of years, that will probably be coeval with his life.

There was a time, when the punishment of captives with death or servitude, and the indiscriminate destruction of peaceable husbandmen, women, and children, were thought to be essential to the success of war, and the safety of states. But experience has taught us, that this is not the case. And in proportion as humanity has triumphed over these

NOTE.

* The reverend mr. William Turner, in the second vol. of *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*.

maxims of false policy, wars have been less frequent and terrible, and nations have enjoyed longer intervals of internal tranquility. The virtues are all parts of a circle. Whatever is humane, is wise—whatever is wise, is just—and whatever is wise, just, and humane, will be found to be the true interest of states, whether criminals or foreign enemies are the objects of their legislation.

I have taken no notice of perpetual banishment, as a legal punishment, as I consider it the next in degree, in folly and cruelty, to the punishment of death. If the receptacle for criminals, which has been proposed, is erected in a remote part of the state, it will act with the same force upon the feelings of the human heart, as perpetual banishment. Exile, when perpetual, by destroying one of the most powerful principles of action in man, viz. the love of kindred and country, deprives us of all the advantages, which might be derived from it, in the business of reformation. While certain passions are weakened, this noble passion is strengthened by age: hence, by preserving this passion alive, we furnish a principle, which, in time, may become an overmatch for those vicious habits, which separated criminals from their friends and from society.

Notwithstanding this testimony against the punishment of death and perpetual banishment, I cannot help adding, that there is more mercy to the criminal, and less injury done to society, by both of them, than by *public* infamy and pain, without them.

The great art of surgery has been said to consist in saving, not in destroying, or amputating, the diseased parts of the human body. Let governments learn to imitate, in this respect, the skill and humanity of the healing art. Nature knows no waste in any of her operations. Even putrefaction itself is the parent of use-

ful productions to man. Human ingenuity imitates nature in a variety of arts. Of all matters, of all kinds are daily converted into the means of increasing the profits of industry and the pleasures of human life. The soul of man, alone, with all its moral and intellectual powers, when misled by passion, is abandoned, by the ignorance or cruelty of man, to unprofitable corruption, or extirpation.

If the foregoing reasonings and facts have been urged in vain, in favour of private punishments, I shall add one more argument, which I hope will be irresistible. The punishments of wicked men, in the world of spirits, are invisible; we have no knowledge of their real nature, degrees, or duration, but what was revealed to us near eight hundred years ago; and yet governments owe their stability, chiefly, to that morality, which the terror of these invisible, remote, and indefinite punishments, excites in the human mind.

A worthy prelate of the church of England once said, upon seeing a criminal led to execution, "There goes my wicked self." Considering the vices to which the frailty of human nature exposes whole families of every rank and class in life, it becomes us, whenever we see a fellow creature led to public infamy and pain, to add further, "There goes my unhappy father, my unhappy brother or my unhappy son," and afterwards to ask ourselves, whether *private* punishments are not to be preferred to *public*?

For the honour of humanity it can be said, that in every age and country, there have been found persons in whom uncorrupted nature has triumphed over custom and law. Else why do we hear of houses being abandoned near to places of public execution? Why do we see doors and windows shut on the days of hours of criminal exhibitions? Why

to we hear of aid being secretly afforded to criminals, to mitigate or lude the severity of their punishments? Why is the public executioner of the law an object of such general detestation? These things are the latent struggles of reason, or rather the secret voice of God himself, speaking in the human heart, gainst the folly and cruelty of public punishments.

I shall conclude this enquiry by bserving, that the same false religion and philosophy, which once indled the fire on the altar of persecution, now doom the criminal to public ignominy and death. In proportion as the principles of philosophy and christianity are understood, they will agree in extinguishing the one, and destroying the other. If these principles continue to extend their influence upon government, as they have done for some years past, I cannot help entertaining a hope, that the time is not very far distant, when the gallows, the pillory, the stocks, the whipping-post, and the wheel barrow, (the usual engines of public punishments) will be connected with the history of the rack and the stake, as marks of the barbarity of ages and countries, and as melancholy proofs of the feeble operation of reason and religion upon the human mind.



Account of a deputation from congress to the assembly of New Jersey.

THE assembly of New Jersey, in their deliberations on the requisition of congress, of September 17, 1785, for supplies, having come to a resolution that they could not comply with the same, consistently with their duty to their constituents, until all the states in the union should comply with the revenue-system of April 18, 1783, or until the several states, having the advantage of commerce, should forbear exacting du-

ties from other states, for their own particular benefit—congress conceived this act to be of so much consequence, and that it was so essential to the general interests of the union, that the same should be rescinded, that on the 7th of March they adopted the following resolution:

By the united states in congress assembled, March 7, 1786.

ON the report of a committee, consisting of mr. Grayson, mr. Bayard, mr. Pinckney, mr. Gorham, and mr. Mitchell, to whom was referred a resolve of the assembly of New Jersey, touching the requisition of September, 1785,

RESOLVED, that a committee of congress be appointed without delay, to proceed to Trenton, in the state of New Jersey, or any other place where the legislature of that state may be sitting; and represent to them, in the strongest terms, the fatal consequences that must inevitably result to that state, as well as to the rest of the union, from their refusal to comply with the requisition of September, 1785.

The members chosen, were, mr. Pinckney, mr. Gorham, and mr. Grayson.

Trenton, March 16, 1786.

ON Monday last, the committee of congress, consisting of the hon. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina, the hon. Nathaniel Gorham, of Massachusetts, and the hon. William Grayson, of Virginia, had an audience of the assembly of New Jersey, agreeably to the resolution of congress of the 7th instant, and the appointment of the house, assigning that day.

The resolution of congress, appointing the committee, and stating its purposes—and the resolution of congress of the 15th of February last, respecting the revenue-system of April, 1783, were read; and a sche-

dule of the foreign loan laid before the house.

Mr. Pinckney then addressed the house in nearly the following terms :

Mr. Speaker,

THE united states in congress assembled, have been informed, that this house on the 20th ultimo, resolved that they could not, consistently with their duty to their constituents, assent to the requisition of September last, for federal supplies. Upon this information, they conceive it incumbent on them, as guardians of the general rights and interests of the confederacy, by a deputation of their own body, to present to the view of the house, the absolute necessity there is for a strict and punctual compliance with the requisitions of congress, and the consequences which must attend an adherence to the present determination of the assembly.

When these states united, convinced of the inability of each to support a separate system, and that their protection and existence depended on their union—policy, as well as prudence, dictated the necessity of forming one *general* and EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT, which, while it protected and secured the whole, left to the several states, those rights of *internal sovereignty*, which it was not necessary to delegate, and which could be exercised without injury to the federal authority. In them were placed all the essential powers which constitute a nation—such are, the exclusive rights of peace and war; of sending and receiving embassies; of forming treaties and alliances; and equipping and raising fleets and armies. To them, also, was delegated the power of obtaining loans on the faith of the united states; and of apportioning to the several members of the union, their quotas of the public expenses. The mode established by the confeder-

tion, for ascertaining their respective quotas, was, at that time, supposed equal and practicable. Experience, however, has proved the contrary: and the states, though frequently urged, having neglected to furnish returns of the value of their lands, and the buildings and improvements thereon, agreeably to the article, congress were induced to recommend an alteration of it. This has been under reference for some time. Ten of the states have complied; and many of them furnished returns of their inhabitants in conformity to the recommendation. New Jersey has done both. It is the best information we have been able to obtain, of the comparative strength and resources of the states, and the only one on which the requisitions for public supplies, could be equally or properly founded.

The states having thus, by the voluntary act, formed one government, as essential to the protection of the whole—and placed in a supreme controuling power the administration of its general concerns, and which they were to look up for support—each state is bound, according to its abilities, to furnish a proportion of the expenses; and the whole are jointly and severally pledged for the public engagement foreign and domestic. The mode prescribed by the confederation, being, as I have observed, impracticable, it follows, that the proportions are to be quotaed agreeably to the best lights in the possession of the union: for while the government exists, its members are bound to contribute to its maintenance. New Jersey has not only assented to the mode by which she is rated, but furnished the returns on which the assessment could be made with exactness: she certainly cannot, therefore, complain of bearing an undue proportion. She will not, I trust,

upon reflexion, suppose she can, either consistently with her duty to the union, or with safety to its welfare, refuse to comply with the requisition. If she has been over-rated, upon stating the excess in evidence to congress, she will always receive the relief she may be justly entitled to. If, on the other hand, she conceives herself unequally situated, or that she does not participate in those common benefits which the general government was expected to dispense to all its members—if she thinks, with me, that its powers are inadequate to the ends for which it was instituted, and that they should be increased—there can be no doubt of the conduct she ought to pursue. She ought immediately to instruct her delegates in congress, to urge the calling of a general convention of the states, for the purpose of revising and amending the federal system. In this constitutional application, she will meet with all the attention and support she can wish. I have long been of opinion, that it was the only true and radical remedy for our public defects; and shall with pleasure assent to, and support, any measure of that kind, which may be introduced, while I continue a member of that body.

If her resentments had been otherwise directed—if her endeavours had been used to produce a compliance with the general impost, on the part of those states which have not yet acceded—so far from injuring, she would have been entitled to the applause of the union. But what can be her object in refusing the requisition? Must it not be the means of involving the states, who were friendly to her interests, in the general confusion that will probably ensue? and so far from obtaining the ends she proposes, may it not divert the attention of government from that system which could alone relieve the non-importing states, and apply it

wholly to her? For with what propriety could compulsory means be used against a state, for not assenting to a measure, in which we confess she had a right to deliberate, when we suffer another in silence, and with impunity, to refuse a requisition she is constitutionally bound to comply with?

Suffer me here to remark, that the present requisition is founded upon more advantageous principles, than any hitherto adopted—I mean as far as it respects the eight northern states: for of the 11,400,485 dollars, being the total specie value of the loan-office-debt, 9,998,880, being more than seven-eighths of the whole, were loaned in the seven eastern states. The state of New Jersey is in proportion a very considerable creditor of the union. How far, therefore, it becomes her to support the measures of congress, in providing for the interest of this debt, and in supporting its credit, is left to the good sense of the house to determine.

The several requisitions of September, 1782, April, 1784, and September, 1785, which have been just stated to the house, and their principle fully explained, obviate every objection, with respect to a larger number of certificates being issued, than are provided for; and prove that certificates will not issue from the loan-offices to a greater amount than the interest of the domestic debt to December, 1784. If all the states comply with the several requisitions, the funds, on which the interest-certificates depend, will be sufficiently extensive to discharge the whole.

Much objection is made to the commutation for half-pay, allowed the army. On this subject, I shall only remark, that the late congress found an act of a former one finally adopted, and the national faith pledged to carry it into

execution. The military certificates are so exchanged, that it would be impossible now, even if it was proper, to discriminate between them and the other public securities. To an army, however, who have evinced such magnanimity and patience under every suffering, their country are surely bound by the strongest ties of gratitude and affection: and if it could be ever admissible to make a distinction between the public creditors, they certainly possess the purest claims to preference and attention.

That the commercial states are indebted to the joint efforts of the whole, for the advantages they enjoy—and that it is their duty to devote a part of them to the national service—will be readily admitted. Upon these principles, congress have again, by the address of the 15th of February last, which you have just heard read; presented the revenue-system to the view of those states that have not complied. In once more bringing this recommendation before them, they have stated that there will be due, in the course of the next year, a part of the principal of two of the foreign loans, and afterwards a part of the other loans, agreeably to the stipulations of the same, to be paid annually, by instalments, until the whole is extinguished—which must, until that event, proportionably increase the sums called for; that the whole of the domestic debt is not yet liquidated, and that its amount will probably be enlarged beyond its former estimate; that the treaties necessary for the protection of our commerce from the piratical states of Barbary—the safety of our frontiers from the savages—and the establishment of magazines in different parts of the union—may perhaps increase the estimate of the military department; and that the supplies, for federal purposes, will probably be greater than they have hitherto been; that

they contemplate with pleasure the prospect of extinguishing a part of the domestic debt by the sales of western territory—but that, as a considerable time must intervene before it can be surveyed and disposed of, no immediate aid can be drawn from this source; and that since a sufficient sum for the exigencies of government, and the interest due on the public debt, was not to be expected from any of the means authorised by the confederation, it follows, that unless some more efficient and productive fund could be discovered, we should soon be exposed to the greatest national difficulties and disgrace.

While it is in the power of the states to prevent these incumbrances, and to do justice to their creditors, congress will certainly continue to urge them to it. They have again presented to their view, the system which has been so long under reference to their legislatures, as the only one calculated to assert the credit and relieve the distresses of the union.

In examining the conduct of the states, they will find that all, except New York and Georgia, have in some degree, though perhaps not effectually, complied with the first part of the recommendation for investing the united states with the power of levying the impost. The assent of so large a majority of the states, including some of the most important in commercial and other resources, shew that they were impressed with the necessity and propriety of its motives. Convinced of the importance of the federal government, and that on its existence their political welfare and consequence must depend, they have liberally dedicated to its support, a part of the advantages derived from its establishment: nor have they considered this as more than justice to the citizens of those states whose situation renders them dependent upon their imports for supplies—that the

I therefore wisely determined to take the welfare of the union their object, reflecting that in all federal regulations, something must be added to aid the whole; and that those who may expect support, must at their turn be ready to afford it. How far their example may induce legislatures of those states to adopt the same liberal conduct, is now left to themselves to decide. We still, however, trust that these states will be not less mindful of the public welfare, or less disposed to give vigour and efficacy to a government upon which all must eventually depend for the protection and security of the invaluable blessings they enjoy.

Our latest advices inform us, that Georgia has acceded—New York is now deliberating, and it is hoped, at a measure so just in itself, and necessary at this time, to strengthen the federal credit, will meet with their concurrence; if not—we reflect with pleasure, that a great majority of the most important states in the union, have upon every occasion, by their acts and ready assent to the recommendations of congress, manifested so warm and zealous an affection to the federal compact, as leaves no doubt of a system soon being formed, which will, in its operation, relieve every embarrassment and inequality complained of. But this will altogether depend upon the concerted measures of such states as are friendly to the system. By divisions upon the subject of the requisition, you will not only prevent congress from taking the necessary measures to obtain this desirable end, but furnish the non-complying states with new and forcible arguments against it—arguments founded on the impropriety of investing the exercise of important powers to a government so feebly and injudiciously constructed, as to be not only incapable of executing those they at present pos-

sess, but to be a very unsafe deposit of such further authorities as are required by the system under their consideration. The danger, they contend, arises from the inequality of representation, and the want of a proper distribution of the powers of government. Be assured, that whenever they have it in their power, they will attempt a reform. Perhaps I do not go too far in asserting, that a perseverance in your refusal, may afford them this opportunity, by dissolving those ties which bind us as a nation: for should the other states suspend their supplies, to the common treasury, until New Jersey complies with the requisition, the existence of the federal government must be endangered—probably cease.

It is certainly more the interest of the small, than it can be of the large states, to preserve the confederation upon its present principles. We are aware of the necessity which compelled the latter to confederate upon terms allowing each state an equal vote in the national councils. Had the system been formed in a time of peace—when no uncommon danger pressed—when deliberation was unaccompanied with apprehension, and the large states preferred conceding the point of proportionable representation, however important, to the greater evil of being again reduced to the power of Great Britain—can it be thought that any union would have been formed upon principles so unequal and oppressive as the present?

Let us for a moment suppose the confederation dissolved, and an assembly of the states convened for the purpose of adopting a system calculated to render the general government firm and energetic—is it not to be reasonably expected, that the large states would contend and insist upon a greater influence than they at present possess? Would they again consent to unite upon princi-

ples which should allow states not contributing a twelfth part of their quotas to the public expenses, an equal vote with themselves! It is not even to be hoped. It ought, therefore, to appear exceedingly important to the small states to maintain a system so advantageous to their particular interests, when they reflect that in the event of another confederation, they cannot expect to be placed in a situation, to which they are neither entitled by common justice, or an equal attention to the rights of the other members of the union.

Though our present disorders must be attributed, in the first instance, to the weakness and inefficacy of the general government, it must still be confessed they have been precipitated by the refractory and inattentive conduct of the states; most of whom have neglected altogether the performance of their federal duties; and, whenever their state policy or interests prompted, used their retained rights to the injury and disgrace of the federal head. Be assured, sir, the united states can have no danger so much to dread as that of disunion: nor has the federal government, when properly formed, any thing to fear, but from the licentiousness of its members. We have no hereditary monarchy, or nobles with all their train of influence and corruption, to contend with; nor is it possible to form a federal aristocracy. Parties may, for a time, prevail in the states; but the establishment of an aristocratic influence in the councils of the union, is remote and doubtful. It is the anarchy, if I may use the term, or rather the worse than anarchy, of a pure democracy which I fear—where the laws lose their respect, and the magistrates their authority; where no permanent security is given to the property and privileges of the citizens; and no measures pursued, but such as suit the temporary interest and convenience of

the pre-vailing parties. I cannot figure to myself a government more truly degrading; and yet such has been the fate of all the ancient, and will, without great care, be probably the fate of all the modern republics. The progress has been regular—from order to licentiousness---from licentiousness to anarchy---and from thence to despotism. If we review the confederacies of Greece, we shall find that each in its turn became a prey to the turbulence of its own members, who, refusing to obey the federal head, and, upon all occasions, insulting and opposing its authority, afforded an opportunity to foreign powers to interfere and subvert them. There is not an example in history of a confederacy being enslaved or ruined by the invasions of the supreme authority; nor is it possible for depending, as it must, upon the members for support and maintenance, it will always be in their power to check and prevent its injuring them.

It would be unnecessary in me to detail the inconveniencies which must result from your persisting in a conduct pregnant with the most alarming evils. I trust that the application which is now made, will be the means of your rescinding a act which has so much excited the public attention.

The situation of our commerce languishing under the most ruinous and opprobrious restraints in foreign ports, demands a wise and well-concerted system of policy to support it. The hostile conduct of the savages on our frontiers---the unexampled behaviour of Great Britain in holding our posts contrary to the treaty, bridling the country, and depriving us of the advantages which would otherwise arise from it; and above all, that due and sacred regard which a nation ought ever to pay to her engagements, as the only solid basis of her honour and prosperity, at this time part

larly, call for our strenuous and united exertions. To these important considerations, all motives of state policy should yield. We should reflect, that the grievances and inequalities particular states may complain of, can only be relieved by the timely and judicious interference of the federal authority, and that this once dissolved, the interests of the lesser states may not only be oppressed, but become a prey to the more important, and such a scene of intestine discord and confusion ensue, as every friend to the peace and liberties of his country must wish to avert. A temptation will be offered to the great maritime powers of Europe to interfere in our politics, and this country, which, under a wise and liberal system, might be the happiest, become one of the most miserable and contemptible in existence.

For these and a variety of reasons which might be added, but which are too obvious to render my stating them to you necessary, I am induced to hope the house will rescind their resolution. If they should not—on what other light can the united states view their conduct, than that of a breach of the confederation, and a solemn secession of this state from its union and protection?—A measure, which I am convinced, a state so deserving as this is, in point of services and exertions, could not have had in the most distant contemplation. This act has, however, exceedingly raised the public anxiety: and as the measures of congress must in a great degree depend upon your determination, either to rescind, or adhere to your refusal, we are to request an answer as soon as the importance of the subject will conveniently admit.

Mr. Pinckney used a number of other arguments, explaining and enforcing the principles of the requisition, proving that it was not intended as a substitute for, nor could, by

any means, be construed to interfere with, the revenue system of April 18, 1783; stating the consequences which must result from a refusal of it, and urging the house to comply with the expectations of congress, in passing it.

Mr. Gorham and Mr. Grayson followed Mr. Pinckney; and by a variety of arguments, proved, in a very able and pointed manner, the impolicy of New Jersey's refusing the requisition, it being clearly her interest to support the confederation. The latter gentleman urged with great force the impropriety of this state's risking the dissolution of the union, as in the event of another confederation, it could not be supposed the lesser states would be allowed to confederate upon equal terms with the more important.

In consequence of the above deputation the assembly passed the following resolution.

WHEREAS this house, apprehensive that a compliance with the requisition of congress, of the 27th of September last, would have a tendency to confirm the states who have not complied with the resolutions of congress of the 18th April 1783, for a general impost and revenue, in their opposition to the plan therein recommended, and considering all temporary expedients inadequate to raise a fund sufficient to discharge the interest on the national debt, and to provide for other expenditures necessary for the support of the federal government, and for other reasons assigned in the preamble to the resolutions of the house on the 20th ult. did resolve, that this house cannot, consistent with the duty they owe their constituents, comply with the requisition of congress of the 27th September last, until all the states in the union shall comply with the requisition of the 18th April, 1783, or until the several states, having the advantage of commerce,

shall forbear exacting duties from other states for their own particular benefit; and whereas a deputation from congress to this house have, by order of congress, communicated sundry evils which may arise to the union by the determination of this house, if adhered to:

The house therefore, having considered the said resolution, are of opinion, that, altho' the said requisition, from a want of conformity to the rule of adjusting the quotas of the several states contained in the 8th article of confederation, the alteration of which rule not having been acceded to by the states, can of course be binding upon none, must be considered only as recommendatory: notwithstanding which, being willing to remove, as far as in their power, every embarrassment from the counsels of the union, and that the failure of supplies from temporary demands, though clearly evinced from experience, may not be imputed to the state of New Jersey only, do therefore,

RESOLVE, that the said resolution of the 20th February last be, and the same is hereby rescinded and made void.

“ MASKELL EWING, clerk.



Directions for recovering persons who are supposed to be dead, from drowning; also for preventing and curing the disorders produced by drinking cold water or other liquors, and by the action of noxious vapours, lightning, and excessive heat and cold, upon the human body. Published by order of the humane society, of Philadelphia.

OF the many calamities to which mankind are subject, there are none more productive of distress, than sudden and violent deaths.

In great cities, instances of this kind (from drowning, suffocation, and other accidents) are very numerous; and this melancholy circum-

stance is much aggravated by reflecting, that a large proportion of the who are thus lost to their friends and country, might be saved, if they were properly treated.

That this is the case, appears clearly from the reports of several respectable societies in Europe, which were formed for the purpose, and have happily succeeded in the humane attempt, of restoring to life persons apparently killed by the accidents above mentioned.

It is now only twenty years since the first society of this kind was formed in Amsterdam, and but thirteen since the first existence of this in London: and yet near one thousand persons have been preserved from death by these two institutions. Societies of the same kind have been formed at Paris, Venice, Hamburg and Milan: and, from their reports it also appears, not only that a large proportion of persons, apparently dead, have been recovered, but that this recovery may be effected as they have been a long time in this situation.

As the inhabitants of this part of America are exposed, not only to those accidents which occur in England and Holland, but to several others, which rarely take place there (as those produced by excessive heat and cold, and by lightning) they must have additional inducements to form an institution of this kind, and although its objects are of the highest importance, the following plan, for attaining them, will shew that the business of such an institution is very practicable and easy.

First. As people in general are uninformed of the proper methods to be pursued in such cases, and medical assistance cannot always be procured in time, it will be necessary to lodge directions respecting the proper treatment, in all those places where such accidents commonly occur,

Secondly. It will be necessary to deposit, at those places, such apparatus and medicines, as have been found most useful in these cases: as the time lost in waiting for them, if they are not at hand, may deprive the unfortunate person of all chance of recovery.

Thirdly. It will also be necessary to place, at proper distances, near rivers, a number of grapples and other instruments, for extracting speedily from the water, those who fall in to it.

By these means, the societies above-mentioned have had the satisfaction of restoring fathers to the fatherless, and living children to parents who were deploring their loss: and have rendered to humanity the important service of preserving from death a large number of useful members of the community. Their great success influenced a number of gentlemen in Philadelphia to associate themselves for the same purpose, under the name of the "Humane Society;" who, as they are desirous of the concurrence of their fellow citizens, have subjoined their constitution, and hope that those who approve of it, will unite with them in carrying it into execution.

Subscriptions and donations to this society, will be thankfully received by Christopher Marshal, jun. treasurer of the society, or by any one of the managers.

The constitution of the Humane Society.

THE Humane Society, instituted in the year 1770, for the recovery of drowned persons, having for some years past not been sufficiently attended to, it is now agreed to revive it; and further, to include in its objects, persons disordered by noxious vapours, lightning, drinking cold water, and from the action of excessive heat and cold on the body: for which purpose the following plan is adopted:

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That every person paying one dollar annually, for the use of the institution, shall be deemed a contributor.

That the contributors shall choose twelve managers, on the second Wednesday in March, of every year, who shall, as soon as convenient, choose from among themselves a president, two inspectors, and a secretary. They shall likewise choose a treasurer from among the contributors. They shall hold stated meetings on the second Wednesday of every month. Their business shall be, to regulate all the affairs of the institution. Five managers shall make a quorum.

Directions for recovering persons who are supposed to be dead, from drowning.

1st. As soon as the body is taken out of the water, it must be conveyed with care and tenderness, to a house, or any other place, where it can be laid dry and warm, avoiding the usual, destructive methods of hanging it by the heels, rolling it on a barrel, or placing it across a log on its belly.

2dly. The clothes must be immediately stripped off, and the body wrapped up in blankets well warmed. It should be laid on its back, with the head a little raised. If the weather be cold, it should be placed near a fire: but if the weather should be warm, it will be sufficient to place it between two blankets well heated; taking care to prevent the room from being crowded with any persons who are not necessarily employed about the body.

3dly. As soon as it can possibly be done, a bellows should be applied to one nostril, while the other nostril and the mouth are kept closed, and the lower end of the prominent part of the windpipe, (or that part which is called by anatomists, *pomum Adami*) is pressed backward. The bellows is to be worked in this situation.

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tion, and when the breast is swelled by it, the bellows should stop, and an assistant should press the belly upwards to force the air out. The bellows should then be applied as before, and the belly should again be pressed upwards : and this process should be repeated from twenty to thirty times in a minute, so as to imitate natural breathing as nearly as possible. Some volatile spirits heated, should be held under the valve of the bellows, while it works. If a bellows cannot be procured, some person should blow into one of the nostrils, through a pipe or quill, while the other nostril and mouth are closed as before : or if a pipe or quill be not at hand, he should blow into the mouth, while both nostrils are closed : but whenever a bellows can be procured, it should be preferred : as air forced in by this means, will be much more serviceable than air which has been already breathed.

4thly. At the same time, the whole body should be rubbed with the hand, or with hot woollen cloths. The rubbing should be moderate ; but continued with industry a long time, and particularly about the breast.

5thly. During this time, a large quantity of ashes, or salt, or sand, should be heated ; and, as soon as it is milk-warm, the body should be rubbed in it. The blowing and rubbing are then to be continued as before : and when the ashes, salt, or sand, are cooled, some warmer must be added, so that the whole may be kept milk-warm.

These methods should be continued three or four hours : as, in several instances, they have proved successful, altho' no signs of life appeared until that time. When the patient is able to swallow, he should take some wine, or rum and water. Bleeding or purging ought not to be used, without consulting a physician,

who should be called in as soon as possible.

To prevent the fatal effects of drinking cold water, or cold liquors of any kind, in warm weather.

1st. AVOID drinking, while you are warm : or,

2dly. Drink only a small quantity at once, and let it remain a short time in your mouth before you swallow it : or,

3dly. Grasp the vessel out of which you are about to drink, (provided it is made of glass, earthen ware, or metal), for a few minutes, with both your hands : for each of these substances conveys off a portion of the heat of the body into the cold liquor ; and thereby lessens the danger which arises from the excessive heat of the body, and the coldness of the liquor : or,

4thly. Wash your hands and face, and rinse your mouth well with cold water, before you drink.

If these precautions have been neglected, and the disorder incident to drinking cold water, hath been produced, the first, and, in most instances, the only remedy to be administered, is sixty drops of liquid laudanum in spirit and water, or warm drink of any kind.

If this should fail of giving relief, the same quantity may be repeated, every twenty minutes, until the pain and spasm abate.

When laudanum cannot be obtained, rum and water, or warm water, should be given. Bleeding should not be used, without consulting a physician.

The dangerous effects of noxious vapours, from wells, cellars, fermenting liquors, &c. may be prevented,

By procuring a free circulation of air, either by ventilators, or opening the doors or windows, where it is confined, or by changing the air, by keeping fires in the infected place, or

by throwing in water, in which stone-lime has been dissolved.

These precautions should be taken before entering into such suspected places; or a lighted candle should be first introduced, which will go out, if the air is bad. When a person is let down into a well, he should be carefully watched, and drawn up again on the least change. But when a person is apparently dead, from the above-mentioned cause, the first thing to be done, is to remove the body to a cool place in a wholesome air; then let the body be stripped, and let cold water be thrown from buckets over it for some time. This is particularly useful in cases of apparent death from drunkenness. Let the treatment now be the same as that for drowned persons. The head should be raised a little; and continued frictions, with blowing into the nostrils with a bellows, should be practised for several hours.

In cases of suffocation from the fumes of burning charcoal,

The general treatment recommended for curing the disorders brought on by noxious vapours, is to be applied; but the dangerous effects of this may be prevented, by taking care not to sit near it, when burning; to burn it in a chimney; and, where there is no chimney, to keep the door open, and to place a large tub of water in the room.

In all these, as well as in cases of drowned persons, moderate purges and bleeding are only to be used with the advice of a physician.

To prevent the fatal effects of lightning.

LET your house be provided with an iron conductor; but, when this cannot be had, avoid sitting, or standing near the window, door, or walls of a house, during the time of a thunder gust. The nearer you are placed to the middle of a room, the better. When you are not in a house,

avoid flying to the cover of the woods, or a solitary tree, for safety.

When a person is struck by lightning, let continued frictions and inflation of the lungs be practised: let gentle shocks of electricity be made to pass through the chest, when a skilful person can be procured to apply them: and let blisters be applied to the breast.

To prevent danger from exposure to the excessive heat of the sun.

DISORDERS from this cause, or (as they are vulgarly termed) *strokes of the sun*, may be expected, when a person, who is exposed to its rays, is affected with a violent head-ach, attended with throbbing or with giddiness; where the disorder takes place, these symptoms are followed by faintness and great insensibility, with violent heat and dryness of the skin, redness and dryness of the eyes, difficulty of breathing, and, according as the disease is more or less violent, with a difficulty, or entire inability of speaking or moving.

To guard against these dangerous effects of heat, it will be proper,

1st. To avoid labour, or violent exercise, or exposing yourself to the rays of the sun, immediately after eating a hearty meal.

2dly. To avoid drinking spirits of any kind, when you are thus exposed. These add an internal fire to the heat of the sun, and are particularly hurtful in harvest. Vinegar and water sweetened with melasses or brown sugar, butter-milk and water, small beer, whey, or milk and water, are the most proper drinks for people who are exposed to excessive heat. But the less a person drinks of liquors of any kind in the forenoon, the better will he endure the heat of a warm day. It will also be proper,

3dly. To wear a white hat, or to cover a black one with white paper, when you are necessarily exposed to

the hot sun, and to avoid standing still when in such a situation.

4thly. To retire into the shade, as soon as you begin to be affected with pain or throbbing in the head, with giddiness or with faintness.

If these precautions have been neglected, and the symptoms above described have come on, it will be proper,

1st. To remove the person so affected, into a cool dry place, and to loosen all his garments, particularly those around his neck and breast,

2dly. To examine whether the pulse at the wrists or temples beats forcibly, and, if it does, to bleed immediately; but if the pulse be weak, or cannot be perceived, bleeding must not be performed.

3dly. To place his feet and legs, or, if it can be done, the lower half of his body, in warm water. But if this remedy fails,

4thly. Dr. Tissot advises to apply linen cloths, wet with cold water or with cold water and vinegar, to the temples and all over the head.

5thly. To administer plentiful draughts of vinegar and water sweetened.

In all cases of this kind, a physician should be sent for, unless the patient recovers speedily.

To prevent the effects of excessive cold.

PERSONS are in danger of being destroyed by cold, when they become very drowsy, or are affected with general numbness or insensibility of the body. As the cold, which proves fatal, generally affects the feet first, great care should be taken to keep them as warm as possible,

1st. By protecting them, when you are exposed to the cold, with wool, or woollen socks within the shoes or boots, or with large woollen stockings drawn over them, or, when you ride, with hay or straw wrapped round them.

2dly. By keeping up a brisk circu-

lation in the blood vessels of the feet, by moving them constantly; or, when this is impracticable, from a confined situation, and two or more persons are exposed together,

3dly. By placing their feet, without shoes, against each other's breasts.

If, notwithstanding these precautions, a person should be rendered sleepy or insensible by cold, he must exert himself, and move about quickly; for, if he should sleep in the cold, he will inevitably perish. When a person, who is travelling in company, begins to be affected in this manner, his companions should force him to walk briskly, or to run.

When cold has produced apparent death, the body should be placed in a room without fire, and rubbed steadily with snow, or cloths wet with cold water, at the same time that the bellows is applied to the nose, and used as in the case of drowning. This treatment should be continued a long time, although no signs of life appear, for some persons have recovered, who were to appearance lifeless for several hours.

When the limbs only are affected by cold, they should be rubbed gently with snow, or bathed in cold water with ice in it, until their feeling and power of motion return; after which the bathing, or rubbing with snow is to be repeated once every hour and continued a longer or shorter time, as the pains are more or less violent.

The person thus affected should be kept from the fire: for warmth, and acrid applications of every kind, are improper.

Physicians.

John Jones, pres.	Robert Parish.
Benjamin Rush,	Tench Coxe,
Benj. Duffield,	John Bayard,
Caspar Wistar,	John Hopkins,
Samuel P. Griffiths,	Isaac Jones,
J. R. B. Rodgers,	C. Marshall, sec.
Managers of the	Humane Society.

patriotic and economical association of the ladies of Hartford, in Connecticut.

THE ladies of the city of Hartford, taking into serious consideration the unhappy situation of their country—and being fully sensible, that our calamities are, in a great measure, occasioned by the luxury and extravagancies of individuals—are of opinion, that it is a duty they owe their country, as well as their families, to retrench, as far as possible, all unnecessary expenses; that while the gentlemen are anxiously devising other, and more extensive, plans of policy, for the salvation of this, and the united states, the ladies may unite their influence, in effecting the same desirable purpose, by a strict attention to domestic economy and frugality.

Those ladies, who used to excel in dress, it is hoped, will endeavour to set the best example, by laying aside their richest silks, and superfluous decorations; and, as much as possible, distinguish themselves by their perfect indifference to those ornaments and superfluities, which, in happier times, might become them.

Hoping for the concurrence of the ladies in every part of the state, and confident of the assistance and approbation of every gentleman of sense and patriotism, they have subscribed the following articles:

1st. That from the date hereof, until the 25th of June next, they will not purchase any gauze, ribands, lace, feathers, beaver-hats, silk, muslins, or chintzes, except for weddings or mourning.

2dly. They will dress their persons in the plainest manner; and encourage industry, frugality, and neatness—giving all due preference to the manufactures of their own country.

3dly. That when they receive visits, and make entertainments, it will be their study to avoid unnecessary expense, especially in foreign articles,

4thly. During the above term, as they will have time to observe the operation of their plan, they will endeavour to turn their attention to the forming of a more systematic and extensive method of economy, suited to the circumstances of their country; and continue the same, by agreement, to a greater length of time.—Hartford, Nov. 6. 1786.

[The above truly-laudable and exemplary association, was signed at first by more than one hundred ladies of the first families in the city—and since that time, it is said, by a majority of the other ladies. Whatever further association they may have entered into, agreeably to the fourth article, has not yet been made public: when it is, the printer of the American Museum will be happy to afford it a conspicuous place in his repository.]



THE patriotic ladies of Halifax town, in North Carolina, have entered into an association to refrain, as far as possible, from all unnecessary expenses and superfluous decorations; and are determined, in future, until their country shall be extricated from its present difficulties and distress, to pay strict attention to economy and frugality, and to give all due preference to the manufactures of their country.



Association entered into by the late governor, lieutenant-governor, speaker of the house of representatives, several members of that body, and a great number of other gentlemen of the state of Massachusetts.

WHEREAS the excessive use of articles of foreign growth and manufacture, has been attended with the most pernicious consequences, by exhausting our circulating medium, and by diffusing

a taste for extravagance : and where-
as it is of the utmost importance to
encourage industry, frugality, and
our own manufactures—to recover a
circulating medium—to restore pub-
lic credit—to facilitate the payment
of public and private debts, and
thereby to promote the welfare and
happiness of our country :

With a view to these salutary and important purposes, we, the subscribers, do hereby enter into a solemn agreement and association, to refrain from, and, as far as in our power, to prevent, the excessive use and consumption of articles of foreign manufacture, especially articles of luxury and extravagance; and that we will exert our best endeavours for the promotion of industry, and our own manufactures. We do hereby engage to use our utmost influence to promote associations for the above-mentioned purposes, within our respective spheres of influence.



*Resolutions of the patriotic society of
Richmond.*

THE patriotic society, lately established in Richmond, Virginia, have solemnly pledged themselves to each other, in their capacities merely as private citizens, by their examples to inculcate, and by their influence to extend, the principles and practices contained in the following resolutions, which they have severally confirmed by their signatures—

Resolved, That the only method in the power of the people, honestly and effectually to relieve themselves from the oppression of public and private debt, is, by spirited exertions of industry to increase the productions of the country, to avoid dissipation, and, by a strict frugality, to lessen their expenses.

Resolved, That we will be at all times ready, by every encouragement in our power, to promote any

well-founded scheme of trade and manufacture, to which the circumstances of this state are adapted, and the profits of which shall arise and centre with her own citizens.

Resolved, That the present circumstances of this state are adapted to the manufacture of the coarse woollens, cottons, linens, cordage, leather, and iron; and the production of salted pork and beef, butter, cheese, soap, tallow, and candles.

Resolved, That the present circumstances of this country are adapted to the brewing of malt liquor, and to the distilling of spirits from grain and other subjects, such quantities, as, with proper attention and encouragement, would be sufficient for general consumption.

Resolved, therefore, That we will use the utmost of our exertions, to promote agriculture in general, and more particularly those parts of it which tend most to the encouragement of our own manufactures, and to the diminution of foreign importations.



*Resolutions entered into by a respectable
number of the inhabitants of Germa
town, March 1, 1787.*

WE, the subscribers, inhabitants of Germantown, anxious to do every thing in our power to promote the happiness of the neighbourhood—at this time of general distress, know not a more exalted act of charity and benevolence, than that of presenting a shield against the rapacity of the law, which, in the increase of costs, and delay of justice in our courts, has become such an enormous and oppressive evil, that it is the duty of every real friend to the community, to prevent the people from wasting their property by the chicanery of the law, or corruption of our courts of justice.

And it is with anxiety we observe unpardonable ignorance and inattention to the original compact of the people, by which designing men among us have, in too many instances, influenced the legislature to enact laws in direct violation of our excellent constitution.

And we further observe, that, as a republican people, we have not been sufficiently actuated by motives of frugality and economy.

Therefore resolved,

I. That in all cases of altercation, dispute among ourselves, or our neighbours, we will use our utmost influence to have the same settled on an amicable reference to men, usually selected by each party.

II. We will acquire a perfect knowledge of the fundamental principles of our constitution; and will carefully prevent any violation of them by our servants, who may be trusted with the different offices of government.

III. We will individually exert our utmost influence for the promotion of industry and our own manufactures; and will refrain from, and, as far as in our power, prevent, the excessive use of foreign articles of luxury.



Plan of the Pennsylvania Society for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts.

THE wealth and prosperity of nations principally depend on due attention to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. In the various stages of her political existence, America has derived great advantages from the establishment of manufactures and the useful arts. Her present situation in the world calls her by new and weighty considerations, to promote and extend them. The united states, having assumed the station of an independent government, require new resources

to support their rank and influence, both abroad and at home. Our distance from the nations of Europe—our possessing within ourselves the materials of the useful arts, and articles of consumption and commerce—the profusion of wood and water, (those powerful and necessary agents in all arts and manufactures)—the variety of natural productions with which this extensive country abounds, and the number of people in our towns, and most ancient settlements, whose education has qualified them for employments of this nature—all concur to point out the necessity of promoting and establishing manufactures among ourselves.

From a conviction of the truth and importance of these facts, a number of persons have agreed to associate themselves under the name of the Pennsylvania Society for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts.

For the purpose of carrying their views into effect, they have adopted the following constitution:

I. Every citizen of the united states of America, who shall subscribe this constitution, or signify his assent thereto by letter, so long as he shall fulfil the engagements thereof, shall be considered as a member of the society.

II. The president of the state, for the time being, shall be the patron of the institution.

III. The society shall be governed by a president, four vice-presidents, and twelve managers. Their other officers shall be—two secretaries, a treasurer, and a committee for manufactures, all of whom (except the committee for manufactures) shall be chosen annually, by ballot, by a majority of the members, convened at a general meeting on the 20th of January, with the due exception of Sunday.

IV. The president (or, in his absence, one of the vice-presidents)

shall preside at the meetings, and subscribe the public acts of the society; and shall have the power of calling general meetings, when he shall deem necessary, or when six of the members of the society shall request it.

V. The board of managers (of which the president and vice-presidents, in virtue of their offices, shall always be a part) shall be governed in the same manner as is already prescribed for the society at large: and, in the absence of the president, and all the vice-presidents, they shall choose a chairman for the occasion. Seven of the whole shall be a quorum. They shall meet once in every month; and may be summoned specially by the president, or, in his absence, by either of the vice-presidents. Their duty shall be, to offer and confer premiums; to collect and disseminate useful information; to examine into the modes of manufacturing at the factories, in order to increase the advantages, and remove the difficulties, under which they may be conducted; to dispose of all the monies of the society, except what shall be specially subscribed for the purpose of manufacturing; and generally to do such other things as will promote the design of the institution.

VI. It shall be the duty of the secretaries to attend all general meetings of the society, and of the president, and vice-presidents, and board of managers. They shall keep regular minutes of the proceedings; and shall do such other things, from time to time, as appertain to their office.

VII. Every member on his admission, shall pay to the treasurer the sum of ten shillings at least, and the same sum annually, during his continuing a member; which shall go into the general fund, to defray the necessary expenses of the society, to confer premiums; and to accomplish

every other salutary measure consistent with the design of the institution.

VIII. For the better employment of the industrious poor, and in order to render the society as useful as possible, a subscription, for sums not less than ten pounds from any one person or company, shall be immediately opened to all persons who ever, for the purpose of establishing factories in such places as shall be thought most suitable. These subscribers shall be entitled to all the profits attending the business, and shall be the sole owners of all the lots of ground, buildings, implements, raw materials, and other things, purchased or paid for out of their subscriptions, which shall be called "the manufacturing fund." They shall hold occasional meetings for the management and improvement of their practical affairs, at such times and places as they shall determine on, at which meetings the president or vice-presidents of the society (provided they shall be subscribers to the fund) shall preside, unless prevented by absence, in which case they shall choose a chairman for the occasion.

IX. The manufacturing committee shall consist of twelve members who shall be chosen by ballot, annually, by a majority of the subscribers to the manufacturing fund only, convened at a meeting of the said subscribers, to be held (with due exception of Sunday) on the day next following the general meeting of the society for the election of office. This committee shall have the sole disposition of the said fund; and shall conduct the factories in such manner as they shall think most advisable, subject, however, to such regulations and instructions as shall be given them, from time to time, by the subscribers to the manufacturing fund. They shall choose a chairman, and hold meetings once in every month, or oftener, if summoned by the

chairman, on application to him from any two of their board. They shall make careful observation on every circumstance attending the various branches which they may carry on; and report to the president, vice-presidents, and managers, such difficulties, advantages, and improvements, as their practice and experience shall suggest.

X. The shares in the manufacturing fund shall be transferable: but all transfers, except those by will, shall be attested by the president, one of the vice-presidents, a notary-public, or a justice of the peace: provided, that no proprietor of a share shall be permitted to vote at any election for officers, who shall not produce, at such election, a certificate of his being a member: and, in order to entitle the person, to whom the transfer is made, to vote, it must be made at least ten days before such election.

XI. This society will hold itself in duty bound, to correspond, and steadily co-operate, with such similar institutions as now are, or hereafter shall be, established in others of the united states.

XII. For the general purposes of the institution, a quarterly meeting shall be held once in every three months, on the 20th day of January, April, July, and October, with the due exception of Sunday.

XIII. The board of managers, and the committee for manufactures, respectively, shall account annually to the society, for the disposition of the funds entrusted to their management.

XIV. No alteration in this constitution shall be made, without the consent of two-thirds of the members, convened at a general meeting of the society, called for the purpose.

At a meeting of the above society, held August 18, 1787, the following resolution was agreed to:

“Whereas the legislature of this
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state, actuated by the same motives which have given rise to this institution, have enacted good and wholesome laws for the protection and encouragement of American manufactures: and unless those laws are duly supported, and carried into execution, the efforts of this society may still be frustrated, and rendered ineffectual: and whereas we cannot act upon a surer foundation, than by concurring in the plans that have been wisely laid by the rulers of this country, to effect the purposes that we have in view: therefore,

“Resolved that every member of this society will (as in honour and duty bound) exert himself to the utmost of his power, to support the laws now in force, or which shall be hereafter enacted for the protection and encouragement of domestic manufactures.”

Extract from the minutes,
WILLIAM BARTON, sec.



On *ex post facto* laws.

IT is pretty generally agreed, that a total want of confidence pervades the united states, both as to the public and the citizens individually. Various causes, some obviously just, have been assigned to account for this effect: and every person seems to know, why money, in particular, is no longer to be obtained at legal, or, indeed, any other interest, in the way heretofore practised—that is, by mortgage or bond. But I have not yet seen any expedient assigned, for restoring private confidence, and usefully diffusing the goods of fortune, otherwise confined to a few, among the people at large. I will endeavour to point out one.

The privilege of making *ex post facto* laws, has, unfortunately for our political character, been but too generally assumed by the different legislatures in the united states: and it is with astonishment I view, in the
I

retrospect, certain transactions, under this dangerous and impolitic assumption! To suffer a continuation of this shameful abuse of power, would be to hold our patrimony and liberty as tenants at will—an odious tenure! Distrust, the canker-worm of prosperity and happiness, must haunt that government which tolerates the abuse; and gnaw deep into every measure, public or private, in its nature.

Where is the man, who, possessed of a sum of money, though unprofitably locked up in his chest, will choose to trust it abroad—if an omnipotent legislature can set aside contracts ratified by the sanction of law, and order that, which was lent in gold and silver, to be paid in paper, or what else they please, or of what value?

Without pretending to more than a common share of political pathology, I may venture to say, that *ex post facto* laws are poison to free constitutions, and pregnant with calamity to the community. No credit can exist, where the practice obtains. A tender law, for instance, should never extend to contracts, already made. If the legislatures throughout the union, were to pass acts declaratory of the illegality, and dangerous tendency of all *ex post facto* laws, I think it would prove a preventative to further evils; restore lost confidence; and give a scope to the exertions of the industrious, who would thus be enabled to borrow, as formerly, money to prosecute their different avocations. The farmer might then plough his land—the mechanic improve his art—and the merchant turn the balance of trade in our favour. Fair science would raise her head: and thus the body politic would draw increasing vigour from the thriving strength of its limbs.

RUSTICUS.

On the present state of affairs.

AS a nation, these states are now arrived at a crisis truly alarming—perhaps more so, than any period during the late war: as, then, they were united, and were all opposed to an enemy from without: but now the destruction and calamities, which threaten us, spring up from among ourselves; and, unless we be very cautious, will, by dividing, conquer us. While in the states, individually, local and selfish politics predominate—the confederated states in congress assembled have not the power to apply to effect any remedy, however salutary, to cure our national disorders. But while there is hope, we must not distrust providence: and we have this hope in the grand federal convention. Ye men of America, banish from your bosoms those demons, suspicion and distrust, which have been so long working your destruction. Be assured, the men whom ye have delegated to work out, if possible, your salvation, are men, in whom ye may most implicitly confide. Their extensive knowledge, known abilities, and approved patriotism, fully warrant it. Their determinations must be just: and if ye wish to promote the happiness and prosperity of your country, ye will place such confidence in them, as to sanction with your approbation the measures they may recommend, notwithstanding they may, in some small points, militate against your ideas of propriety. Consider, they have at their head a WASHINGTON, the amiableness of whose character is beyond the power of language to describe: of him we may truly say:

Unfold the long recording page

Of time, where sleep the hero, sage,

Immortaliz'd in dust:

Where Greece her Ammon hails divine;

In Roman annals Titus shines,

Of either age the boast:

of more importance to them than Mediterranean ones are now to us; and as we should grant these only to American bottoms, the whole carrying trade of the West Indies, and of British America, would belong exclusively to us. The powers of Europe could not expect us to protect their ships from these depredations, because they will not protect our trade in the Mediterranean. The importance of this protection, however, would be an hundred times greater to them than that of theirs can be to us; because their West India ships are in number and value an hundred times more than ours in the Mediterranean sea would ever amount to; besides which, these ships in coming down the gulf stream must necessarily pass our cruising ground. We should also receive great commercial benefit from this plan, for the Rhode Islanders would be able to supply us with West India produce at half the price it would cost by importation, even if the island ports were open to us: thus, even if stealing were a national crime, we should reap the benefit of theft, without being guilty of it.

The importance the twelve states would enjoy, among the nations of Europe, must be obvious at first view. We should be courted by all of them, to make treaties of mutual defence against Rhode Island and Algiers, while we should only treat with those who are able to secure the Mediterranean to us, thereby always leaving nations enough out of the compact, to support the cruising business of our neighbours.

I hope the federal convention will consider this subject fully, and allow Rhode Island to withdraw herself from the union, that the new world, like the old one, may have a band of pirates in the scale of its importance.

BLACK BEARD.

Address of the clergy and laity, representatives of the protestant episcopal church, in the state of New York, assembled in convention, to the right rev. Samuel Provoost, D. D. bishop of said church.

Right reverend sir,

WE, the clergy and laity, representatives of the protestant episcopal church, now assembled in convention, beg leave to address you on this solemn occasion, with sentiments of unfeigned duty and respect. After having successfully accomplished the great object you had in view, we congratulate you on your return to your native city, safe from the hazards of a long and tempestuous voyage, and in a great measure restored to health from a painful and dangerous illness. While we express, in terms of the warmest gratitude, the high obligations we are under to the English bishops for their paternal interposition in our favour, we beg leave to present to you our hearty thanks, for your compliance with our desires, and thus, through many difficulties and sufferings, rendering our church complete in all its parts.

This propitious event, so long and ardently wished for, forms an important era in the history of our church. We are now, by divine providence, placed in such a situation, that a regular succession of the ministry can be continued to us and our posterity, without being reduced to the necessity of applying to a distant land. Justly reposing the highest confidence in your integrity and piety, your love of peace and order, and your unremitted endeavours for the advancement of true religion and virtue, we rejoice that the distinguished honour of filling one of the first episcopal chairs in these united states, hath been conferred on a character so truly amiable: and we trust that we, and those whom we represent, shall never

to render you all due support, respect, and reverence.

May it graciously please the Almighty Ruler of the universe, to bless your ministrations, that a firm foundation may be laid for the peace and prosperity of our church, which shall remain unshaken to the latest ages ! May you, right reverend sir, long continue in the discharge of your sacred office, an example for our imitation, and an ornament to our holy religion : and may we, and all those committed to our pastoral charge, derive from your ministration a benefit which will be of everlasting duration ; so that, when we are called to answer for our actions, we may give account with joy, and remain for ever one flock under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, the bishop of our souls !

Done in convention, at St. Paul's church, in the city of New York, the 29th day of June, in the year of our Lord, 1787.

Signed by order,
ABRAHAM BEACH, sec.

The bishop's answer.

Reverend, and most dearly beloved,

[HIS affectionate address—your obliging congratulations on my return to my native city, and on the recovery of my health—and, above all, your assurances of support in my ministration—I receive with the most satisfaction and thanks.

The object of my late mission being the independence of our church, and a regular succession of the ministry, was of such magnitude, that its happy accomplishment cannot fail of inspiring all its members with the warmest gratitude to Almighty God, and to all, under him, who have by their good offices contributed to its success. To the English bishops, particularly, we are under indelible obligations ; and I cordially unite with you in a public testimony of

their benevolent and paternal exertions in our favour. Whenever we shall reflect on this important era in the history of our church, they must be remembered with honour and reverence. Let us, my beloved friends, zealously strive to make a due improvement of the spiritual privileges which we now enjoy. Let our faith be sincere, and our lives unblemished, as our doctrine and worship are pure and holy ; and God will continue to shower down his blessings upon us and our church, with a bountiful hand.

May you, my reverend brethren, aided by his gracious spirit, continue to be watchful shepherds of the flocks committed to your charge, and maintain the doctrines and discipline of his excellent church, with constancy and zeal, and at the same time with candour towards those who differ from us in religious opinions, that our moderation may be made manifest, and we may joyfully contribute to that peace, love, and charity, which are so strongly enforced in the gospel of our blessed Redeemer.

Deeply sensible of my own imperfections, I feel with solicitude the weight of the important office to which I am consecrated. I rely only on the grace of God, to enable me to discharge my pastoral duties with fidelity, to be instrumental in promoting true religion and virtue, in governing this church in peace and unanimity, and laying a sure foundation for its lasting prosperity, that thus, through his divine protection, your expectation of my usefulness may not be disappointed.

And now, unto God's gracious mercy and protection I commit you ; the Lord bless you and keep you ; the Lord make his face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you ; the Lord lift up his countenance upon you, and give you peace both now and evermore !

Complaining regulated.

————— *Nunc sera querelis*
Haud iustis assurgis, et irrita jurgia
jactas.

COMPLAINTS of bad times have been common in all ages. No period was ever so good, but many would think former days were not so bad, and present days might be better. This is a period remarkable for complaints. Whether there be sufficient cause for them, I will not say. Every man, in this matter, will judge for himself. "Scarcity of cash, heavy taxes, frequent suits, severity of creditors, bad debts, ill management of public affairs," &c. &c. are common topics of conversation in most companies. But I cannot find that complaining has mended the times: for they still continue the same. Since complaining is so considerable a part of the business of the day, it is necessary some rules should be prescribed, to guide us in so important an affair. Until better are provided, I would recommend the following:

Never complain of any thing before you have examined it, and are sure that it is an evil. Judge not of a matter merely from its present appearance, or from your present feelings: but consider its natural tendency, and probable consequences; for, however disagreeable it may be at present—yet, if it be naturally productive of superior good, it is not, on the whole, an evil, or proper matter of complaint,

If you are not capable, at present, of making a proper judgment of its probable tendency, suspend your complaints, till you are wiser, or can see the issue. Never complain of that as a grievance, which is necessary to prevent or remove something worse.

Complain not of that which could not have been prevented, or cannot be remedied: this would be impiety,

as well as folly: for it would murmur at providence.

Complain not of that which proceeds from your own choice, or your own conduct: but silently censure your error; and, from your experience, learn wisdom and virtue.

Never complain of that which is in your power to mend. Remove the evil: and there will be nothing to complain of. Complain not of that which becomes painful merely from the irregularity of your own temper: but correct your temper and then all will be well.

Never complain of the conduct of others, when you act in the same manner, or in a manner that shews you have the same disposition, as would act like them, in the same circumstances: but first reform yourself: and then, perhaps, your example will do something to reform them.

Complain not of that in the good which is faulty only in part: nor wish to destroy what only wants mending. Would you throw away your only coat, because the tail is mended in the cut of the cuff?

Complain not, when complaining does no good. This is spending your breath, and disturbing your mind in vain.

Never complain of mere trifling inconveniences. This shews a trifling mind. Complain not of that which you do not, and cannot, understand. This indicates rashness.

Complain not of disappointment which originates from unreasonable and extravagant expectations. Bring your views down to the standard of nature: and your disappointments will be few and small. Never serve like a piece of inanimate nature, that echoes other people's complaints: perhaps, they are designing men, and want you to be their tool.

Never complain of a matter after it has been fully explained, and unanswerably justified. This would be obstinacy and perverseness.

Never complain, to shew your importance, or to make a noise. Perhaps you will raise a noise that did not expect; and sink, from supposed importance, into real insignificance.

Never complain of that which in respect concerns you: nor search for faults, for the sake of talking about them. This is to be a busy man in other men's matters.

Complain not of grievances, but have a view to remove them; nor censure the misconduct in others, but for the sake of reforming it. If no good end can be answered, you may as well be silent.

But, you will say, "these are rules: may we not complain at all?" What matter is it whether you complain or no? Let every man study his duty, and comply with his own obligations; know himself, and amend his faults; be as good as he can, and by his example make others as good as he can; conduct as modestly as he thinks others ought to conduct; and fill his sphere as well as he thinks others ought to fill theirs: and he will see less evil to complain of, and be less disposed to complain of what he sees.



Letter relative to the Hessian fly: from Mr. Decius Wadsworth, to col Jeremiah Wadsworth, dated Farmington, July 4, 1787.

S I R,
FROM a late experiment, it should seem that a method is discovered of effectually preventing the ravages of the Hessian fly. The following facts, which were collected from the gentleman, to whom we are indebted for the experiment, will enable you to judge what advantage may be expected from his method of procedure.

Mr. James Cowles, of Farmington, sowed three small adjacent patches of land, about the 20th of

September last, with wheat, having first prepared the seed in the following manner:

He took an indifferently large quantity of the young twigs of elder, of that summer's growth, together with the leaves; and poured upon them a sufficient quantity of water, that the twigs of elder might be entirely covered. Having suffered it to continue in an open vessel, exposed to the sun and air, for the space of twenty-four hours, he bruised and wrung the twigs of elder, until they had transmitted all their virtues to the water. In this preparation he steeped the seed for twelve hours; and sowed it in the common manner.

It happened, that the quantity of seed, which was steeped, did not prove sufficient. For the remaining part of the land, he took about a peck of seed of the same quality, but which had only a short steeping of three quarters of an hour.

I have examined each piece of land: and the small spot, where this last was sown, is the only part of either patch, which is essentially injured. One sees, here and there, a stalk eaten off by the insect: but I think not so frequently as in the rye which I have observed this year. The small patch, where the peck of wheat, slightly steeped, was sown, is distinguished from the rest of the field, at the distance of forty rods. In almost every tuft or root of this, which I examined, I found from one to a dozen of the insects in the worm state. In either of the other parts, I found none of the insects, though I occasionally saw the effects, by the dead ears of corn. In general, it looks very promising; and, if unhurt by a blast, may produce from twenty to twenty-five bushels per acre.

In an adjacent field, a farmer had sown a small strip of land, which had been occupied by a dead hedge. It was burnt over; and prepared in

the best manner. Scarcely a single ear of wheat is to be seen : but for a small sprinkling of rye, he would not reap the seed. All the wheat which I have heard of, in the neighbourhood, but this of Mr. Cowles, is destroyed. How much the preservation of this probably depends on the method of preparing the seed, every person may judge.

It is found, that at this season of the year, the wheat in the granary is infested with a small insect, almost imperceptible to the naked eye, to which the juice of elder is instantly fatal. Whether this insect be the parent of the worm so destructive to wheat, and the preparation operates upon it, is not material to the farmer, if, on experiment, the process shall generally succeed.

I have the honour to be, &c.
D. WADSWORTH.

Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth.

Benefit of salt in agriculture.

Mr. Carey,

HAVING read in your useful Museum for January, a piece on the benefit of salt in agriculture, it induced me to try the experiment this spring, in a piece of flax.

I chose out an excellent piece of ground, where a house formerly stood, and sowed it with flax ; likewise a poor piece of land, in which I sowed one peck of flaxseed, and one peck of salt, together. After it came up to about three inches high, I sowed another peck of salt on it, which was just a half bushel of salt to a peck of flaxseed.

The effect was, that where I had sowed in rich ground, the flax was good, owing to the fine season we had for flax, this spring. Where I sowed flax and salt together, though it was poor land, the flax was a great deal better than the other ; and produced more seed in abundance, than

that sowed in rich land : which will fully pay for the salt put on it.

If any person from this should be induced to try it, he may depend on the good effect, unless some material accident happens.

HENRY HENDRICKSON
Cecil county, State of Maryland



On reaping wheat early.

Mr. Printer,

Please to publish the following experiment, to prove, that it is more profitable to reap wheat, when there is some milk in the upper part of grain, than when suffered to stand until quite ripe.

I HAD cut on the 27th of March, forty-one sheaves with gle bands, and got the same threshed and cleansed on the 2d of the present month, and found that the wheat measured two bushels, which I took to Mr. Tatnall's mill, and received from his miller the following count :—" Your wheat weighed 132 lb. and I send you 2 quarters superfine flour, 19 lb. tail flour, 1 middlings, and 10 lb. ship stuff, besides bran, exclusive of toll."

I am sir, &c.

WILLIAM GEDE
Prospect-hill, July 10, 1787.



On the management of lambs.

IT has long been the mode adopted by farmers in this state, and I believe universally, to let their lambs for the first year remain unshorn, while they shear their sheep. In this way, a great loss of wool arises, as well as an essential injury to the lambs.—Let the farmers annually shear their lambs ; and the fleeces will furnish hatters with excellent materials for a part of their manufacture, for which they will pay considerably, and also greatly advantage the farmer.—This mode has been adopted in many places of late, and they have

found it extremely beneficial. The lambs, before the heat of summer is over, are clothed with such a quantity of wool, that they often become poor: whereas, let them be sheared, and the effect is the same as with the sheep.—This matter ought certainly to claim the particular attention of the farmers, and I venture to affirm that this mode, if adopted, will annually produce a considerable revenue, as well as greatly advantage our flocks of sheep.



On the culture of tea in America.

MAY not tea be cultivated in some parts of the united states? China, like the united states, has a large territory to the west and north west. It has the same exposure to the Southern Ocean, as the united states to the Atlantic. The latitudes are the same nearly. Ginseng flourishes in the back parts of both countries, and in no other country on the globe. This last circumstance proves a similarity of climate and soil, which may be deemed a sufficient inducement to make the experiment at least. The sugar-cane, the basis of the whole trade of the West Indies, is not a native of America. It was carried from the East Indies to the island of Sicily, and from thence to the West Indies: and, if we are not mistaken, the same is true with respect to rice.



A mode to preserve the peach-tree from being injured by a species of worm, which for several years past has destroyed many of them in these states. By Jacob Coleman, of Montgomery county, Pennsylvania.

CLEAR away the gum that issues out of the tree affected by the worm: strew a little flour of brimstone around the root: cover it lightly with fine mould, that it may not be blown away, yet so that the sun may operate through, and cause

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the brimstone to fumigate, which destroys the worm. One pound of brimstone will be sufficient for near two hundred trees. The same kind of sulphur he also found to be destructive to caterpillars. In the latter case, his plan was as follows:

He split the end of a pole or stick, put therein a few brimstone matches, set them on fire, and held the pole under the nest. This destroys the caterpillars. A pole, thus lighted, will answer for three or four nests.

These experiments he has tried with great success, and recommends them.



Composition for colouring and preserving gates, pales, barns, &c.

Mr. Printer,

THE following composition has been communicated to me, as a cheap and excellent colouring and preservative of gates, pales, barns, &c. &c.

Melt twelve ounces of resin in an iron-pot, or kettle: add three gallons of train-oil, and three or four rolls of brimstone. When the resin and brimstone are melted, and become thin, add as much Spanish brown, or red or yellow oker, (or any other colour you want—ground fine, as usual, with oil) as will give the whole as deep a shade as you like. Then lay it on with a brush, as hot and as thin as you can. Some days after the first coat is dried, give it a second.

It is well attested, that this will preserve plank for ages; and prevent the weather from driving through brick-work.



Method of raising calves without milk. To the society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce.

Gentlemen,

HAVING observed, in your book of premiums, your offer

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county of Worcester) in the tenth year of his age.

On the ninth day of April, 1786, about sunset, captain Cowce's three oldest children, viz. a daughter and two sons, were at his barn, taking care of his cattle. The youngest son was on the hay-mow, about six feet high, and slid down from it in haste. There was at the same time a large wooden hay-hook sticking slightly in the mow, which dropped down, with the sharp end up. The lad came on the hook, which entered his body in the following most shocking manner, viz. into the scrotum, until it met the os pubis, or share bone, then passed on the outside of said bone, towards the right groin, between the peritoneum and muscles of the abdomen, up to the short ribs; then entered the trunk of the body, and came out between two ribs, one inch and a half below the shoulder-blade, and as near to the back-bone, on the right side—only the sharp end came through the skin, between the ribs: the hook turned back into the trunk of the body. This circumstance was not discovered until two days after he received the hurt.

The child, after he had fallen, cried out, he had killed himself! His brother and sister took him up in their arms, to carry him to the house, with the hook remaining in his body. They carried him about seven or eight rods, when they were met by their parents. The father immediately drew out the hook, by the same way it went in, and it is supposed with the hook part towards the bowels, as some of his intestines were wounded, and no external skin broken by drawing back the hook, though the handle was more than one inch in diameter, three feet and seven inches long. One half of the length of the hook part was broken off before the accident happened, and left in a rough and shattered situation.

On the 12th of April, the third day after the accident, his excrements came out of the wound in his scrotum. About the 20th, a large tumour broke a little above the os pubis, on his belly: and there were five broken successively. At three of them his excrements came out: and forty-two large worms made their way out at those ulcers. In about four weeks, the lower wound, where the hook first entered, was healed. In eight weeks, the discharge of excrements, by these ulcers, began to abate; and in the tenth week entirely stopped. The genital parts and urinary passage were not wounded: and by the seventeenth week, he was entirely well and sound; and remains as sprightly and active as any lad, and feels no manner of indisposition from this accident.

It may be further observed, that there was a small discharge of excrement, once in three or four days, the natural way, but very small: and it was often noticed, that what he eat or drank, came out at the ulcers in fifteen minutes after; and glysters would run out at the lower wound, when administered.



Advice of a late eminent physician to his patients in putrescent disorders.

IN cases of this kind, more depends on attention than medicine.

It is then especially as necessary to preserve health as to restore it.

Adopt every application that tends to correct the foulness of the air.

Keep the chambers, the passages, and particularly the kitchen, habitually perfumed with the strongest scents, such as burnt vinegar, frankincense, &c. &c.

Live generously, and drink no weak impoverishing liquors.

Use porter for your common beverage, and take five or six times a day a glass of port wine,

As the enemy may attack as successfully from the postern gate as in front, make frequent libations of vinegar in the temple of Cloacina.

Never go into the room where the sick are confined, but when cool, or with an handkerchief to your mouth, perfumed with the most potent antiseptics.

Beware of getting drunk, or doing any thing by which your body may be relaxed.

Prefer, at the same time that you never lose sight of moderation in eating and drinking, and in action, whatever has a tendency to brace.

Cleanliness is proper in all diseases, but in this has often cured without the assistance of physic.

N. B. These memorandums were noted down, in a poor man's house, by the late Dr. Fothergill, and are published from principles of humanity,



Scale of ages of the animal creation.

THE following scale of the average duration of animal life is collected from Linnæus, Buffon, and other celebrated writers of natural history :

A hare will live	10 years.
A cat	10
A goat	8
An ass	30
A sheep	10
A ram	15
A dog from 14 to 20	} <i>& some- times more.</i>
A bull	
An ox (a curious fact)	20
Swine	25
A peacock	25
A horse from 20 to	30
A pigeon	8
A turtle dove	25
A partridge	25
A raven	100
An eagle	100

Of the goose, the following may be depended upon as a fact:—There is a family living in Scotland, who

are able to ascertain, that a goose had been kept in the family 70 years—they know it must be still older, but they fix this period, as being able to prove it incontestibly.



Curious remarks on the various diseases to which mankind are subject.

THE ingenious dr. Adair has lately made the following curious and interesting remarks on the shortness of human life :

Of one thousand persons, twenty-three die in the birth; two hundred and twenty-seven from teething, convulsions, and worms; eighty from smallpox; seven in the measles; eight women in childbed; one hundred and ninety-one of consumptions, asthma, and other diseases of the breast; one hundred and fifty of fevers; twelve of apoplexy and lethargy; and forty-one of dropsy; omitting other diseases not so well ascertained: so that only seventy-eight of one thousand attain what may be deemed old age.

Or, if the reader chooses to take it in another point of view: of one thousand persons, two hundred and sixty die within the first year; eighty in the second; forty in the third; twenty-four in the fourth: and within the first eight years of life, four hundred and forty-six, or almost one half of the number, are cut off by premature death.

Sickly years are from one in four, to one in six or seven, to the healthy. December, January, and April, are, from observation, found to be the most sickly months, and June the most healthy. January is to June as eleven to one.



Cure for hard times.

WHEN the good governor Talcot presided over Connecticut, a poor simple man came to him one day, complaining very bit-

of the hardness of the times, the scarcity of money, and that as unable to get any, and wonder they did not make money, and would have him use his influence to a bank made.

After hearing the good man enough, he turns to him, and asked if he had any pork or beef to sell? No. Any wheat or grain of any kind? No. Any butter, cheese, or flax? For, says the governor, if you have, I will give you money for them. Why no, he had any thing to sell. Then, says the governor, suppose we should have a bank of paper money, how would you expect to get it? Why, truly, he did not know.

Let us run in debt less, spend less, and pay more, be more frugal and industrious, and we shall soon have our affairs mending; our debts to the public and private lessening, and money become plenty. For the scarcity of money is a disease that will work its own remedy, and make money plenty as in other merchandize. If it must be in a way of industry and frugality—and whenever money comes plenty in any other way, it does more hurt than good, as it creates idleness and wickedness among a people, of which we have already too much.



A disagreeable portrait.

THE states of America cannot be said to be under a federal bond, when they will not acknowledge any supremacy in congress. In time of war, we were bound together by a principle of fear; that principle is gone: we are no longer united states, because we are not under any firm and energetic compact. The breath of jealousy has blown the web of our confederacy asunder. Every link of the chain of union is separated from its companions. We lie, it is true, under the appearances

of friendship; but we secretly hate and envy, and endeavour to thwart the interest of each other; and was it not for the British colonies and garrisons that surround us, we should probably very soon contend in the field for empire. Even our state governments, where all the energy lies, are unable to preserve their citizens from rebellion. And notwithstanding all this, we pretend to dread the growing power of congress, and wish to curtail and destroy every exertion of their jurisdiction. This conduct brings to mind the old Roman senator, who, after his country had subdued the commonwealth of Carthage—made them deliver up their territories, their ships, their arms—and imposed an enormous tribute upon them; in short, after they had bound them hand and foot, and rendered them unable even to protect themselves, much less to wage war upon their enemies, still the heroic senator was for precipitating the vengeance of the Romans upon them; and when no possible argument offered itself, he cried, Carthage must be destroyed.



Resolutions of congress for the establishment of a new money of account for the united states.

*By the united states in congress assembled,
August 8, 1786.*

ON a report of the board of treasury: resolved, that the standard of the united states of America, for gold and silver, shall be eleven parts fine, and one part alloy.

That the money unit of the united states, being by the resolve of congress of the 6th of July, 1785, a dollar, shall contain of fine silver, three hundred and seventy-five grains, and sixty-four hundredths of a grain.

That the money of account, to correspond with the division of coins, agreeable to the above resolve, pro-

ceed in a decimal ratio, agreeable to the forms and manner following, viz.

Mills, the lowest money of account, of which one thousand shall be equal to the federal dollar, or money unit, 0.001

Cents, the highest copper piece, of which one hundred shall be equal to the federal dollar, 0.010

Dimes, the lowest silver coin, ten of which shall be equal to the dollar, 0.100

Dollar, the highest silver coin, 1.000

That betwixt the dollar and the lowest copper coin, as fixed by the resolve of congress, of the 6th July 1785, there shall be three silver coins and one copper coin.

That the silver coins shall be as follow : one coin containing one hundred and eighty-seven grains, and eighty-two hundredths of a grain of fine silver, to be called a half dollar : one coin containing seventy-five grains, and one hundred and twenty-eight thousandths of a grain of fine silver, to be called a double dime : and one coin containing thirty-seven grains, and five hundred and sixty-four thousandths of a grain of fine silver, to be called a dime.

That the two copper coins shall be as follow : one equal to the one hundredth part of the federal dollar, to be called a cent : and one equal to the two hundredth part of the federal dollar, to be called a half cent.

That two pounds and a quarter avoirdupois weight of copper, shall constitute one hundred cents.

That there shall be two gold coins ; one containing two hundred and forty-six grains, and two hundred and sixty-eight thousandths of a grain of fine gold, equal to ten dollars, to be stamped with the impression of the American eagle, and to be called an eagle : one containing one hundred and twenty-three grains, and one hundred and thirty-four thousandths of

a grain of fine gold, equal to five dollars, to be stamped in like manner, and to be called a half-eagle.

That the mint price of a pound troy weight, of uncoined silver, eleven parts fine and one part alloy shall be nine dollars, nine dimes and two cents.

That the mint price of a pound troy weight of uncoined gold, eleven parts alloy, shall be two hundred and nine dollars, seven dimes and seven cents.



An ordinance for the establishment of mint of the united states of America and for regulating the value and ley of coin.

IT is hereby ordained by the united states in congress assembled, that a mint be established for the coinage of gold, silver and copper money agreeably to the resolves of congress of the 8th of August last, under the following officers, viz.

An assay master, whose duty shall be to receive gold and silver bullions, or foreign coin, to assay same, and to give his certificates the value thereof, at the following rates :

For every pound, troy weight, of uncoined gold or foreign gold coin, eleven parts fine and one part alloy, two hundred and nine dollars, seven dimes, and seven cents, money of the united states, as established by the resolves of congress, of the 8th of August last ; and so in proportion to the fine gold contained in any coined or uncoined gold whatsoever.

For every pound troy weight of coined silver or foreign silver coin, eleven parts fine, and one part alloy, thirteen dollars, seven dimes, seven cents, and seven mills, money of the united states, established as aforesaid, and so in proportion to the fine silver contained in any coined or uncoined silver whatsoever.

A master coiner, whose duty

ll be, to receive from time to time, of the assay master, the bullion necessary for coinage; to report to congress devices and proofs of the proposed pieces of coin; and to procure proper workmen to execute the business of coinage—reporting, from time to time, to the commissioners of the board of treasury of the united states, for approbation and allowance, occupation, number, and pay of persons so employed.

A pay-master, who shall be the assayer of the united states for the time being, whose duty it shall be, to receive and take charge of the coin made under the direction of the assay master, and to receipt for the same; to receive and duly enter the certificates for uncoined gold or silver, issued by the assay-master; and to pay ninety-five hundredths of the amount thereof in gold or silver, and five hundredths in the copper coin of the united states.

And it is hereby further ordained, that the certificates to be given by the assay master, to the persons who shall lodge gold or silver in the mint for coinage, shall be on fine bankers paper, and expressed in the manner and form following, to wit.

“Mint of the united states.

“I ACKNOWLEDGE to have received of A. B. for coinage [here insert the weight] of [here insert the species] bullion, for the amount which pay to _____ or bearer, the sum of _____ at ten _____ s light, agreeably to the custom of the mint.

“C. D. assay-master.

“To E. F, pay-master of the mint of the united states of America,”
And it is hereby further ordained, that the officers above mentioned shall settle their accounts monthly, agreeably to such forms and vouchers shall be prescribed by the comptroller of the treasury.

And it is hereby further ordained, that the officers shall enter into bonds

to the united states in congress assembled, for the faithful execution of the trust respectively reposed in them, in the manner and amount following, to wit.

The assay master in the sum of ten thousand dollars, and two sureties, each in the sum of five thousand dollars.

The master coiner in the sum of ten thousand dollars, and two sureties, each in the sum of five thousand dollars.

And that the officers mentioned in this ordinance, as well as every other person employed in the mint, shall take and subscribe the oath of office, established by the resolve of the fourteenth of March, 1786.

And it is hereby further ordained, that it shall be the duty of the comptroller of the treasury, to report monthly to the commissioners of the treasury of the united states, a statement of the mint-accounts, adjusted agreeably to the usual forms: and if, on such statement, or other information, it shall appear, that there has been any neglect, mismanagement, or abuse of trust, in any of the officers mentioned in the present ordinance, it shall be the duty of the commissioners of the board of treasury, to suspend such officer or officers, and report thereon specially to congress.

And it is hereby further ordained, that the copper coin struck under the authority of the united states in congress assembled, shall be receivable in all taxes, or payments due to the united states, in the proportion of five dollars for every hundred dollars so paid: but that no other copper coin whatsoever shall be receivable in any taxes or payments whatsoever to the united states.

And whereas, the great quantities of base copper coin daily imported into, or manufactured within, the several states, are become so highly injurious to the interest and com-

merce of the same, as to require the immediate interposition of the powers vested by the confederation in the united states in congress assembled, of regulating the value of copper, the coin so current as aforesaid.

It is hereby ordained, that no foreign copper coin whatsoever shall, after the first day of September, 1787, be current within the united states: and that no copper coin, struck under the authority of a particular state, shall pass at a greater value, than one federal dollar for two pounds and one quarter of a pound avoirdupois weight of such copper coin.

Done by the united states in congress assembled, this sixteenth day of October, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, and of our sovereignty and independence the eleventh.



Remarks on the resolves of congress, fixing a new money of account.

Mr. Printer,

I READ in some of the late papers, the resolves of congress, of the eighth of August, 1786, fixing a new imaginary money, or money of account for these united states, the denominations being dollars, dimes, cents, and mills. They descend in a decuple ratio, which, in some respects, will, I think, be attended with peculiar convenience. The lowest denomination, or mills, will not necessarily require a fourth column; but, like the farthings of our present money of account, may be expressed in the column for the next higher denomination, as a fraction thereof. Thus, one hundred dollars, nine dimes, eight cents, and seven mills, may be set down | 100 | 9 | 87 |. Indeed, from the uniform decimal proportion of the several denominations, the whole

may be expressed under one, that the highest denomination, where the dimes, cents, and mills would appear as fractions of a dollar, the 100.987: for that is the same with one hundred dollars, nine dimes, eight cents, and seven mills.

Other circumstances have occurred with which I am not sure that ought to be equally pleased: in respect to some of which, I was, however, the assistance of more light than I have,

If there should be a difference of value, between the Spanish and American dollar, to the advantage of the former, which with great probability seems to be the case, the difference ought to be exactly ascertained and some provision made (by congress, if in their department, or by several states) that debts already contracted to be paid in dollars, or which dollars are a legal tender shall not be paid in American dollars, without an allowance for the deficiency of their value, compared to that of the Spanish. Otherwise evident injustice must follow: the attempt to make a smaller quantity of silver pass currently as of the same value with a greater, would be similar to that of Philip the third of Spain, who, in order to correct the evil of that scarcity of money which resulted from its too sudden influx at a former period, and from the unhappy influence, which it seems to have had both on the monarch and his subjects, and the measures of government, endeavored to raise the value of copper money to nearly that of silver: nor would it in the end prove itself less valuable. For, however such a policy may have an unjust operation, in respecting a part of pre-contracted debts, the most absolute prince, in the full career of his power, will find himself limited, when his measures would operate upon future dealings. Such a potentate, it is true, if

less the whole power of the people; but neither he, nor they, can change the nature of things, nor destroy their essential differences. Money, indeed, being conventional, general consent (where it can be had) may effect any thing in that line; but this general consent must reach far beyond the limits of any single commercial country; and, even within its boundaries, is impossible to be obtained to things of such a nature, as would make a part equal in estimation to the whole, or would render commodities which abound, and can be had at the expense of little labour, commensurate in value with those desirable things which are scarce, and not to be procured without much industry and great application.

It is a matter of some consequence, then, to enquire whether the American be inferior to the Spanish dollar, or not. The difference may not be so considerable as to appear worthy of notice to an inattentive observer, or to one who views it in the single dollar; and yet, in large payments, it may be a matter of serious concern. What a dollar fresh from the Spanish mint may weigh, I am not informed, nor am I certainly acquainted with the Spanish standard; but I remember to have heard, that it was not inferior in dignity to that of any country, except in the instance of a particular species of silver coined in Holland. If we may, then, suppose it to be the same with the English, 111 parts are fine silver, and 9 copper. The standard assumed by congress is 11 to 1, or 100 parts fine silver and 10 alloy. If the weights, therefore, of the two species of dollars were equal, the Spanish would contain 1-110th more of fine silver than the American; but there is, besides, some difference in their absolute weights. For ascertaining that of the former, I carefully weighed ten Spanish dollars; of which,

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one weighed 17 dwt. 5 grs.; two others 17 dwt. $5\frac{1}{2}$ grs. each: another 17 dwt. 6 grs.; three others 17 dwt. $6\frac{1}{2}$ grs. each: two others 17 dwt. 7 grs. each; and one 17 dwts. 8. grs. The medium of these would be 17 dwt. $6\frac{7}{10}$ grs. and this I at first intended to assume into my calculation; but it soon occurred, that I should probably come nearer to the truth by assuming the greatest weight: for that the others were lighter than when first coined, might several ways be accounted for; but that a genuine dollar, and perfectly bright (as this appeared to be) should gain any thing to its original weight, is altogether unaccountable and incredible. In taking this dollar, then, as a sample of the Spanish, the only risque seemed to be, that, though heavier than the others, this, too, as well as the rest, may have lost some part of its weight: although from appearance, I confess, I should not suspect it. Mr. Locke has a table of the weight and fineness of several foreign coins, in which the Mexico real, of the same fineness as the English silver coin, weighs 17 dwt. 12 grs. if this be the same with the Spanish dollar, the value of one of our dollars, which is intended to weigh 409.79 grains very nearly, will be to that of a Spanish, only as 9.669 to 10.000. But according to the two former suppositions, respecting the weight and fineness of a Spanish dollar, it appears that the value of a federal dollar will bear about the same proportion to that of the Spanish, as 9762 bears to 10,000: that is, it will be $2\frac{1}{5}\frac{9}{10}$ per cent. less: so that in receiving a debt of 10,000 Spanish dollars, paid in federal, without any allowance, a man would lose 238.

The eagle is to weigh 268.656 grains of standard gold, and to pass at the same value as ten dollars, which are to contain about 4097.9 so that the proportion of silver to gold, as

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fixed by this regulation, is very nearly as 1 to 15 $\frac{1}{4}$. This may, for aught I know, be the due ratio, at this time: yet I had conceived it to be as 1 to 15. The truth is, that the precious metals, like all other commodities, are fluctuating, from causes which may sometimes operate upon one, and not upon the other, or upon the one more than upon the other, so that their comparative values cannot be expected to be always the same. Their difference seems to have been formerly much less than now: but the opening the rich mines of Potosi, and others, having increased the quantity of silver, above that of gold, in a higher ratio than before, has effected what we see at this day. This being the case, had not the great Mr. Locke reason to say that the current money of any country ought to be made of but one species of metal? And if this should be the case, that one, for reasons which he alludes to, ought to be silver. Gold might still be coined, to ascertain its quantity and fineness; but should not, like money, have a value annexed to it by public authority, but be left, like any other commodity, to find it at market.

If gold and silver may fluctuate, and have fluctuated, in respect to each other, they seem not to be fit to be common and equivalent measures of other things: for that would be like using two persons, the one in a growing condition, the other arrived at his full stature, as equal measures of longitude, because they happen now to be of the same height; and continuing still to use them indiscriminately, after a considerable inequality in height shall have been produced. It is true, that if silver alone should be used for this purpose, (in as much as money not only serves the purpose of counters, but is passed from one to another, as an equivalent for what is purchased with it) its value will necessarily

fluctuate, in respect to other things: thus, we frequently see commodities sell for more or less money at one time than at another, whether the difference be owing to the greater scarcity or plenty of the commodities, or of the money itself. But still, if money should consist of only one metal, it would be a measure never inconsistent with itself. It might vary in its value, at different periods of time: yet one ounce of fine silver in bullion, always was, and ever must be, equal in value to another, if the comparison be made at the same time.

If, after all, it be thought better to have both gold and silver money, it is important that their relative values should be justly appointed, otherwise a fine game would be opened to the artful: and this, I have reason to think, is successfully played against us here in our state, [Virginia,] at least, from an error in this way. A French guinea, or louis-d'or, if it will weigh 5 dwt. 6 grs. (which it may, I believe, without being quite of full weight) passes for 1l. 8s. while four French crowns are rated only at 1l. 6s. 8d.: and yet in France, four crowns are an exact change for a guinea of full weight. The gold seems to be rated too high, for, to be worth 1l. 8s. of our currency, (supposing the difference between it and sterling to be 33 $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.), a guinea ought to weigh, at least 5 dwt. 9 grs.

In England, the pound, troy weight, of gold, is coined into forty-four guineas and a half, which assigns to each guinea, 5 dwt. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs. so that an ounce of sterling gold is equal to 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ guineas, and therefore not, as commonly supposed, 4l. sterling, but 3l. 17s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.—in our currency, 5l. 3s. 10d. not 5l. 6s. 8d.

It should seem, too, that the same care, which may be bestowed at first in adjusting the proportional values of the different metals, would also

be requisite in their continual inspection, that they may be regulated as often as necessary. If it should be thought unjust to lower, by public authority, a coin, which, by like authority, had before a higher value, it may be observed, that it is necessary for the prevention of absurdity: nor would such a conformity to the changing nature of things produce a greater hardship than the holder of money must feel from its natural depreciation, to which he would still be exposed, if the coin were confined to a single metal. This depreciation may be lamented as an evil, but is less considerable, because it will probably be always gradual.

I am also of opinion and partly for the reason above urged, that we might do very well without copper cents, or half cents. It is true, that silver, of those values, would be liable to objection, on account of their size: but all the conveniences of the small coins might be enjoyed, without the inconvenience which would follow the actual coining them: as by coining a sufficient number of pieces of 4, $4\frac{1}{2}$, and 5 cents, or half a dime, a cent might be paid in change, by giving a 5 cents, or a half dime, for a 4 cents; and so the change of a half cent, either way, by giving a $4\frac{1}{2}$ cents, for a 4 or a 5 cents: but if so small a coin as a 4 cents should be thought objectionable, there might be pieces of 5, $5\frac{1}{2}$, and 6, or of 7, $7\frac{1}{2}$, and 8 cents, which would afford the same convenience.

In any of the expressions, which may have dropped from me, I hope no person will understand me to mean any deduction from the honours due to the congress of the united states. Nothing has been farther from my intentions. Their station is truly respectable: and the dignity, with which it has been filled, will make the respect paid

them a pleasing service to every one who is as well satisfied with their proceedings, in general, as myself. My design, in this publication, has been such as to entitle me to their forgiveness, if I have been wrong: and they will need no inducement to adopt my ideas, if they shall perceive me to be right. It is, indeed, by adoption, only, that I can call them mine. Whoever will read mr. Locke, on the subject of raising the value of money, will see them displayed to greater advantage. The subject is important, and at this particular time demands general consideration: and he who will engage in that work, will have reason, I believe, to think that the time which he may employ, in consulting the author whom I have mentioned, has not been ill bestowed.

Before I conclude, I would slightly advert to one circumstance more, which I should suppose to be essential to the prosperity of the mint, or the work of coining. I take it for granted, that it is a business which must stand still, unless sufficient encouragement be given to the owners of bullion, to carry it to the mint. How it may be in other countries, I cannot say; but in England, I understand that the whole expense of coinage is defrayed by a duty laid on wine: so that any person carrying standard bullion to the mint, will receive in return the same weight of coin. Whether this be right, I am not sure: but when it is practised in one country, it may be some inducement to others to follow; else, their mints cannot work to equal advantage, or may not be equally employed. As the labour, which is bestowed upon wrought plate, enhances its value—so, for the same reason, must the labour of the mint increase the value of coin compared to bullion, except in those countries where it is bestowed gratis. But still that increase of value is no

inducement to carry bullion to the mint, unless it be acknowledged in the circulation of the coin—unless that will pass for as much as was the value of the bullion carried thither. From the mint prices of gold and silver standard bullion, as mentioned in the resolution of congress, it appears, that the owner of standard gold, pays coinage at the rate of 4.63 dollars, or 4 dollars, 6 dimes, and 3 cents, per lb. troy; and the coinage of 1 lb. troy of standard silver, will be about 4.136 dollars, or 4 dollars, 1 dime, 3 cents, and 6 mills; that is, the coinage of gold costs nearly $\frac{1}{46}$ th of its whole quantity, or about $2\frac{1}{6}$ per cent. and that of silver almost $29\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. while the coin is not raised to a value much exceeding that of bullion. Does not this seem to frustrate the whole design of congress?



An ordinance for the government of the territory of the united states, north west of the river Ohio.

BE it ordained, by the united states in congress assembled, that the said territory, for the purposes of temporary government, be one district, subject, however, to be divided into two districts, as future circumstances may, in the opinion of congress, make it expedient.

Be it ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that the estates both of resident and non-resident proprietors in the said territory, dying intestate, shall descend to, and be distributed among their children, and the descendants of a deceased child or grandchild, to take the share of their deceased parent, in equal parts among them. And where there shall be no children or descendants, then in equal parts to the next of kin, in equal degree: and among collaterals, the children of a deceased brother or sister of the intestate, shall have in equal parts among them, their deceased parents' share;

and there shall in no case be a distinction between kindred of the whole and half blood; saving, in all cases, to the widow of the intestate, her third part of the real estate for life, and one third part of her personal estate; and this law, relative to descents, and dower, shall remain in full force, until altered by the legislature of the district. And until the governor and judges shall adopt laws, as herein after mentioned, estates in the said territory may be devised or bequeathed by wills in writing, signed and sealed by him or her, in whom the estate may be (being of full age) and attested by three witnesses; and real estates may be conveyed by lease and release, of bargain and sale, signed, sealed, and delivered, by the person being of full age, in whom the estate may be, and attested by two witnesses, provided such wills be duly proved, and such conveyances be acknowledged, or the execution thereof duly proved, and be recorded within one year after proper magistrates, courts, and registers shall be appointed for that purpose; and personal property may be transferred by delivery, saving, however, to the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, St. Vincent's, and the neighbouring villages, who have heretofore professed themselves citizens of Virginia, their laws and customs now in force among them, relative to the descent and conveyance of property.

Be it ordained, by the authority aforesaid, that there shall be appointed, from time to time, by congress, a governor, whose commission shall continue in force for the term of three years, unless sooner revoked by congress. He shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in one thousand acres of land, while in the exercise of his office.

There shall be appointed, from time to time, by congress, a secretary, whose commission shall continue

force for four years, unless sooner revoked. He shall reside in the district, and have a freehold estate therein, in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of his office. It shall be his duty to keep and preserve the acts and laws passed by the legislature, and the public records of the district, and the proceedings of the governor, in his executive department; and transmit authentic copies of such acts and proceedings, every six months, to the secretary of congress. There shall also be appointed a court, to consist of three judges, any two of whom to form a court, who shall have a common-law jurisdiction, and reside in the district, and have each therein, a freehold estate in five hundred acres of land, while in the exercise of their office; and their commissions shall continue in force during good behaviour.

The governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish in the district, such laws of the original states, criminal and civil, as may be necessary, and best suited to the circumstances of the district, and report them to congress, from time to time; which laws shall be in force in the district, until the organization of the general assembly therein, unless disapproved of by congress; and afterwards the legislature shall have authority to alter them, as they all think fit.

The governor for the time being, shall be commander in chief of the militia, appoint and commission all officers in the same, below the rank of general officers. All general officers shall be appointed and commissioned by congress.

Previous to the organization of the general assembly, the governor shall appoint such magistrates and other civil officers, in each county or township, as he shall find necessary for the preservation of the peace and good order in the same. After the general assembly shall be organized,

the powers and duties of magistrates and other civil officers, shall be regulated and defined by the said assembly; but all magistrates and other civil officers, not herein otherwise directed, shall, during the continuance of this temporary government, be appointed by the governor.

For the prevention of crimes and injuries, the laws to be adopted or made, shall have force in all parts of the district, and for the execution of process, criminal and civil, the governor shall make proper divisions thereof, and he shall proceed, from time to time, as circumstances may require, to lay out the parts of the district, in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished, into counties and townships, subject, however, to such alterations as may thereafter be made by the legislature.

So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives from their counties or townships, to represent them in the general assembly; provided that for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative; and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants, shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty-five, after which the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature; provided that no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative, unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the united states three years, and be a resident in the district—or unless he shall have resided in the district three years—and in either case shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same: provided, also, that a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district,

having been a citizen of one of the united states, and being resident in the district—or the like freehold, and two years' residence in the district—shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representatives, thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years; and in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township, for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The general assembly, or legislature, shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The legislative council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by congress, any three of whom to be a quorum: and the members of the council shall be nominated and appointed in the following manner, to wit. As soon as representatives shall be elected, the governor shall appoint a time and place for them to meet together, and, when met, they shall nominate ten persons, residents in the district, and each possessed of a freehold in five hundred acres of land, and return their names to congress; five of whom congress shall appoint and commission to serve as aforesaid; and whenever a vacancy shall happen in the council, by death or removal from office, the house of representatives shall nominate two persons, qualified as aforesaid, for each vacancy, and return their names to congress; one of whom congress shall appoint and commission for the residue of the term; and every five years, four months at least before the expiration of the time of service of the members of councils, the said house shall nominate ten persons, qualified as aforesaid, and return their names to congress, five of whom congress shall appoint, and commisi-

on to serve as members of the council five years, unless sooner removed. And the governor, legislative council, and house of representatives shall have authority to make laws all cases for the good government the district, not repugnant to the principles, and articles, in this ordinance established and declared. All bills, having passed by a majority in the house, and by a majority of the council, shall be referred to the governor for his assent; but no legislative act whatever shall be of any force without his assent. The governor shall have power to convene, prorogue, and dissolve the general assembly, when in his opinion it shall be expedient.

The governors, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity, and of office—the governor before the president of congress—and all other officers before the governor. As soon as a legislative council and house, assembled in a room, shall have authority, by ballot, to elect a delegate to congress, who shall have a seat in congress, with a right of debating, but no voting, during this temporary government.

And for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis of these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected—to fix and establish those principles, as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said territory to provide also for the establishment of states, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to share in the federal councils, on an equal footing with the original states, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

It is hereby ordained and declared,

the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original states, and the people and territories in the said territory, and for ever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit :

Article the first. No person, denying himself in a peaceable and orderly manner, shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments, in the said territory.

Article the second. The inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury ; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature, and of judicial proceedings, according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offences, where proof shall be evident, or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate, and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No person shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of peers or of the law of the land : and should the public exigencies make it necessary for the common defence, to take any person's property, or demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same ;—and in the just preservation of rights and property, no law shall be enacted, that has not been thought ever to be made, or have been in the said territory, that shall in any manner whatever interfere with, or affect private contracts or engagements, bona fide and without fraud, previously formed.

Article the third. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary for good government, and the happiness of mankind, schools, and the means of education, shall for ever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians. Their lands and property

shall never be taken from them without their consent ; and in their property, rights, and liberty, they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars, authorized by congress ; but laws, founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

Article the fourth. The said territory, and the states which may be formed therein, shall for ever remain a part of this confederacy of the united states of America, subject to the articles of confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made ; and to all the acts and ordinances of the united states in congress assembled, conformable thereto. The inhabitants and settlers in the said territory, shall be subject to pay a part of the federal debts contracted or to be contracted, and a proportional part of the expenses of government to be apportioned on them by congress, according to the same common rule and measure, by which apportionments thereof shall be made on the other states ; and the taxes, for paying their proportion, shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the district, or districts, or new states, as in the original states, within the time agreed upon by the united states in congress assembled. The legislatures of those districts, or new states, shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil by the united states in congress assembled, nor with any regulation congress may find necessary for securing the title in such soil to the bona fide purchasers. No tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the united states : and in no case shall non-resident proprietors be taxed higher than residents. The navigable waters, leading into the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, and the carrying places between the same, shall

be common highways, and for ever free, as well to the inhabitants of the said territory, as to the citizens of the united states, and those of any other states that may be admitted into the confederacy, without any tax, impost, or duty therefor.

Article the fifth. There shall be formed, in the said territory, not less than three, nor more than five states; and the boundaries of the states, as soon as Virginia shall alter her act of cession, and consent to the same, shall become fixed and established, as follow, to wit; the western state, in the said territory, shall be bounded by the Mississippi, the Ohio, and Wabash rivers; a direct line drawn from the Wabash and Post Vincent's, due north to the territorial line between the united states and Canada, and by the said territorial line to the Lake of the Woods and Mississippi. The middle state shall be bounded by the said direct line, the Wabash, from Post St. Vincent's to the Ohio; by the Ohio, by a direct line drawn due north from the mouth of the Great Miami to the said territorial line, and by the said territorial line. The eastern state shall be bounded by the last-mentioned direct line, the Ohio, Pennsylvania, and the said territorial line: Provided, however, that it is further understood and declared, that the boundaries of these three states, shall be subject so far to be altered, that if congress shall hereafter find it expedient, they shall have authority to form one or two states in that part of the said territory which lies north of an east and west line, drawn through the southerly bend or extreme of Lake Michigan: and whenever any of the said states shall have sixty thousand free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted by its delegates, into the congress of the united states, on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form

a permanent constitution and government: Provided the constitution and government so to be formed, shall be republican, and in conformity to the principles contained in these articles: And so far as can be consistent with the general interest of the confederacy, such a mission shall be allowed at an early period, and when there may be less number of free inhabitants in the state than sixty thousand.

Article 6th. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than the punishment of crimes where the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided always, that a person escaping into the same, from whom labour or service is lawfully claimed in any of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully claimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labour or service as aforesaid.

Be it ordained by the authority of the congress assembled, that the resolutions of the 23d of April, 1784, relative to the subject of this ordinance, be, and the same are hereby repealed and declared null and void.

Done by the united states in congress assembled, the 13th day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1787, and of their sovereignty and independence the 12th.



Treaty of peace and commerce between the united states and the emperor of Morocco.

The united states of America, in congress assembled, to all who shall see these presents, greeting.

WHEREAS, the united states of America in congress assembled, by their commission, bearing date the twelfth day of May, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, thought proper to constitute John Adams, Benjamin Franklin,

and Thomas Jefferson, their ministers plenipotentiary, giving to them, or a majority of them, full powers to confer, treat, and negotiate with the ambassador, minister, or commissioner of his majesty the emperor of Morocco, concerning a treaty of amity and commerce, to make and receive propositions for such treaty, and to conclude and sign the same, transmitting it to the united states in congress assembled, for their final ratification: and by one other commission, bearing date the eleventh day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, did farther empower the said ministers plenipotentiary, or a majority of them, by writing under their hands and seals, to appoint such agent in the said business, as they might think proper, with authority, under the directions and instructions of the said ministers, to commence and prosecute the said negotiations and conferences for the said treaty, provided that the said treaty should be signed by the said ministers: and whereas the said John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, two of the said ministers, (the said Benjamin Franklin being absent) by writing under the hand and seal of the said John Adams, at London, October the fifth, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, and of the said Thomas Jefferson, at Paris, October the eleventh, of the same year, did appoint Thomas Barclay, agent in the business aforesaid, giving him the powers therein, which by the said commission they were authorized to give: and the said Thomas Barclay, in pursuance thereof, hath arranged articles for a treaty of amity and commerce between the united states of America, and his majesty the emperor of Morocco, which articles, written in the Moorish language, confirmed by his said majesty, and sealed with his royal seal, being translated into the language of the said united states of America,

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together with the attestations thereto annexed, are in the following words, to wit:

In the name of Almighty God.

THIS is a treaty of peace and friendship established between us and the united states of America, which is confirmed, and which we have ordered to be written in this book, and sealed with our royal seal, at our court of Morocco, on the twenty-fifth day of Shaban, in the year one thousand two hundred, trusting in God it will remain permanent.

I. We declare that both parties have agreed, that this treaty, consisting of twenty-five articles, shall be inserted in this book and delivered to the honourable Thomas Barclay, the agent of the united states, now at our court, with whose approbation it has been made, and who is duly authorized on their part to treat with us concerning all the matters contained therein.

II. If either of the parties shall be at war with any nation whatever, the other party shall not take a commission from the enemy, nor fight under their colours.

III. If either of the parties shall be at war with any nation whatever, and take a prize belonging to that nation, and there shall be found on board subjects or effects belonging to either of the parties, the subjects shall be set at liberty, and the effects returned to the owners. And if any goods, belonging to any nation, with whom either of the parties shall be at war, shall be loaded in vessels belonging to the other party, they shall pass free and unmolested, without any attempt being made to take or detain them.

IV. A signal or pass shall be given to all vessels belonging to both parties, by which they are to be known when they meet at sea, and if the commander of a ship of war of either party shall have other ships under his convoy, the declaration of the com-

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mander shall alone be sufficient to exempt any of them from examination.

V. If either of the parties shall be at war, and shall meet a vessel at sea belonging to the other, it is agreed that if an examination is to be made, it shall be done by sending a boat with two or three men only, and if any gun shall be fired, and injury done without reason, the offending party shall make good all damages.

VI. If any Moor shall bring citizens of the united states, or their effects, to his majesty, the citizens shall immediately be set at liberty, and the effects restored; and in like manner, if any Moor, not a subject of these dominions, shall make a prize of any of the citizens of America or their effects, and bring them into any of the ports of his majesty, they shall be immediately released, as they will then be considered as under his majesty's protection.

VII. If any vessel of either party shall put into a port of the other, and have occasion for provisions, or other supplies, they shall be furnished without any interruption or molestation.

VIII. If any vessel of the united states shall meet with a disaster at sea, and put into one of our ports, to repair, she shall be at liberty to land and reload her cargo, without paying any duty whatever.

IX. If any vessel of the united states shall be cast on shore on any part of our coasts, she shall remain at the disposition of the owners, and no one shall attempt going near her without their approbation, as she is then considered particularly under our protection: and if any vessel of the united states shall be forced to put into our ports by stress of weather, or otherwise, she shall not be compelled to land her cargo, but shall remain in tranquility, until the commander shall think proper to proceed on his voyage.

X. If any vessel of either of the

parties shall have an engagement with a vessel belonging to any of the christian powers within gun shot of the forts of the other, the vessel so engaged shall be defended and protected as much as possible, until she is in safety; and if any American vessel shall be cast on shore on the coast of Wadnoon, or any coast thereabout, the people belonging to her, shall be protected and assisted, until, by the help of God, they shall be sent to their country.

XI. If we shall be at war with any christian power, and any of our vessels sail from the ports of the united states, no vessel belonging to the enemy shall follow, until twenty-four hours after the departure of our vessels; and the same regulation shall be observed towards the American vessels sailing from our ports; be their enemies Moors or christians.

XII. If any ship of war belonging to the united states, shall put into any of our ports, she shall not be examined on any pretence whatever, even though she should have fugitive slaves on board: nor shall the governor or commander of the place compel them to be brought on shore on any pretext, nor require any payment for them.

XIII. If a ship of war of either party shall put into any port of the other, and salute, it shall be returned from the fort with an equal number of guns, not with more or less.

XIV. The commerce of the united states shall be on the same footing as is the commerce with Spain, or as that with the most favoured nation for the time being, and their citizens shall be respected and esteemed, and have full liberty to pass and repass our country and sea ports, whenever they please, without interruption.

XV. Merchants of both countries shall employ only such interpreters, and such other persons to assist them in their business, as they shall think proper. No commander of a vessel

shall transport his cargo on board another vessel: he shall not be detained in port longer than he may think proper; and all persons employed in loading or unloading goods, or any other labour whatever, shall be paid at the customary rates, not more and not less.

XVI. In case of a war between the parties, the prisoners are not to be made slaves, but to be exchanged one for another, captain for captain, officer for officer, and one private man for another; and if there shall prove a deficiency on either side, it shall be made up by the payment of one hundred Mexican dollars for each person wanting; and it is agreed that all prisoners shall be exchanged in twelve months from the time of their being taken, and that this exchange may be effected by a merchant, or any other person authorized by either of the parties.

XVII. Merchants shall not be compelled to buy or sell any kind of goods but such as they shall think proper; and may buy and sell all sorts of merchandize but such as are prohibited to the other christian nations.

XVIII. All goods shall be weighed and examined before they are sent on board, and to avoid all detention of vessels, no examination shall afterwards be made, unless it shall first be proved, that contraband goods have been sent on board, in which case the persons who took the contraband goods on board, shall be punished according to the usage and custom of the country, and no other person whatever shall be injured, nor shall the ship or cargo incur any penalty or damage whatever.

XIX. No vessel shall be detained in port on any pretence whatever, nor be obliged to take on board any article without the consent of the commander, who shall be at full liberty to agree for the freight of any goods he takes on board.

XX. If any of the citizens of the united states, or any person under their protection, shall have any disputes with each other, the consul shall decide between the parties, and whenever the consul shall require any aid or assistance, from our government, to enforce his decisions, it shall be immediately granted to him.

XXI. If a citizen of the united states shall kill or wound a Moor, or, on the contrary, if a Moor shall kill or wound a citizen of the united states, the law of the country shall take place, and equal justice shall be rendered, the consul assisting at the trial; and if any delinquent shall make his escape, the consul shall not be answerable for him in any manner whatever.

XXII. If an American citizen shall die in our country, and no will shall appear, the consul shall take possession of his effects; and if there shall be no consul, the effects shall be deposited in the hands of some person worthy of trust, until the party shall appear who has a right to demand them; but if the heir to the person deceased be present, the property shall be delivered to him without interruption; and if a will shall appear, the property shall descend agreeably to that will, as soon as the consul shall declare the validity thereof.

XXIII. The consuls of the united states of America, shall reside in any sea port of our dominions that they shall think proper; and they shall be respected, and enjoy all the privileges which the consuls of any other nation enjoy; and if any of the citizens of the united states shall contract any debts or engagements, the consul shall not be in any manner accountable for them, unless he shall have given a promise in writing for the payment or fulfilling thereof, without which promise in writing, no application to him for any redress shall be made.

XXIV. If any differences shall arise by either party infringing on any of the articles of this treaty, peace and harmony shall remain, notwithstanding, in the fullest force, until a friendly application shall be made for an arrangement; and until that application shall be rejected, no appeal shall be made to arms. And if a war shall break out between the parties, nine months shall be granted to all subjects of both parties, to dispose of their effects and retire with their property. And it is further declared, that whatever indulgence in trade or otherwise, shall be granted to any of the christian powers, the citizens of the united states shall be equally entitled to them.

XXV. This treaty shall continue in full force, with the help of God, for fifty years.

We have delivered this book into the hands of the before-mentioned Thomas Barclay, on the first day of the blessed month of Ramadan, in the year one thousand two hundred.

I CERTIFY that the annexed is a true copy of the translation made by Isaac Cordoza Nuñez, interpreter at Morocco, of the treaty between the emperor of Morocco and the united states of America.

(Signed)

THOMAS BARCLAY.

Additional article.

Grace to the only God.

I the under written the servant of God, Thaher Ben Abdelkack Fennish, do certify, that his imperial majesty my master (whom God preserve) having concluded a treaty of peace and commerce with the united states of America, has ordered me, the better to complete it, and in addition to the tenth article of the treaty, to declare, " that if any vessel belonging to the united states shall be in any of the ports of his majesty's dominions, or within gun-shot of his forts, she shall be protected as much as possible, and no vessel what-

ever, belonging either to Moorish or christian powers, with whom the united states may be at war, shall be permitted to follow or engage her, as we now deem the citizens of America our good friends."

And, in obedience to his majesty's commands, I certify this declaration, by putting my hand and seal to it, on the 18th day of Ramadan, in the year one thousand two hundred.

(Signed)

The servant of the king my master, whom God preserve,
Thaher Ben Abdelkack Fennish.

I do certify that the above is a true copy of the translation made at Morocco, by Isaac Cordoza Nunez, interpreter of a declaration made and signed by Sidi Hage Thaher Fennish in addition to the treaty between the emperor of Morocco and the united states of America, which declaration the said Thaher Fennish made by the express directions of his majesty.

(Signed)

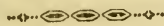
THOMAS BARCLAY.

And whereas the said John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, ministers plenipotentiary aforesaid, by writing under their respective hands and seals, duly made and executed by the said John Adams, on the 25th of January, 1787, and by the said Thomas Jefferson, on the 1st day of January, 1787, did approve and conclude the said treaty, and every article and clause therein contained, reserving the same nevertheless to the united states in congress assembled for their final ratification.

Now be it known, That we the said united states in congress assembled, have accepted, approved, ratified, and confirmed, and by these presents do accept, approve, ratify, and confirm the said treaty, and every article and clause thereof.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, we have caused our seal to be hereunto affixed; WITNESS his ex-

gency ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, president, at the city of New York, this eighteenth day of July, the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and in the twelfth year of our sovereignty and independence.



Allegory.

THE conduct of the united states, with respect to their governments, may be illustrated by the following story : An old man arrived after a long and dangerous voyage, upon the coast of America, with a family consisting of a wife, a few nice old servants, and *thirteen* sons. As soon as they landed, they joined, and built a large and commodious dwelling-house, where they lived in safety for several years. The sons, however, grew weary of the company of their parents ; and each of them built a cabin for himself, at a distance from the family mansion-house. They had not lived long in this way, before they began to suffer many difficulties and wants. One of them had his implements of husbandry stolen from him—another lost a crop, from not having strength enough on his farm to erect a fence in time—a third had all his sheep devoured in one night by wolves—a fourth narrowly escaped being scalped by a party of drunken Indians—a fifth caught a cold and fever, from the roof of his cabin having been blown away in the night by a thunder-gust—a sixth had his whole stock washed away by a great flood—and each of the rest met with some one or more of the disasters that have been mentioned. At last *twelve* of them met, by agreement, upon a plain ; and agreed to petition their father to be admitted again under his protection. The venerable old man opened his doors to them, and they again became members of his family. They first joined

in repairing and fortifying the old mansion-house. They, moreover, added *two* more rooms to it, for the separate use of the old man and his wife, in order thereby to preserve their dignity and authority. From this time, the whole family became respectable, happy, and prosperous ; nor did they separate from each other till the death of both their parents, when the accession of new settlers, and the cultivated state of the country, made it safe and prudent for them to set up for themselves.

The *thirteenth* son, who refused to accompany his brothers to his father's house, after living a miserable life for three years by himself in the woods, was found *hanging* by his garter to the limb of a tree, near his cabin.



Critical remarks on the late dr. Johnson—By the late dr. Ladd.

“ **N**OTHING can be more contemptible than that tinsel “ splendor of language, which some “ writers perpetually affect. It were “ well if this could be ascribed to the “ real overflowing of a rich imagination. We should then have something to amuse us, at least, if we “ found little to instruct us. But “ the worst is, that with those frothy “ writers, it is a luxuriancy of words, “ not of fancy. We see a laboured “ attempt to rise to a splendor of composition, of which they have formed to themselves some loose idea ; “ but having no strength of genius “ for attaining it, they endeavour “ to supply the defect by cold exclamations, by common place figures, and every thing that has “ the appearance of pomp and “ magnificence. It has escaped these “ writers that sobriety in ornament, “ is one great secret for rendering it “ pleasing ; and that, without a foundation of good sense and solid “ thought, the most florid style is but “ a childish imposition on the public.

“ The public, however, are but too apt to be imposed on; at least the mob of readers, who are very ready to be caught, at first, with whatever is dazzling and gaudy.”

Blair's Lectures.

If to have his works read, to be universally admired, to be praised in every company, and blazoned in every compilation of literature, form the happiness of an author; perhaps none ever enjoyed that happiness in a greater degree than Johnson. He is now dead; and the swarms of writers who during his life were silenced by envy, are contending which shall be loudest in his praise. The news papers teem with anecdotes of Johnson, every magazine is filled with dr. Johnson. He is called the father of English literature, the corrector of the language, and the standard writer of English elegance. The bagatelles of childhood, and the trifles of youth, become matters of importance, when dignified by his name. And every composition, however trivial, acquires a seeming sanction from the popularity of Johnson.

“ The public (says dr. Blair) are but too apt to be imposed on; at least the mob of readers, who are very ready to be caught, at first, with whatever is dazzling and gaudy.” But for the reasons of this elegant writer, we should be partly at a loss to account for the number of pens lately brandished in favour of dr. Johnson. One cause of this popularity, may, however, be clearly explained; he was a voluminous writer; and large volumes are very acceptable to the bookseller. Undoubtedly the man whose shop is filled with Ramblers, with Idlers, with unfold dictionaries, and heavy criticisms, will use his influence with every hireling scribbler, and by well-timed puffs endeavour to promote the sale of his goods; and hence we see another cause for Johnson's literary fame.

But what, in the name of common sense, are the abilities of this Johnson? and where are they displayed? His compositions are all published by the author of the Rambler: cost, in conversation, one of his favourites, he quotes you the Rambler enquire for the beauties of Johnson you are directed to the Rambler. the Rambler, therefore, as to OPUS MAGNUM, we direct speculations: and what do we find some originality—confest. And is it dress by this corrector of language, this standard of English elegance? In a swelled, pompous bombastical language; an affected structure, and verbosity of style. But stay—I mentioned his bombastical language—there I wrote improperly myself. His style is heterogeneous and he may be said to have written no language at all. The things he calls Ramblers, are composed of Greek and Latin words, with English terminations. And the reader of common erudition, requires a dictionary at every sentence. But to render the Rambler intelligible, every dictionary will serve; 'tis not alone, compiled by the author of the Rambler.

The English language, as a judicious writer judiciously observes, is abhorrent of all Latinisms, which are introduced through the medium of French tongue. Dr. Johnson, whose works are filled with Latin words, and Latin idioms, is totally regardless of French derivations. For Johnson, with the French language, was unfortunately unacquainted.

But his dictionary! his dictionary! that greatest production of human genius. As a philologist, Johnson undoubtedly appears great advantage in his dictionary. He seems to be well acquainted with the language. But partiality itself is its own, that in the Greek and Latin tongues, his knowledge appears more conspicuous than in English. Wh

he enters on English etymology, his work is full of blunders. His dictionary however possesses great merit. Johnson was a laborious writer, and for the drudgery of such compilations, he was peculiarly fitted. It is, however, remarkable of this work, that it contains all the foreign, excentric words, of which his *Rambler* and other writings are composed—differing, in this particular, from the dictionaries which have gone before it. People have been led to imagine, that he directed his *Rambler* to make a dictionary necessary; and compiled his dictionary to make the *Rambler* indispensable. It is a work entirely void of system, destitute of any original plan, except the addition of a very dry grammar. Hence it can never be named with those compilations, elegantly original, of a Kennel or a Sheridan. And without any aid in literature, we may venture to pronounce, that the dictionaries of those gentlemen will be resorted to, when that of Samuel Johnson will be no more remembered. We may proceed further: for boldly may we affirm, that the works of Tillotson and Bolingbroke, of Robinson and Locke, will remain the test of English elegance, when the turgid *Ramblers*, with all their shining tinsel, are whelmed and buried in everlasting oblivion.

It is now some time since dr. Johnson usurped the literary throne, while the critics, scribblers of every denomination, and scribblers of no denomination, united in his praise. The few of real genius were imposed upon by the shout of popularity; and mingled in the torrent of applause. At that time, the English *ex-thanes* was at the acme of his literary reputation: but that notable fiction, the *Biographical Preface*, made no very favourable impression on the public. The eyes of men were now opened: and they no

longer beheld dr. Johnson as the paragon of English literature. The pride, arrogance and illiberality, which characterize that work, will be an everlasting stain to the memory of the author. We need only mention the character of Milton, to be convinced of this. That criticism at once discovers the little soul, and the deficient genius—replete with all the ignorance, ill nature, and illiberality of dr. Johnson.

The swelled, bombastic style obtains with the lower (by far the most numerous) class of readers. Hence, every writer, who is deficient of real genius, will affect pomposity and magnificence of language—It will give him popularity: and popularity is the food of authors. It is that, for which every writer, from the heroic poet down to the critical scribbler, is eagerly contending: and the influence of this popularity, upon the herd of imitators, is almost beyond conception. The pious Harvey was a writer of this class. Destitute of genius, he endeavoured to supply its place by a poetical style—an affected, stiff, and verbose diction. Harvey has his followers. Dr. Johnson was a writer of rather more genius, and a greater share of popularity. He was, on that account, the more dangerous: and we accordingly find, that of all modern perversions of taste, the works of Johnson have done the greatest mischief. It must, however, be confessed, that in the works of this author, amidst the Gothic cloud of language, much originality is found. Let us give him credit for every feeble ray of genius: but for God's sake, prostitute not the august title of father of literature, and standard of elegance, upon that faulty critic—who is the perverter of taste, and corrupter of the language.



Anecdote.

DURING the late war, there lived in New Jersey a remark-

able dwarf. Though upwards of twenty years old, he was not more than three feet high, and every way small in proportion. This curiosity drew great crouds of people to see him, and amongst the rest, general Washington. The hero conversed some time with Tommy Thumb: asked several questions: and generally received pertinent answers. The general wished to know his political sentiments, and asked whether he was whig or tory? "I cannot say," "sir," said this man of might: "I have not yet taken an *active part*."

SOON after the insurgents retreated from their attack on general Shepard, at Ordnance-hill, and when it was hourly expected they would renew it, Shays sent a flag to general Shepard, requesting to have delivered to him the bodies of the killed, amounting to five. The officer, who had been sent by general Shepard, to receive the flag, on the request being made for five slain, with the utmost *sang froid* imaginable replied, "Present general Shepard's compliments to captain Shays: and inform him, that at present he cannot furnish him with five dead, he having no more than four: but that if captain Shays will please to attack him again, he will then furnish him with another, and as many more as he shall desire."

A Member of the general court of Massachusetts, who, from accustoming himself to take a nap after dinner, when at home, could not dispense with the custom, when attending to give laws to a mighty people, not long since occasioned much sport in the house, by the following incident. A day was assigned for the second reading of a lumber act: as this interested our sleeper, he requested a friend, who sat next him, to waken him, if the discussion of

the bill should be introduced, while he was asleep. This his friend promised him: but, hap ening to go out for a few minutes, the bill was called for; and, after a short debate was committed. Immediately after the bill for preventing fornication was brought on. This occasioned some debate, during which the sleeper's friend returned. Finding the lumber-bill was dismissed, thought he might indulge his friend in his nap. However, as ill luck would have it, he trod upon the toe of this votary of Morpheus, who supposed it a signal for his waking immediately rousing himself, rubbed his eyes, and looking about perceived a pause in the debate on which he arose, and addressed the speaker as follows: "Sir, I wish to speak a few words on the bill now in question. It affects, mr. Speaker, my constituents very much: for *above half our town get their living by it*."

THE brave, but excentric general Lee had so little regard to the rules of politeness and civility that he always spoke his opinion unreservedly, without regarding offence or pain they might excite. Being one night at Albany, drinking with an old Scotch officer, who began to mellow with the wine, he told his companion that he had one fault, which he begged him to overlook, which was to abuse Scotch, when he was in liquor. In truth, replied the officer, I shall readily forgive your fault, if you overlook mine; it is, when I see any person impertinently abusing Scotland or Scotchmen, when I am drunk or sober, I cannot refrain from laying my cane soundly on his shoulders. Now I will readily pardon your fault, if you will overlook mine. This seasonable hint the general very politely returned at the end of the night.

SELECT POETRY.

unanimity recommended to Americans
—A fable—inscribed to the federal convention.

A Careful sire of old, who found
Death coming, call'd his sons a-
round. (spake,
they heard with rev'rence what he
here, try this bunch of sticks to break.
they took the bundle: ev'ry swain
deavour'd: but the task was vain.
Observe, the dying father cry'd;
and took the sticks himself, and try'd:
When separated, lo! how quick
he breaks afunder ev'ry stick.
Learn, my dear boys, by this example,
so strong, so pertinent, so ample,
that UNION saves you all from ruin,
but to divide is your undoing:
or if you take them one by one,
see, with what ease the task is done!
ingly, how quickly broke in twain,
how firm the aggregate THIR-
TEEN!

Is not the tale, Columbians, clear?
That application needs there here?
his motto to your hearts apply,
O senators,—UNITE, OR DIE.

song for the anniversary of the declaration of independence. Tune—the dusky night rides down the sky.

THIS happy day renews our joy,
And warms each patriot breast:
Our friendship here, without alloy,
Gives peace and plenty zest.
Chorus. Columbia shall be free.
Columbia, &c.
Columbia, &c.
Columbia, &c.

Great Cincinnatus rear'd his head,
To lead a gallant band:
The tyrant soon was fill'd with dread,
And freedom blest the land.
The heroes now revere the plough,
For wealth rewards your toil:
While health and strength it gives to
you,
Brave guardians of the soil.
The trump of fame shall tell each son,
His glorious father's praise,
At first shall name great Washington,
To whom be length of days.
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To freedom sacred be this day,
While time rolls round the year:
Let gen'rous patriots wipe away
The helpless orphan's tear.

Verses on the arrival of general Washington in Philadelphia, Dec. 1783, on his way to his seat at Mount Vernon.—By Philip Freneau.

THE great, unequal conflict past,
The Briton banish'd from our
shore, (last
Peace, heav'n-descended, comes at
And hostile nations rage no more.
From fields of death the weary swain
Returning, seeks his native plain.
In ev'ry vale, she smiles serene, (rise:
Freedom's bright stars more radiant
New charms she adds to ev'ry scene:
Her brighter sun illumines our skies.
Remotest realms admiring stand,
And hail the hero of our land.

He comes—the genius of these lands—
Fame's thousand tongues his worth
confess, (bands,
Who conquer'd with his suff'ring
And grew immortal by distress:
Thus calms succeed the wintry blast,
And valour is repaid at last.

O Washington! thrice glorious name,
What due rewards can man decree?
Empires are far below thy aim:
And sceptres have no charms for thee.
Virtue alone has thy regard:
And she must be thy great reward.

Encircled by extorted pow'r,
Monarchs must envy thy retreat,
Who cast, in some ill-fated hour,
Their country's freedom at their feet:
'Twas thine to act a nobler part;
For injur'd freedom had thy heart.

For ravag'd realms and conquer'd seas,
Rome gave the great imperial prize;
And, swell'd with pride, for seats like
these,

Transferr'd her heroes to the skies.
A brighter scene your deeds display,
You gain those heights a different
way.

When faction rear'd her snaky head,
And join'd with tyrants to destroy,
N

What friendship can in tempests be?
What comfort on this angry sea?

The barque, accusom'd to obey,
To more the trembling pilots guide:
Along the groves her trackless way,
While mountains burst on either side:
Thus skill and science both must fall,
And ruin is the lot of all.



*The effects of place—or the wonders
of office.—A true story.*

A N honest Yankee (one whose head
Was not so heavy near as lead)
Whose country was his constant theme,
He'd plann'd her many an airy scheme;
Or dangers in his mind arise,
And num'rous troubles fancy spies:
With gloomy politics thus fraught,
He rose, and men in office sought;
And tells a melancholy tale
That fills the commonwealth affail;
And fairly proves, before he ceases,
The state is falling all to pieces!
Till he proceeds, with frequent sighs
Of grievance—grievance—grievances!
Then ends the thesis he'd been view-
ing,
With endless ruin—ruin—ruin!

“Our friend, the num'rous ills you
“mention, (tion.
From us, in pow'r, demand atten-
A scheme now strikes us, that will
“quite
Set all our public matters right,
Restore us plenty to a man:
But hark, and you shall hear the
“plan.

A vacant place we have in view,
And who so fitted for't as you?
(The last possessor yearly found
An income of three hundred pound).
So take it.” Friends, the man re-
plies,
Though weak be my politic eyes,
Let if my labours may abate
Our grievances, and mend the state,
I'll gladly I'd the task embrace!
He said: and mov'd into the place.

No more of grievances he rails;
No more the government assails;
Of freedom hails the restitution:
And cries, God bless our constitu-
- tion.

*A penny for your thoughts.—To La-
vinia.*

YOU bid a penny for my thoughts:
I will unfold them fairly.
I think you are a charming lass;
And know I love you dearly.
I think you have a form and mind
In ev'ry part complete:
I think your breast was ne'er design'd
To harbour foul deceit.

I think you temp'rate, chaste, and
Mild, cleanly, and discreet: (true,
I think those virtues, met in you,
Would make e'en bondage sweet.



Lenity in judging recommended.
SWEET to the scent's the smiling
briar:

Yet, touch'd, it gives us pain.
The streamlet we so much admire,
Is oft dislain'd with rain.

The painting, that delights the eye,
To shades its beauty owes:
On the same shrub, conjoin'd, we spy
The thorn and blushing rose.

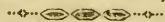
No mortal ever yet was made
From imperfection free. (shade:
Angels themselves have some small
Heav'n wills it thus should be.

Mercy to others' failings shew,
If you would be forgiv'n:
The best man's lot, alas! were woe,
Were mercy not in heav'n.



Against the newspaper slanderers.
PROCEED, vile stand'ers, please
the rout,
Cull ev'ry human foible out,
Amidst the copious store:
Like flies that foul corruption love,
Still from the sounder parts remove,
And fix upon the sore.

Behold! your friends around you wait,
Pale envy, faction, falsehood, hate,
All ready at your call.
Thus aided, whilst in masque you lie,
Scorn proof, and ev'ry pow'r defy:
Hell will not let you fall.



*A night piece—at sea. Address'd to a
painter. By the late Dr. Ladd.*

PAINTER, describe, where ming-
ling in the eye, (sky;
Spread the blue waters and impending

Where boist'rous Ocean holds his
rough domain, (vain;
And wishful sailors look for land in
For there, ah! there, borne by the
troubled tides, (rides.
The wave-toft bark of my Leander

* * * *

Painter, 'tis done—by thy strange ma-
gic pow'rs, (roars.
The surge is liquid, and the ocean
'Tis midnight all; but see the moon-
beams bright

Silver the ocean with reflected light;
Smooth flows the wave, and whit'ning
o'er the deep, (ship.

In silent grandeur moves the stately
No rough winds blow—but ev'ry well-
fill'd sail (gale.

Bespeaks the genial canvas-swelling
Now view the bending deck—lo!
faithful there (ful care;

The seamen stand with ever watch-
And lo, the wizard-hand, to move the
soul, (wond'rous whole;

With seeming life, has crown'd the
Behind the ship the sparkling waters
glow— (prow—

The flashing billows foam around the
No clouds arise, the moving bark to
brave— (blue wave.

The moon pale trembles o'er the dark

* * * *

Cætera desunt.

—♦♦♦♦♦—

Epitaph—by the late dr. Ladd.

HERE lies entomb'd the boy di-
vine,
Who whilom shone the god of wine.
O let the sad Madeira pour:
Ye full decanters, weep a show'r.
Ye glasses speak his wond'rous works:
Ye bottles mourn: lament, ye corks:
And let each soul, who call'd him
friend,
In flowing bumpers mourn his end.

—♦♦♦♦♦—

*The Dove.—A fragment. By the late
dr. Ladd.*

I.

* * * *

II.

* * * *

III.

* * * *

IV.

“What woe” (it continued) “my
comfort destroys,
“While absent from me is my love:”
I listen'd with wonder, convinc'd by
the noise, (dove.
'Twas the mournful complaint of a

V.

Dear partner in woe, if thy love be
remote,
Thy cooing is all but in vain:
Tho' had I thy wings and thy sorrow-
ful note,
I would tell my Amanda my pain.

VI.

'Tis done—sweet Amanda! the boon
I've procur'd, (dove,
And hence when you hear the fond
It is but your Arouet, dear maid, be
assur'd;
In absence he mourns for his love.

—♦♦♦♦♦—

On a grasshopper.

HAPPY insect chirp away,
Hopping in the meadows green,
Where the balmy breezes play,
Fanning all the flow'ry scene.

Freely frolic with thy mate,
Mid the summer's light-rob'd train;
Fearless of approaching fate,
Length'ning out thy little reign.

Sweetly sip the nectar'd store,
While the fleeting bliss is thine;
Soon the play of life is o'er!
Thine is short, and so is mine.

Man is but a larger fly,
Moving in a wider sphere,
Born to flutter and to die,
Run his race, and disappear.

—♦♦♦♦♦—

A New England ball.

*Extracted from a manuscript poem
written by a young English gentle-
man travelling in America.*

“AND now the lads, each with
his honey,
And much as Pa could spare of money,
With giddy transport seek the hall,
Resolv'd till morn to hold the ball.
The ball begins; the pairs are up;
The skill'd in dance parade at top:
But greater part in modes untaught
Crowd down to get a place at bot—
All fixt—the fiddler strikes his strings

The hall with thund'ring thumping
rings.

The figure's kept with dubious pain ;
But silder plays by rule in vain. (rouf,
With streaming sweat, fatigue, and
At length the set is boggled out :
Now queer manœuvres you might see,
Each lad with honey on his knee ;
These with loud ha ! ha ! shake the
domé ; (home.

Those lay the plan 'gainst they get
All now refresh'd with chat and
punch ;

For second dance begin to hunch.
When second, third, and fourth are
footed, (ed.

"To supper come," by all is hoot-
This o'er—retreat to hall is sounded ;
Where vig'rous jigs o'er floor are
bounded.

A few more reels and country dances
Bring mother night to late advances ;
The bill is call'd, each bears his share ;
And now dispute it if he dare.

He dares not—though his purse is
lean ; (seen ;

Though too high charge is clearly
Though utter'd loud is voice of reason ;
And rates and debts he's up to knees
in ;

For should a frugal thought be hinted,
Each eye oblique is shrewdly squinted ;
Base ridicule wafts round his fame,
And on him's fixt the miser's name :

Now all with free but empty purses,
Prorogue the ball by jigs and buffes.
When home arriv'd, if night be gone,
To next the sparking they postpone.

•••••

To a redbreast.

LITTLE bird, with bosom red,
Welcome to my humble shed.
Courtly domes, of high degree,
Have no room for thee nor me.
Pride and pleasure's sickle throng
Nothing mind an idle song.

Daily near my table steal,
While I pick my scanty meal.
Doubt not, little though there be,
But I'll cast a crumb to thee :
Well rewarded, if I spy
Pleasure in thy glancing eye—
See thee, when thou'lt eat thy fill,
Plume thy breast, and wipe thy bill :
Come, my feather'd friend, again :
Well thou know'st the broken pane.
Ask of me thy daily store :

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Go not near Avaro's door.
Once within his iron hall,
Woful end shall thee befall.
Savage I he would soon divest
Of its rosy phumes thy breast ;
Then, with solitary joy,
Eat thee, bones and all ; my boy.

•••••

The injured husband's complaint.

WHAT friendly ray, in pity
O say, can hope bestow, (dreit,
To give distraction sight of rest,
Or soothe eternal woe !
Life's little lamp, one tender beam,
To grief no more can spare :
But faintly turns a dying gleam
On anguish and despair :
Look down, unending source of fate,
From yon resplendent skies :
And, oh ! instruct a wretch to hate
The fair he must despise.
Whatever tortures rend his rest,
Whatever conflicts roll,
Teach him to tear her from his breast,
And root her from his soul.
Once, pure as winter's whitest snow,
She gave her sacred vow !
Once, pure as innocence : but oh !
Just heav'n ! what is she now ?
Then grant a wish, indulgent fate,
On which my heart is set :
Or, if I must not think to hate,
O let me but forget !

•••••

Seduction.—An elegy.

FAIR as the siller forms that poets
feign, (ther's eye :
Young Anna grew beneath a mo-
Struck with her beauty, many a youth-
ful swain (burlling sigh.
Felt love's keen dart : and heav'd the
Among the rest, Brechinus woo'd the
fair ; (beauty join'd.
A faultless form where strength and
He own'd of fortune's gifts an ample
share : ('rous mind.
But false and cruel was his treach-
From his smooth tongue such well
feign'd flattery fell (his sway.
That Anna's yielding bosom own'd
Blinded by love, she listen'd to his tale ;
And gave too soon her virgin-heart
away.
Through the thick shade where all was
peace and love,

O

At eve they walk'd. He urg'd his
pow'rful flame. (silent grove,
The springing flow'rs, the conscious,
That hour, alas! were witness to her
shame!

The cruel robber leaves her to despair,
And vilely triumphs in his ruthless
deed; (incessant tear,

Grief rends her heart, and prompts th'
And all her joy and youthful hopes
are fled.

Gone are the roses that adorn'd her
face, (eyes,

Dull is the fire that sparkled in her
Her form no more retains its wonted
grace, (sighs.

For her, no more, th' enamour'd lover
Too busy fame reports the rueful tale,

Her name's the sport of ev'ry bab-
bling tongue, (retail

O'er stand'rous tea, her sex the news
It flies the theme of ev'ry drunkard's
song.

She, who so late in virtue's garden
bloom'd, (cheerful sky,

The sweetest flow'r beneath the
Is now to want or prostitution doom'd,

To hear the jest obscene, the lewd
reply.

May heaven's vengeance still the
wretch pursue,

May infamy still fasten on his name,
Who from fair honour's path the vir-
gin drew, (shame.

And gave her up to poverty and
May love ne'er bless his solitary hours,

Nor Hymen light for him the sacred
flame; (quill bow'rs,

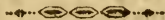
May peace ne'er lead him to her tran-
Nor science ever point the way to

fame.

May he on earth feel the avenging rod,
The awful delegate of angry heav'n!

But when his soul flies from its weak
abode, (forgiv'n.

O may his pray'r be hear'd, his crime



The dying prostitute.—An elegy.

WEEP o'er the mis'ries of a
wretched maid, (fame;

Who sacrific'd to man her health and
Whose love and truth, and trust were

all repaid (less shame.

By want and woe, disease and end-
Curse not the poor lost wretch, who

ev'ry ill,

That proud unfeeling man can heap,
sustains:

Sure she enough is curst, o'er whom
his will, (reigns.

Inflam'd by brutal passion, boundless
Spurn not my fainting body from your
door, (ing head;

Here let me rest my weary, weep-
No greater mercy would my wants

implore, (the dead.

My sorrows soon shall lay me with
Who now beholds, but loaths my sad-

ed face, (and care?

So wan and fallow, chang'd with sin
Or who can any former beauty trace,

In eyes so sunk with famine and de-
spair? (ous too,

That I was virtuous once, and beauti-
And free from envious tongues my

spotless fame, (tears renew,
These but torment, these but my

These aggravate my present guilt
and shame.

Expell'd by all, enforc'd by pining
want, (midnight hour;

I've wept and wander'd many a
Implor'd a pittance lust would seldom

grant, (show'r.

Or sought a shelter from the driving
Oft as I rov'd, while beat the wintry

storm, (to stray,

Unknowing what to seek, or where
To gain relief, entic'd each hideous

form, (turn'd away.

Each hideous form, contemptuous
Where are my virgin honours, virgin

charms? (maintain'd?

Oh! whither fled the pride I once
Or where the youth that woo'd me to

their arms? (beauty gain'd?

Or where the triumphs which my
Ah! say, insidious Damon! monster!

where? (defeat?

What glory hast thou gain'd by my
Art thou more blest, because that I'm

less fair? (ing sheet?

Or bloom thy laurels o'er my wind-

For what the gain, tho' nature have
supplied

An elegy.—By John Trumbull, esq.

HENCE, gaudy flatt'ry, with thy
syren song, (praise,

Thy fading laurels, and thy trump of
Thy magic glass, that cheats the won-

d'ring throng, (they gaze.

And bids vain men, grow vainer, while
For what the gain, tho' nature have

Under soul, to feel the sting of pain?
 At fame how poor, that lifts our
 baseless pride, (ne'er attain!
 A, shews the heights our steps must
 how vain those thoughts, that
 through creation rove,
 Turning fraught with images of woe!
 Life gifts how vain, that please not
 those we love! (gain to know!
 Wh grief oppress'd, how small the
 and oh, that fate, in life's sequen-
 ter'd shade,
 fix'd the limits of my silent way,
 from the scenes in noisy pomp ar-
 ray'd, (tray.
 Were hope and fame but flatter to be-
 he lark had call'd me at the birth
 of dawn, (share;
 chearful toils and rural sports to
 N, when mild evening glimmer'd on
 the lawn, (care.
 sleep been frightened by the voice of
 o the soft flocks in harmless plea-
 sure stray, (mead,
 sport in rapture on the flow'ry
 by the beauties of the vernal day,
 Al no sad presence tells them they
 must bleed.
 when wild ambition ne'er had swell'd
 my heart, (fame;
 N had my steps pursued the road to
 I ne'er had slander rais'd th' en-
 venom'd dart, (name:
 N hung in vengeance o'er my hated
 for views of bliss, that never must
 be mine, (bursting sigh;
 I'd the fond tear, or swell'd the
 tend'rest pangs had bid my soul
 repine, (must die.
 N torture warn'd me, that my hopes
 are well, ye glitt'ring phantoms of
 the mind,
 T golden vision, or ambitious dream,
 D huckle forms by fairy fancy join'd,
 T pride of laurels and the muse's
 theme.
 ain hope, adieu! thou dear de-
 luding cheat, (bonds of pain;
 Whose magic charm can burst the
 B thee decoy'd, we clasp the gay
 deceit, (vain.
 Al plan the scenes of future joys in
 some sadness! come, mild sister of
 despair, (friend,
 T helpless sull'rer's last support and
 led to those scenes that soothe the
 wretch's care,

Where life's false joys, and life itself,
 must end!
 Well pleas'd, I wander o'er the so-
 lemn ground, (domain,
 Where death in horror holds his dread
 While night fits gloomy in th' etheri-
 al round, (ry plain.
 And swarming vapours cloud the drea-
 Ye ghosts, the tenants of the eve-
 ning skies, (vale,
 That sweep in sadness o'er the dusky
 Enrob'd in mists, I see your forms a-
 rise;
 I hear your voices sounding in the gale!
 Of life ye speak, and life's fantastic
 toys, (below!
 How vain the wish that grasps at things
 How disappointment lours on all our
 joys,
 And hope bequeaths the legacy of woe!
 Ye too, perhaps, while youth sup-
 plied its beam,
 On fancy's pinions soaring to the sky,
 Fed your deluded thoughts with many
 a dream, (joy.
 Of love and fame, and future scenes of
 Like your's, how soon our empty
 years shall fade, (decay,
 Past, like the vapours, that in clouds
 Past, like the forms, that flit along the
 shade, (they!
 Ourselves as worthless and as vain as
 Here the kind haven greets our
 weary sail, (is o'er,
 When the rude voyage of troubled life
 Safe from the stormy blast, the faith-
 less gale, (that roar.
 The gulphs that threaten, and the waves
 The heart no more the pains of love
 shall share, (enslave,
 Nor tort'ring grief the wayward mind
 Thro' toil-worn years fatigu'd with
 restless care, (grave.
 Peace, sought in vain, awaits us in the
 Nor peace alone! death breaks the
 sullen gloom,
 That dims the portals of eternal day,
 Bids the freed soul her nobler pow'rs
 assume, (ted wav.
 And wing from woes her heav'n direc-
 Fly hence, ye shades! ye brighter
 scenes, arise!
 Ye joys celestial, opening on my view!
 Vanish, ye griefs, that dwell beneath
 the skies, (adieu!
 Ye streaming tears, ye fond complaints,

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 O F A N C I E N T A N D M O D E R N
 F U G I T I V E P I E C E S, &c.

P R O S E A N D P O E T I C A L.
 F o r S E P T E M B E R, 1787.

..... "With sweetest flow'rs enrich'd,
 "From various gardens cull'd with care."

* * * * *

..... "Collecta revirescunt."

V O L. II. N U M B. III.

P H I L A D E L P H I A:
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THE AMERICAN MUSEUM,

For SEPTEMBER, 1787.



information for those who would wish to remove to America. By his excellency Benjamin Franklin, president of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

MANY persons in Europe, having, directly or by letters, expressed to the writer of this, who is well acquainted with North America, their desire of transporting and establishing themselves in that country—but who appear to him to have formed, through ignorance, mistaken ideas and expectations of what is to be obtained there—he thinks it may be useful, and prevent inconvenient, expensive, and fruitless removals and voyages of improper persons, if he gives some clearer and truer notions of that part of the world, than appear to have hitherto prevailed.

He finds, it is imagined by numbers, that the inhabitants of North America are rich, capable of rewarding, and disposed to reward, all sorts of ingenuity; that they are, at the same time, ignorant of all the sciences; and consequently, that strangers, possessing talents in the belles-lettres, fine arts, &c. must be highly esteemed, and so well paid, as to become easily rich themselves; that there are also abundance of profitable offices to be disposed of, which the natives are not qualified to fill; and that having few persons of fa-

mily among them, strangers of birth must be greatly respected, and of course easily obtain the best of those offices, which will make all their fortunes; that the governments, too, to encourage emigrations from Europe, not only pay the expence of personal transportation, but give lands gratis to strangers, with negroes to work for them, utensils of husbandry, and stocks of cattle. These are all wild imaginations: and those who go to America, with expectations founded on them, will surely be disappointed.

The truth is, that though there are, in that country, few people so miserable as the poor of Europe—there are also very few that in Europe would be called rich. It is rather a general happy mediocrity that prevails. There are few great proprietors of the soil, and few tenants. Most people cultivate their own lands, or follow some handicraft or merchandise—very few rich enough to live idle upon their rents or incomes; or to pay the high prices given in Europe, for painting, statues, architecture, and the other works of art, that are more curious than useful. Hence, the natural geniuses, that have arisen in America, with such talents, have uniformly quitted that country for Europe, where they can be more suitably

rewarded. It is true that letters and mathematical knowledge are in esteem there, but they are at the same time more common than is apprehended; there being already existing nine colleges or universities, viz. four in New England, and one in each of the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, all furnished with learned professors; besides a number of smaller academies: these educate many of their youth in the languages, and those sciences that qualify men for the professions of divinity, law, or physic. Strangers indeed are by no means excluded from exercising those professions; and the quick increase of inhabitants every where gives them a chance of employ, which they have in common with the natives. Of civil offices or employments, there are few; no superfluous ones as in Europe; and it is a rule established in some of the states, that no office should be so profitable as to make it desirable. The 36th article of the constitution of Pennsylvania, runs expressly in these words: "As every freeman, to preserve his independence (if he has not a sufficient estate) ought to have some profession, calling, trade, or farm, whereby he may honestly subsist, there can be no necessity for, nor use in, establishing offices of profit; the usual effects of which are dependence and servility, unbecoming freemen, in the possessors and expectants; faction, contention, corruption, and disorder among the people. Wherefore whenever an office, through increase of fees or otherwise, becomes so profitable as to occasion many to apply for it, the profits ought to be lessened by the legislature."

These ideas prevailing more or less in all the united states, it cannot be worth any man's while, who has a means of living at home, to expatriate himself in hopes of obtaining a profitable civil office in America; and

as to military offices, they are at an end with the war, the armies being disbanded. Much less is it advisable for a person to go thither who has no other quality to recommend him but his birth. In Europe it has indeed its value; but it is a commodity that cannot be carried to a worse market than that of America, where people do not enquire, concerning a stranger, what is he? but, what can he do? If he has any useful art, he is welcome; and if he exercises it, and behaves well, he will be respected by all that know him. But a mere man of quality, who on that account wants to live upon the public, to some office or salary, will be despised and disregarded. The husbandman is in honour there, and even the mechanic, because their employments are useful. The people have a saying, that God Almighty is himself a mechanic, the greatest in the universe, and he is respected and admired more for the variety, ingenuity, and utility of his handy works, than for the antiquity of his family. They are pleased with the observation of a negro, and frequently mention it, that Boccarorra (meaning the white man) make de black man workee, make de horse workee, make de cow workee, make ebery ting workee, only de hog. He de hog no workee, he eat, he drink, he walk about, he go to sleep when he pleas, he lik like a gentleman. According to the opinions of the Americans, one of them would think himself more obliged to a genealogist, who could prove for him that his ancestors are relations for ten generations have been ploughmen, smiths, carpenters, turners, weavers, tanners, or shoemakers, and consequently that they were useful members of society; than if he could only prove they were gentlemen doing nothing of value, but living idly on the labour of other mere fruges consumere nati, and otherwise good for nothing, till b

their death, their estates, like the arcafe of the negro's gentleman-og, come to be cut up.

With regard to encouragements or strangers from government, they are really only what are derived from good laws and liberty. Strangers are welcome, because there is room enough for them all, and therefore the old inhabitants are not jealous of them; the laws protect them sufficiently, so that they have no need of the patronage of great men; and every one will enjoy securely the profits of his industry. But if he does not bring a fortune with him, he must work, and be industrious, to live. One or two years residence give him all the rights of a citizen; but the government does not at present, whatever it may have done in former times, hire people to become settlers, by paying their passages, giving land, negroes, utensils, stock, or any other kind of emolument whatsoever. In short, America is the land of labour, and by no means what the English call lubberland, and the French Pays de Cocagne, where the streets are said to be paved with half peck loaves, the houses tiled with pancakes, and where the fowls fly about ready roasted, crying, come eat me!

Who then are the kind of persons to whom an emigration to America may be advantageous? And what are the advantages they may reasonably expect?

Land being cheap in that country, from the vast forests still void of inhabitants, and not likely to be occupied in an age to come, insomuch that the property of an hundred acres of fertile soil, full of wood, may be obtained near the frontiers in many places, for eight or ten guineas, hearty young labouring men, who understand the husbandry of corn and cattle, which is nearly the same in that country as in Europe, may easily establish themselves there. A little mo-

ney saved of the good wages they receive there while they work for others, enables them to buy the land and begin their plantation, in which they are assisted by the good will of their neighbours, and some credit. Multitudes of poor people from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Germany, have, by this means, in a few years become wealthy farmers, who in their own countries, where all the lands are fully occupied, and the wages of labour low, could never have emerged from the mean condition wherein they were born.

From the salubrity of the air, the healthiness of the climate, the plenty of good provisions, and the encouragement to early marriages, by the certainty of subsistence in cultivating the earth, the increase of inhabitants by natural generation is very rapid in America, and becomes still more so by the accession of strangers; hence there is a continual demand for more artisans of all the necessary and useful kinds, to supply those cultivators of the earth with houses, and with furniture and utensils of the grosser sorts, which cannot so well be brought from Europe. Tolerably good workmen in any of those mechanic arts, are sure to find employ, and to be well paid for their work, there being no restraints preventing strangers from exercising any art they understand, nor any permission necessary. If they are poor, they begin first as servants or journeymen; and if they are sober, industrious, and frugal, they soon become masters, establish themselves in business, marry, raise families, and become respectable citizens.

Also persons of moderate fortunes and capitals, who, having a number of children to provide for, are desirous of bringing them up to industry, and to secure estates for their posterity, have opportunities of doing it in America, which Europe does not afford. There they may be

taught and practise profitable mechanic arts, without incurring disgrace on that account; but on the contrary acquiring respect by their abilities. Their small capitals laid out in lands, which daily become more valuable by the increase of people, afford a solid prospect of ample fortune thereafter for those children. The writer of this has known several instances of large tracts of land, bought on what was then the frontiers of Pennsylvania, for ten pounds per hundred acres, which, after twenty years, when the settlements had been extended far beyond them, sold readily without any improvement made upon them, for three pounds per acre. The acre in America is the same with the English acre, or the acre of Normandy.

Those who desire to understand the state of government in America, would do well to read the constitutions of the several states, and the articles of confederation that bind the whole together for general purposes, under the direction of one assembly called the congress. These constitutions have been printed by order of congress, in America; two editions of them have also been printed in London; and a good translation of them into French, has lately been published at Paris.

Several of the princes of Europe having of late, from an opinion of advantage to arise by producing all commodities and manufactures within their own dominions, so as to diminish or render useless their importations, endeavoured to entice workmen from other countries, by high salaries, privileges, &c.—many persons, pretending to be skilled in various great manufactures, imagining that America must be in want of them, and that congress would probably be disposed to imitate the princes above mentioned, have proposed to go over, on condition of having their passages paid, lands

given, salaries appointed, exclusive privileges for terms of years, &c. Such persons on reading the articles of confederation, will find that the congress have no power committed to them, or money put into their hands, for such purposes; and that if any such encouragement is given, it must be by the government of some separate state. This, however, has rarely been done in America; and when it has been done, it has rarely succeeded, so as to establish a manufacture, which the country was not yet so ripe for as to encourage private persons to set it up; labour being generally too dear there, and hands difficult to be kept together, every one desiring to be a master, and the cheapness of land inclining many to leave trades for agriculture. Some indeed have met with success, and are carried on to advantage; but they are generally such as require only a few hands, or wherein great part of the work is performed by machines; goods that are bulky, and of so small value as not well to bear the expence of freight, may often be made cheaper in the country than they can be imported; and the manufacture of such goods will be profitable wherever there is a sufficient demand. The farmers in America produce indeed a good deal of wool and flax; and none is exported; it is all worked up; but it is in the way of domestic manufacture for the use of the family. The buying up quantities of wool and flax with the design to employ spinners, weavers, &c. and form great establishments, producing quantities of linen and woollen goods for sale, has been several times attempted in different provinces; but those projects have generally failed, goods of equal value being imported cheaper. And when the government have been solicited to support such schemes by encouragements, in money or by imposing duties on importation of such goods, it has been generally

refused, on this principle, that if the country is ripe for the manufacture, it may be carried on by private persons to advantage; and if not, it is a folly to think of forcing nature. Great establishments of manufactures, require great numbers of poor to work for small wages; these poor are to be found in Europe, but will not be found in America, till the lands are taken up and cultivated, and the excess of people, who cannot get bread, want employment. The manufacture of silk, they say, is natural in France, as that of cloth in England, because each country produces in plenty the first material: but if England will have a manufacture of silk as well as that of cloth, and produce one of cloth as well as that of silk, these unnatural operations must be supported by mutual prohibitions, high duties on the importation of each others goods; by which means the workmen are enabled to tax the idle consumer by greater prices, while the higher wages they receive make them neither happier or richer, since they only drink more and work less. Therefore the governments in America do nothing to encourage such projects. The people, by this means, are not imposed on, either by the merchant or mechanic; if the merchant demands too much profit on imported shoes, they buy of the shoemaker; and if he asks too high a price, they take them of the merchant: thus the two professions check on each other. The shoemaker, however, has on the whole, a considerable profit upon his labour in America, beyond what he had in Europe, as he can add to his price a sum nearly equal to all the expences of freight and commission, risque or insurance, &c. necessarily charged by the merchant. And the case is the same with workmen in every other mechanic art. Hence it is, that artisans generally live better and more easily in America than in Europe;

and such as are good œconomists, make a comfortable provision for age, and for their children. Such may, therefore, remove with advantage to America.

In the old long-settled countries of Europe, all arts, trades, professions, farms, &c. are so full, that it is difficult for a poor man, who has children, to place them where they may gain, or learn to gain a decent livelihood. The artisans, who fear creating future rivals in business, refuse to take apprentices, but upon conditions of money, maintenance, or the like, which the parents are unable to comply with. Hence the youth are brought up in ignorance of every gainful art, and obliged to become soldiers or servants, or thieves, for a subsistence. In America, the rapid increase of inhabitants takes away that fear of rivalry, and artisans willingly receive apprentices from the hope of profit by their labour, during the remainder of the time stipulated, after they shall be instructed. Hence it is easy for poor families to get their children instructed; for the artisans are so desirous of apprentices, that many of them will even give money to the parents, to have boys from ten to fifteen years of age bound apprentices to them, till the age of twenty-one; and many poor parents have, by that means, on their arrival in the country, raised money enough to buy land sufficient to establish themselves, and to subsist the rest of their family by agriculture. These contracts for apprentices are made before a magistrate, who regulates the agreement according to reason and justice; and having in view the formation of a future useful citizen, obliges the master to engage by a written indenture, not only that during the time of service stipulated, the apprentice shall be duly provided with meat, drink, apparel, washing, and lodging, and at its expiration with a complete new suit of

clothes; but also that he shall be taught to read, write, and cast accounts; and that he shall be well instructed in the art or profession of his master, or in some other, by which he may afterwards gain a livelihood, and be able in his turn to raise a family. A copy of this indenture is given to the apprentice or his friends, and the magistrate keeps a record of it, to which recourse may be had, in case of failure by the master in any point of performance. This desire among the masters to have more hands employed in working for them, induces them to pay the passages of young persons, of both sexes, who on their arrival agree to serve them one, two, three, or four years; those who have already learned a trade, agreeing for a shorter term, in proportion to their skill, and the consequent immediate value of their service; and those who have none, agreeing for a longer term, in consideration of being taught an art their poverty would not permit them to acquire in their own country.

The almost general mediocrity of fortune that prevails in America, obliging its people to follow some business for subsistence, those vices that arise usually from idleness, are in a great measure prevented. Industry and constant employment are great preservatives of the morals and virtue of a nation. Hence bad examples to youth are more rare in America, which must be a comfortable consideration to parents. To this may be truly added, that serious religion, under its various denominations, is not only tolerated, but respected and practised. Atheism is unknown there; infidelity rare and secret; so that persons may live to a great age in that country without having their piety shocked by meeting with either an atheist or an infidel. And the Divine Being seems to have manifested his approbation of the mutual forbearance and kindness with which the

different sects treat each other, by the remarkable prosperity with which he has been pleased to favour the whole country.—Passy, 1784.



Essay on the fatal tendency of the prevailing luxuries; on the steps necessary to advance the happiness of America; on paper emissions; on the injustice of defrauding the creditor for the benefit of the debtor, &c. &c. In a series of letters.

LETTER I.

To the people of America.

WHETHER anarchy; confusion, and depravity of sentiment shall now prevail amongst us and level us beneath the meanest of our species; or virtue with her smiles, shall establish her sovereignty and make us honest, industrious, and respectable amongst the nations seems now to be the question. What then is the inference? Ask this of reason, and she will tell you, it is, to every of her votaries, sufficiently obvious. To establish the first, must eventually be destructive to our promised happiness, both temporal and eternal. To establish the latter, must in every of its consequences, be conducive to both. Can we then one moment hesitate, to make virtue our choice! Consider, if you have no concern for your own welfare, be no so cruel as to sport with the happiness of your posterity. Of precept, example has always the precedence. By those of riper years, therefore, should virtuous examples be held forth to the young and unthinking; whose minds, being tender, are susceptible of the slightest touch, and in general most yield to the earliest impressions. Have you no ambition, or none that is worthy of a rational mind? If you wish to bestow on your children a treasure, inspire them with virtue. But to you, alas! her charms are no visible! the tinselled robes of vice

have long bewildered your senses, and hurried you with the stream, into almost inextricable difficulties. Your complaints indeed are grievous; but a wrong cause is assigned for your misfortunes: a remedy, however, is still within your reach—Determine to be virtuous!

After having struggled through a long and hostile probation, why, in the arms of peace, do you countenance the follies of your late competitors, and hurry yourselves into the depths of luxury and dissipation, so repugnant to your health, your happiness, your honour! Despise their vices, but emulate their virtues—They hold forth to your view a most useful example, and prove, to a certainty, the truth of my assertion—that our political existence rests wholly on ourselves, and not on the smiles of our enemies. If we choose to be happy, to be so is in our power; our internal resources are now fully sufficient, and, with a well-timed economy, superfluities would abound, and raise us to the level of the most exalted nations—Why call we so loudly for commerce with foreigners!—It is, most certainly, at present quite opposite to our interest—Does it not determine the balance much against us, through every channel by which we pursue it?—What then must be the consequence? The terms upon which a country in its infancy, must carry on a commercial intercourse with one long established, are not equal; since produce and manufactures bear so small a proportion to each other. It is the interest of foreigners to furnish us with fashions; but is it our interest to follow them? Must it not eradicate the spirit of industry, frugality, and economy, and hurry us into the opposite extremes, indolence, dissipation, and ruin? Does not every day's experience indisputably prove the insufficiency of our virtue to resist the bewitching temptation—I mean of

foreign frippery? Why then do not we, with all our might, discourage this commerce with foreigners—the bane of our happiness! the poison of our well-being!

While we were a part of the British empire, it was the interest of that government, to divert our attention from every pursuit that could tend to raise in our minds a laudable emulation, excepting that of the cultivation of the land: this in them, no doubt, was then good policy, as it secured to them only, the profits of our labour, on the conditions upon which they obliged us to exchange our produce for their manufactures. For what, then, did we wish to be independent, if not to secure these profits to ourselves, and turn the balance of trade in our favour? Our latter conduct, I think, has more than proved, that our views had no such motives, or else has more than proved, that virtue was wanting, or our ideas too contracted to reach beyond the present. No sooner were we declared an independent people, but we abandoned our patron, and offered our embraces to every rude invader. In our ports was soon displayed every luxury of the east, and our tables were spread with profusion—Industry fell a victim to dissipation and excess, and vice soon triumphed over virtue! Strange insatiation! horrid depravity! destructive policy! thoughtless creatures, blind to our own interest, and led away with bubbles big with emptiness alone, that must vanish in an instant, and leave us in the lurch! The cause of our own misconduct we now want to saddle upon others. We have indulged ourselves in luxuries beyond the reach of our abilities, and now want to be relieved of the consequent inconveniencies thereof, by unheard of acts of injustice. If the merchant was obnoxious to our welfare, why did we encourage him? Why did we bid him welcome, and court his

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friendship? Why were we absorbed in thoughtless extravagance? Why had we not an eye on the future? If it was the merchant's policy, for a while, to bid high for our produce, and thereby to flatter our expectation, and lead us into errors, can we blame him? In so doing, he only consulted his own interest, without, perhaps, meditating any person's ruin, which was doing no more than was every one's duty; and held forth a lesson to the planter. If the planter had been as mindful of his interest, as the merchant, he would now feel easy in his circumstances, and the merchant's accounts have been settled. For the planter's errors, the merchant is not culpable—In offering us his wares, he did us no injury—To take them, was an act of our own, altogether voluntary; we cannot say that any compulsion was used. Why then so heavily complain of the merchant, and load him with censure for our own stupidity? Let us be ashamed of our littleness! Let us for once determine to be honest! Let us dispose of our property, and discharge our obligations to the merchant, or think it no crime to acknowledge his indulgence; and henceforward, likewise determine to be frugal, industrious, and virtuous: to live within the bounds of our income, be they ever so contracted, and by thus reversing our past conduct, doubt not of being happy.

If, instead of bewildering ourselves in the idle dreams of commerce, after our independency was fully effected, we had rejected her smiles, and wholly bent our thoughts on the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and the cultivation of the most useful arts and sciences, we should, no doubt, by this time, have been a rich, flourishing, and respectable people; nay, by now adopting a similar policy, we could not fail of soon becoming such—What but frugality, industry, and emulation, can possibly

be wanting, to effect our prosperity and raise us to the summit of human greatness? Have we not a productive soil, and almost unlimited extent of country, abounding in the luxuries of nature, which, were our connections with other nations to be forever cut off, would supply us with every necessary! The luxuries of art till they are the reward of our own labour, are highly pernicious, and destructive to our welfare. Were we a manufacturing people, nothing, according to what is generally understood by the common acceptance of the word, would be a luxury; and have in its use, the same pernicious tendency, as the use of foreign superfluities must at present have with us. In manufacturing countries the middle and lower classes of people are chiefly employed, or concerned therein: the promotion of luxury excess, and dissipation, therefore, is in them, perhaps, good policy; at least national, as it takes only from the opulent and relieves the needy but to encourage the use of foreign luxuries with us, woful experience I should think, had sufficiently convinced us, would not be so friendly but, as the most rapacious peculator would plunder without mercy, and deal out a general devastation.

Since, then, it cannot but be clear, to every thinking person, that commerce with foreigners, upon its present foundation, must greatly militate against us; what remedies, for the growing evil, have we attempted? None, I think; or none adequate. To impose high duties upon imports, in a country whose coast is as much exposed as ours, cannot possibly long answer any good purpose. It will never amount to a prohibition—It will not much lessen the consumption—It will only encourage smuggling—rob the revenue—and exact something more from the planter. If any thing is to be done by duties, ours should be regula-

ed by those of the neighbouring states, or they will profit by our errors. But no perceivable good is to be expected, from any conceivable mode of imposing duties; nor could any thing more salutary be expected, from an absolute prohibition of the importation of foreign luxuries; for were they allowed to be made use of, after they were in the country, to get them there, would be attended with no difficulty. Is not our coast entirely unguarded, and have not we two neighbouring states, whose interest it would then be to encourage smuggling? or can we be weak enough to believe, that the virtue of the inhabitants of our sea coast, and of the frontiers of Maryland and North-Carolina, would long be proof against the promising temptation? No; individuals, conveniently situated for the encouragement of such illicit practices, would not long fail to see, therein, their own advantage; and were the duties high enough to make it an object worth their while to smuggle, or was the importation prohibited, which would amount to much the same thing, we should, hereby, be still amply supplied, with those very luxuries, through almost every channel by which we now get them, without either bringing any thing into the treasury, or affording any relief to the planter: nay the very officers of the customs, and guardians of the public revenue, no doubt, would soon be corrupted, and be seen amongst the foremost to encourage the abuse.

In a prohibition of the use, only, then, can we promise ourselves success. They should be destroyed in the hands of the merchant, or wherever else they were found; or be in some way secured, till there might be sufficiency to make it convenient to send them to some other market, here to be disposed of for the benefit of the public and the informer—this, though it might not at once en-

tirely remove, would, no doubt, sufficiently check the growing evil, and insensibly relieve us;—for, was the use of foreign luxuries prohibited, the importation would, in a good measure, of course cease—the merchant once knowing his risk in keeping them, would no longer think of importing them.

I am not unaware, here, that some will be ready enough to call the mode of proceeding I have just now pointed out, an insufferable stretch of power, incompatible with the nature of a free government, and think it a hardship, that bounds shall be set to their extravagance, by any authority whatever. But knowing the laws, to act in defiance thereof, why should it not in every individual, be just as criminal, and equally punishable, as in some, who for smuggling, have lost cargo and vessel? No law, however rigid it may to some at first seem, that may, in its operation, have a general good effect, under any form of government whatever, can, with propriety, be so called—for what were laws first intended? or why were such coercions ever found necessary, if not to curb people's vices—to oblige them to be frugal, industrious, and honest—to live within the bounds of their income—to be virtuous and finally happy? The ideas, which we are too apt to entertain of power, are often more arbitrary than the power from whence they are formed. In the extravagance of thought, and the ungovernable heat of passion, we hurry ourselves into errors, and are apt to mistake those for insufferable stretches of power, which, upon a closer, more deliberate, and impartial examination, we find to be only the most necessary exertions. Power should always have energy, or it will soon degenerate into impotency, and at length be supplanted by anarchy. Whether, let me ask, is a stretch of power the more intolerable, to oblige

people to be frugal while they are possessed of something; or after they have finished their wild career, and the measure of their iniquities is pretty near full, to give their conduct the last faint colouring of honesty, and, to do the little justice left to their creditors, reduce them to beggary? The first, we are sure, to the unthinking multitude, would seem most oppressive; but, if either of them are deserving of so harsh a name, I doubt not, but the few rationalists would soon determine it to be the latter—but that neither of them are insufferable stretches, I imagine, will be readily allowed, and that we may venture to call them but necessary exertions, in no wise derogatory to sound policy.

There perhaps may be some few, whose fortunes, for a while, might enable them to indulge themselves in the use of foreign luxuries, without much inconveniency; but even to these, or their posterity, in the end, the use of them must be destructive; and supposing it was not, does it imply, that, in order to indulge these few, we should sport with the welfare of a multitude! Example, we know, has often a very good effect, and for this, people, in general, look up to their superiors, or those in better circumstances. If, then, the few possessed of ample fortunes, do not set examples of frugality and economy, to those whose fortunes are more contracted, what must be the consequence? Why, it is sufficiently clear, that the latter would follow the former, through every species of vice, folly, and dissipation, till their condition was irretrievably desperate.—One wealthy man in a neighbourhood, may be the ruin of many, by making those his companions, whose fortunes will not admit of this extravagance.—The truth of this, I doubt not, we have too often seen verified.

AMICUS.

Chesterfield, Virginia, June 7, 1787.

ANECDOTE.

A Young student, shewing the Museum at Oxon, to some gentlemen and ladies, among other things produced a rusty sword. This says he, gentlemen, is the sword with which Balaam was going to kill his ass. Upon which one of the company replied, that he thought Balaam had no sword, but only wished for one. You are right, says the student and this is the very sword he wished for.



Political Sketches :

By William Vans Murray, esq.

“Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.”

DEDICATION.

To his excellency John Adams minister plenipotentiary from the United States, to the court of Great Britain.

SIR,

From the moment in which I made the governments of my country the subject of my study, they have been the object of my admiration. Excepting the vein of popularity that pervades them, and which evidently hath weakened the executive arm perhaps they are perfect.

Some objections, derived from false theories, are made to them—These I have attempted to remove.

It hath been urged, that democratic forms required a tone of manner unattainable and unpreferable in a society where commerce, luxury, and the arts, have disposed the public mind to the gratifications of refinement. This proposition is difficultly opposed. To dislodge it, it will be necessary to take a new ground, and a new scene of detail; for the antiquity of the idea hath given it a prescription, superior to every thing but arguments drawn from a novel series of political events.

That the governments of the united

l states would resolve into aristocracies, is a position which I have attempted to oppose.

The extent of territory is another objection made by such as theorise on the American democracies.

The contemplation of these points produced the following sheets, which were written in 1784 and 1785, immediately after the publication of Abbe Mably's remarks." However humble their execution, the honesty of the zeal, by which they were dictated, entitles them in some degree to the indulgence of a patriotic mind. Under this impression, and conscious that my country would feel gratified by every tribute of respect, however small, that should be offered to you, I have taken the liberty of inscribing these enquiries to your excellency.

I have the honour to be,
with the greatest deference,

S I R,
your most obedient
and most humble servant,

A citizen of the united States.

Middle Temple,

April, 1787.

I.

Abbe Mably.

THE governments of America have deservedly attracted the attention of all speculative minds. It is an object of some importance to the cause of liberty, all over the world, that they should be understood. They present the most finished political forms. On their practicability, and on the justness with which they may have been adjusted to the purposes of society, depends the problem, whether, under every co-operation of moral, political, and physical causes, a government can be formed, unexceptionably free in form, and yet, in its administration, durable and efficient.

The subject is highly interesting : and deserves a philosophical survey

of the opinions, theories, and situations, which the contemplation will involve.

Among the philosophers who have written upon this subject, is the abbe Mably ; a man no less distinguished by the liberality of his principles, than by the acuteness of his investigations. But even his mind, enlightened as it was by science, and fostered by philosophy, was not equal to a just discernment of the governments on which he favoured the world with remarks. The splendor of his classical and historical acquirements, but poorly compensates the mischiefs of their application. While it dazzled, it could not conduct him ; and he will be found, on an examination of his remarks, to have wandered through scenes of fancied similarity, unguided by that unerring principle of history, which leads with scientific certainty, from effects to causes, through the medium of authenticated facts.

He is learned, philosophical, and eloquent. His views of the political horizon are commanding : but learning, like blood, may increase the fever of mistake, philosophy contemplate through a false medium, and eloquence lead to a victory of error. In his reasoning, he has adopted a rule that will account for his mistakes. He compares certain events in history, and certain institutions of the ancients, with the events of the American revolution, her laws, and governments. To appear learned, he seems almost willing to be deceived. A man possessed of local information, from his education in the very scenes he would contemplate, is, though inferior in point of intellect and mental endowment, better qualified, perhaps, for a task which demands less the labours of erudition, than the accuracy of observation.

It was with a deference due to the name of Mably, that I perused his remarks. But having seen the

wild errors of other great men who have amused America with her own character and fortunes, it was with less disappointment that I read the erroneous conclusions, and fanciful conjectures, of the elegant author of the dialogues.

To detect, as well as to applaud, is the mingled office of criticism. Of all the duties of taste, this is the least enviable. In the natural world, a transition from beauty to ugliness, is a painful operation to the feelings; but it is infinitely more irksome in speculative contemplations, where the imagination, unassisted by the senses, has to work in the violence of extremes, and the judgment has to combat that delusion which the tissue of truth and sophistry forms in the etchings of the mental picture.

Abbe Mably is a Frenchman and a scholar. As the first, he has been educated after the strictest manner of a free monarchy. As the last, the genius of antiquity, with which his mind was inspired, hath served but to mislead him. As a Frenchman, he can have but little idea of the effect of a free constitution, in a country governed by laws and habits different from those which characterize his own. If he ventures on a conclusion concerning the operation of a law in the united states, it must be by ascertaining, through reasonable inferences, the effect the same law would produce in his own, or any country in Europe with which he is acquainted. As a scholar, if he would fix the success of a rule of politics, or law, he can find no guide but that fancied analogy which the ancient republics afford him. In the first part of his process, the supposition would involve so wild a contrariety of manners, usages, ranks, and political forms, that no inference could possibly be drawn. In the last, the picture of ancient governments, except in a zeal for freedom, could furnish but a slight resemblance to

the American democracies. Those were composed of heterogeneous parts and principles, and resemble the American governments in little more than in name. That sort of representation, which is the very basis of these, was unknown to them. Those were of a mixed, a military and of an aristocratic, sometimes regal nature. These are, in their principles, structure, and whole mass purely and unalterably democratic. They could not be any other; they cannot be any other.

Never was there, before the American revolution, an instance of a nation forming its own government on the original foundations of human rights, revealed by a study of the laws of nature; and creating a very civil organ, agreeably to the three acts, which constitute just government. Never did there exist such a scene as that, which, on the revolution, took place in America, where the people, by their own act, without any usurpation or turn of parties, on a sudden, found themselves in a state of the most civilized and complicated associations, without government; and in that state formed the original convention, on grounds of undisputed equality; framed a form of civil government, founded in the rights of nature, unobscured by charters, privileges, or monopolies of power; and then bound themselves by the third and last tie of allegiance. The democratic form was the only one a people so situated could adopt.

Other governments have been fashioned on the inequalities which accident introduced into human relations, and which force and ambition have most whimsically diversified. Their origin hath been laid in the more than cimmerian darkness of antiquity; and the rights of society, which government is meant to promote, to display, and to secure, have invariably been ascertained subse-

iently to the era, that by various habits and institutions, hath involved them in inextricable confusion.

Of this unhappy origin were the ancient governments. This might easily be ascertained, to any one unbiassed by an early imbibed admiration of what are deemed models of virtue and political wisdom, but which, when dispassionately viewed, will be found to have been, like the governments of Europe, systems of expedience, daily harmonizing from that discordant chaos in which they were conceived, but which still fatally retained many miserable features and vestiges of inauspicious birth.

From the progress of political opinions in England, which a spirit of inquiry, notwithstanding the tendencies of monarchy, had diffused, America felt herself countenanced in that freedom of reasoning, which the contemplation of her colonial governments, and the great examples of her parent, naturally inspired. But, however she may have been affected by the general diffusion of this knowledge, she owed her exertions of reasoning less to example, than to her temper, situation, and political relations. To these was she indebted for that just and bold spirit of thinking, in the great points of government and of religion, which she could not have borrowed from ancient story, imitated from any living model. From them her state was different; and where little or no analogy could be found, she could owe little to sympathy or adoption.

The example of ancient democracies furnished to her a very confused notion; and, though their pictures are rendered highly endearing to classic minds, it would have been dangerous to have trusted the fate of new governments, to an imitation of republics, the structures of which present an arrangement different from such as she could adopt: for in them she saw the efforts of enthusiasm,

glorious but inconstant in its operations, rather than the vigour of well-toned constitutions. From such precedents, America could derive little more than the contagion of enthusiasm. From antiquity, then, she could gain little. She was too proud of the pure sources to which she was indebted for her prosperity, to stoop to an imitation of modern governments, which were founded in the anarchy of a barbarous age. These she beheld trembling under the infirmities of a vicious old age; involved in the contradictions of civil and religious solecisms; and weakened by the corruptions natural to human institutions, when not inspired by that renovating spirit, which first principles, when recurred to, are capable of infusing.

In point of civil and religious happiness, England stood alone. From her only could America imbibe that spirit of freedom which she inherited.

A coincidence of events, as rare as they were happy, enabled America to complete that lesson, which she has so gloriously exhibited to the world. When she was settled by colonies, she was invested with the democratic parts of the English constitution; and though she acknowledged a sovereignty in the kings of England, the rays of royalty but feebly reached their western point, and communicated, in the rougher stages of the society, that genial warmth which nourished, but could not wither the tree of freedom. Little of the personal idea of king, ever obtained in the western world. The aristocratic branch of the English constitution, in its true character, was there unknown; and did not therefore communicate its impressions on her legislative forms, or the genius of the society. But notwithstanding she was unacquainted with nobles and with kings, she reaped, in her humble career of agriculture, every

solid advantage which flowed from her political inheritance, without suffering those evils, which that part of the parental constitution, which she did not possess, was designed to prevent. She tasted largely of political freedom. What never can be enjoyed in England, she possessed—the freedom of democracy, without its anarchy.

Reared under a fortune so propitious to liberty, her laws, her religions partook of the proportions and liberality of her governments. On the one hand, protected against the dangers of licentiousness, and endowed, on the other, with the gifts of genuine freedom, her character became fashioned to that shape, which had often been imagined, but never seen, where the rights of national manhood were not impaired, by the intemperance and accidents that fill up the long dark childhood of the species.

Governments have received their bias and characteristic weaknesses, in the early stages of the species. In those days of barbarous ignorance, the rights of society were little understood; and the indefinite powers of the collective capacity, were thrown into action by the violence of exigency and expedience, rather than by the energies of regular system. Their imperfections flowed from errors that could hardly be avoided. These, as fast as they have revealed themselves, may have been partially corrected. As wants increased, by the expansion of the character, improvements have advanced; but yet many centuries of sufferings have not every where been able to divest rights, and the active springs of government, of those unintelligible forms in which distant causes clothed them.

To politicians, whose minds could at all “look into the seeds of time,” and whose hearts were liberal enough to anticipate those blessing of their

colonial descendants, which the severity of ruder times denied to themselves, the glorious era of the American revolution could not have been chimerical vision. And if a theatre for the display of the great drama of the human character was ever fondly formed in the brain of a Locke, or Sydney, the united states at this moment, and in that indeed preceding their revolution, realized the philosophical expectation. So nearly have they approached perfection, that the great and unexceptionable correctness and purity of their democracies, and the only objections raised against their practicability and duration. But in the objection, a number of false premises are assumed; premises which the history of mankind will by no means warrant; which the intolerance of some, and the depravity of others, have admitted, for purposes of speculative argument.

The great positions, by which objections to the democratic form are maintained, flow from the consequences of the human character acting in political situations unfriendly to its nature, rather than from causes inherent in that particular form of government itself.

“The multitude in the united states,” says abbe Mably, “will prove much less presuming, much less imperious, and consequently much less inconstant than in the Roman republic:” but not because the extent of dominion prevents the assemblings of the people at one time. They will be less inconstant than the Romans, because they have been educated under laws that have at once regulated the manners and cherished the passion for equality, which knows no restraint, but such as laws, made by their own consent, have given. And because a change in the prevailing passion of the age has given milder cast to their other passions, and the occasions are removed, from which the presumption and clamor

of the Roman people received their fuel. Faction, which in Rome was ever written in bloody inscriptions, is unknown: it is unknown, because the American democracies are governments of laws, and not of parties.

Comparison, on this occasion, must do great injustice to a subject, which is only to be tried on original principles.

The abbe has said, that the situation of America, immediately after the declaration of independence, was similar to that of Rome, immediately after the expulsion of the Tarquins. There is not a trace of resemblance. All persons of taste would pity the man who could read the origin of the Roman republic without admiration. Simplicity of manners, and boldness of action, afford a most engaging picture, and deeply interest in the early stages of its history. But the freedom enjoyed, was that of a tribe of Germans, as described by Tacitus. Constitutional liberty seems to have been as little understood, as it would have been enjoyed, had they adopted a system superior to their manners and comprehensions.

Until the expulsion of the Tarquins, the government was a monarchy, frequently confused by the intervention of democratic fury. By various changes, suggested by such interventions, additional privileges were granted or assumed by the order of patricians, which superseded the grand question of policy, whether property, or numbers, should rule the state. With this bias, already active, it is not surprising that an aristocracy succeeded the expulsion of Tarquin. The distinction of ranks, created in the infancy of the state, now rose in the most invidious shapes. The plebeians were excluded from a participation in the government. Hence those jealousies and animosities that naturally sprang from ambition on the one side, and, on the other, from hereditary ho-

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nours, and an impatience of competition.

It is impossible to know the state of affairs in America, at the period which is compared by the learned abbe, to that of the suppression of the Roman monarchy, and find the slightest line of similitude in their causes, or in their consequences. This struggle was the contention of tyrants. That in America was of a whole nation oppressed, against its oppressors, and a general freedom was the object. There was between the two countries a civil, juridical, commercial, moral, and religious, as well as a political difference. Hence it is demonstrable, that the circumstances of the two people differed widely. In Rome an aristocracy possessed all the dignities, offices, and emoluments of state. The plebeians, which class included all under the rank of nobles, were excluded from all share in the government; nor could the body of citizens claim a title to govern, who possessed few rights either of property or person. The relation of the two orders was that of client and patron. And if we attend to the succeeding struggles, which were made to gain landed property by the plebeians, and the opposition of the patricians, who seemed possessed of the right of disposal, we may conclude, that of the small territory then possessed by the republic, none was in the hands of the plebeians; and that they were indeed, agreeably to the ideas of their patrons, deemed incapable of taking by descent or purchase.

The imperfection of their laws shews the small progress legislation had made; for at that period, the twelve tables were not compiled.

The imperfection of their jurisprudence shews how lame their notions were of the forms of all civil government. Their magistrates were not appointed to trials, whose ex-

tents were known or distinguished by any fixed character.

The consul, who was supposed to substitute as much of the regal character as was deemed necessary by the aristocracy, was at once general of the army, judge, and magistrate.

The want of energy in the powers of their government, obliged the senate—the people had nothing to do in this important transaction—to vest a sovereign power in a dictator, whose sole limits consisted in nothing but in the term of his official duration. By throwing the sovereignty into the hands of any man whom the senate, or aristocracy should appoint, all right to a share in the government, was denied the people. If the senate alone had a right, by their constitution, to resign to any delegation the sovereignty, for six months, their right which had not been recognized, and therefore not limited, or defined by their institution, might have given a longer duration to the dictatorship. And if a complete divestiture of the government took place for one hour, it might for ever.

The separate interests of nobles and of people, which were irrevocably fixed by the institution of military tribunes, formed one of the most accountable causes that can now be assigned for the frequent revolutions in the Roman republic.

From these evidences, drawn from the Roman history, we may conclude, that the government immediately after Tarquin's expulsion, was a tyrannical aristocracy. It was frequently in a state of total dissolution, and held together by nothing but that vital spark of common danger which obliged opposite and hostile factions, for a moment to unite for purposes of common safety.

But what was the state of America at the period of the revolution? Without patricians, patronage, or personal attachments: a society con-

ducted by one and the same principle; a common danger and a common benefit; an universal struggle for an universal right; the appeal to an entire nation of free citizens from the lawless abuses of delegated power, to the rights of nature; an exchange of the tyranny of one, for the oppression of the many; no temporary resignation of the common sovereignty into the hands of one or more; but equal vigilance, equal sovereignty; one united struggle of all for the freedom and independence of all. Can such a picture of liberty and display of rational exertion, be drawn into analogy with a revolution, at a period when neither liberty nor reason were understood?

The abbe appears to have possessed a knowledge of human nature great for detail; and in the following doubt, for such it is, seems to have been considerably confused in his ideas of America, in her color, relations and situation. "Have you says he, taken care, in the formation of your new laws, to render them properly commensurate with the understanding of the multitude?" Even antecedently to the revolution, there was neither complaint, nor cause for complaint; legislative commensuration. The colonies had adopted as much of British laws as applied to their peculiar situation. The acts of their legislature arose from the very best public occasion; were general in their operation, popular because useful and repealed if found useless; or inconvenient. They were made by the people in their represented capacity. Hence arose a conformity to public opinions, and the understandings of the people, with which they were consequently as commensurate as was possible among a variety of genius, the colours of which were infinitely shaded between the extremes of ignorance, and of science, as in

stances of individuals were low or candid.

To the above observations it may be impertinent to touch on a doubt of the abbe, as to the public union at the time of the commencement of the revolution.

The transition from the situation in which America stood before the revolution, and that wherein success attended her, was neither rapid nor abrupt. The minds of men were not prepared for its reception. Discoveries of ambition and usurpation had already alarmed her suspicions, and carried her enquiries into the sources of her rights. Besides these investigations, the forms of government continually presented a system of constitutional liberty that enabled the mind to ascend with ease to first principles. The political state in which she existed, was that of freedom. It was a government of laws enacted by the people governed. The encroachment which threatened this estimable state was that from which she revolted; and independence was the dernier resort that held forth the instrument by which it might be imaginably secured.

The change in the exercise of the sovereignty was not, in America, one of those events which strike the public eye in the subversion of laws which have usually attended the revolutions of governments. No revolution took place among factions, for none existed. No order of men or corporate bodies were dissolved, or left to canker, where they could not openly assert. The clergy, in some states, were left unprovided: but this order of men were placed on that liberal level, which, by excluding hierarchical ambition, promises harmony of religious opinions, and christian amity of life. The change was not from a state of slavery to that of licentious liberty. No violence was done to those institutions which education had sanctified. No prepossession

was dissolved that had not been maintained conditionally. The private friendships of those who stood the issue of the day, received, it is true, a partial suspension, in this, as in European wars. Individuals of different nations may feel, in their private friendships, the pleasures of universal denizenship; but nations, in their aggregate capacity, can never be sensible of the glow of mutual friendship. Their affections are represented but in the forms of treaties.

It will not appear temerity to assert, that had the learned remarker been acquainted with these truths, he would not have been led to doubt the concordance of public opinions with the revolution.

"I cannot," says he, "too often repeat, that in proportion as the manners relax, the laws, together with the power of carrying them into execution, should operate with stricter force, and the affairs of government be intrusted to fewer hands." This remark, though full of sophistry, is dangerous, because it flatters that predisposition to aristocratical usurpation attendant on ambitious minds. It goes to this hackneyed assertion—that what is usually understood by the term virtue, as fancifully displayed by Montesquieu, is the root of democracy—that relaxation of manners wounds this root; and that in the progress of luxury, the advances of aristocracy are evidenced—nay, it invites them.

To one tolerably acquainted with the history of society in its less polished periods, it must be somewhat distressing to view the force which the opinion has obtained, that honesty and barbarism are concomitants. By a veneration equally unjust and unaccountable, men look back on the days of antiquity, as the eras of those virtues that have been fondly, but unjustly, lavished under the poetical imagery of a golden age.

Fortunately for the cause of truth

and freedom, the science of ethics proves the cultivation of the mind to have preceded the refinement of the passions.

If the intemperate and contracted virtues of a barbarous age are expanded by the progress of civilization into address and dissimulation, into feebleness of mind, and effeminacy of manners—are they not more than compensated in the dominion of sentiment, in the lustre of the understanding, and in the multiplication of social relations? If little security hath been found to result from the boasted virtues of those ages, to any forms of government, shall we be so blinded by prejudice, as to despair of permanent establishments, whose foundations are not indebted to accident for their creation, nor to chance for improvement, but the basis of which was laid by the perfection of human reason? They have already sufficiently endured to destroy the fallacious predictions of system-mongers, and their continuance can fail but in the extinction of that rational spirit which animates their democratic forms,

II.

Virtue.

SPECULATIVE men have thought that there is a peculiar disposition of the public mind essential to the animation of the democratic form. The learned and philosophical Montesquieu hath imagined this principle, and called it virtue. The supposed incompatibility of this principle with a state of luxurious society, has been triumphantly urged against the American governments, which are in a state of refinement and opulence. Arguments derived from the falsely imagined character of antiquity, are brought against the existence of the principle of virtue in an age of relaxation. The progress of the character of the species, undefended by happy government, is formed into an

argument against the display of its powers; for the declension of empire and of free states, has been drawn in a parallel with the extinction of the simplicity which accompanies the younger age, and which vanishes as the dawn of luxury arises.

In order to demonstrate the fallacy of an opinion, too blindly acquiesced in, it will, on this part of my subject, be necessary to descend somewhat into the minuteness of detail.

If virtue be incompatible with luxury and refinement, nature and the human character are at variance with philosophy. If it be exclusively the principle of the democratic form, they must be the greatest of all political and civil *disfiderata*. Human nature hath been supposed either incapable of attaining this principle, or that it is forced to relinquish it, in certain point of that progression, to which its character naturally accelerates. If this principle is the substitute of perfection in the form, and of a just and self-operating vigour in the laws and all the parts of the government, then this principle is either possessed by all, or it is useless at least not more necessary to a form thus properly animated, than it is to other forms.

The truth is, Montesquieu had never studied a free democracy. The governments from which he borrowed the lights of freedom, were such as from their forms might be called democratic republics, as the people had a voice, but such as were subject to all the inaccuracies of undefined constitutions, which were constructed in days of ignorance, and matured, as far as their first impression would permit, by the improvement of experience. But in no part of the Grecian or Roman world can a government be defined that acted on this chimerical principle. There are many illustrious, but singular instances, in which men preferred the good

of their country to self-interest; but in all governments that were ever created, the various operations of the whole society, from causes that exist in its first principles, must have proceeded on the working of the heart, and the various motives of action.

Particular situations certainly affect, and in some measure shape, the human character; but in no situation can it be altered. It must be studied; and when its principles of action and motions are discovered to be eternally the same—when its rights, and the great objects of its happiness, are, by the maturity of its faculties, fully illustrated, government should then be framed so as to give its unerring principles fair play, and guard only against injustice. If it be formed on the great fundamental principles of nature and truth, the principles on which it is founded will always maintain the structure, as they are immutable. The first principles will always give effect, as in fact they in themselves form the government; and as it is but their emanation, they will for ever give it the vital heat and power of efficient action.

Virtue, in Montesquieu's acceptance, is the principle or "sensation" that substitutes the want of good laws, gives energy to those which exist, and, in fine, remedies all those defects which he hath imputed to democracies. But where no such defects exist, as those against which this principle is to operate, it will follow, that it is not peculiarly requisite to democratical forms, constituted by a rational principle.

Human nature in the glorious exercise of its own powers, under governments chosen as the object of great deliberation, and under a perfect conception of its inestimable rights and faculties, and choosing one, founded in the moral necessity of its character, will take care of itself. It requires not the aid of an hot-bed; its subsistence springs from the plain

and natural developement of its genius, and to be happy, it demands nothing but the enjoyment of itself.

As well might it be said that honesty is a peculiarly essential principle of any one form of government, and that morality is incident to particular climates, as that virtue is the peculiar principle on which the structure of democracy rests. As none of the ancient governments were framed on the fundamental rights of society, but like modern forms were patched, or dilated, as chance and expedience directed, it is impossible to say they were models; or that, even admitting this visionary principle, governments framed on different views of society should require the same principle for their organization.

Much is certainly due to the memory of these departed forms. They were animated by bold spirits, that deserved better fates. They tended to generate the love of freedom; but they have contributed little towards the discovery of, or reasoning on, the elements of civil and political liberty, or the enlargement of the science of modern politics. Removed to a venerable period of antiquity, the moderns view their structures as heights to which what is called modern degeneracy dare not aspire, but which will be found, as truth and nature unfold to the eye of reason, to be the phantasms of scientific superstition, and misplaced admiration.

When we consider the fate of the ancient democracies and republics, we are but too apt to flatter the ambition of tyrants, by debasing the character rather than appreciating the unhappy fortunes of human nature. The scenes in which she hath been viewed have ever been such as were opposed to her genius, hostile to the display of her character, and may therefore be called unnatural. It may be fair to call that the natural state in which, by the natural agency of his functions, unclogged

by civil impediments, man becomes surrounded by the beneficial productions of his own genius. In his progress from rudeness to refinement, the noblest truths are unfolded by the improvement of his reason, his rights are ascertained, and the virtues of his heart become meliorated and multiplied. Thus the scheme of nature will be accomplished by the operation of her own powers; and her design will be finished by the full display of those endowments with which the favourite of creation is adorned.

In that state of society where the passions are pointed at the moral relations of the individual, and where the talents are exercised in that field of industry and emulation, whose fruits are under the protection of good laws, the wise predisposition of nature will be found most completely effectuated.

Nothing can be more bewildering than the idea of Montesquieu, that there are three distinct principles of conduct peculiar to the three forms of government. The enthusiasm which animated the ancient forms, has led to the idea of superior virtue. In this age less is to be attributed to passion than to reason.

To investigate the necessity of this principle, supposed peculiar to democracy, it may be premised, that government is a positive good, and not the selection of the least from a variety of evils. It is a state of action, and rule of civil conduct, under which men naturally and necessarily fall. That government must be best which is framed on the views of nature, and which elicits the progress and accomplishment of the human character. If a government be in itself well formed and adapted, as the constitutions of America, to the rights of mankind—if the society on whom it acts, be in such a state of rational conception of those things in which their rights and interests consist, as

makes the civil form naturally to arise from the order of their existing relations—and, if there be a fitness between national impressions and the civil form, and this form really be such as secures the happiness of society, it would not be hardness to assert, that a greater share of virtue is not necessary to a democratic, than to a monarchical form. The united states were such societies. The American democracies are such governments.

Government has in most cases done too much. Its regimen has been prescribed under the empirical idea, that every addition of restraint, was a departure from natural liberty.

The office of government is to protect. The majorities of all societies act as if they were not governed. There is in the human heart, a principle of rectitude, that acts independently of civil regulation. The same sympathies which knit the first bands of society, and formed man a social being, attend his moral character through all its progressive stages, and as they existed without compact, or choice, so they continue to operate without the intervention of a municipal monitor.

The great misfortune of the species has arisen from the political maladies under which it hath generally laboured; and notwithstanding individual happiness may have been its lot in a degree, yet this hath rather been owing to the contentment that resulted from an ignorance of what was better, than from the enjoyment of those rights which might have enabled it to pursue what was best.

Where, but in America, existed a government, under which the character of the species, as well as of the individual, advanced in its progress, in the possession of civil, political, and religious freedom? Had human nature ever existed in such a situation, Montesquieu would not have imagined that virtue—the enthusiasm

of a simple age, uncultivated and rude, was essential to that very form, which of all others is best adapted to the plenitude of human felicity.

If such a principle did ever exist, it ought to be defined. If the fervour of the heart, inspired by particular situations, and displayed for public good, be worthy the name of principle, and such principle be said to be so essential to a democracy, as to be a *sine qua non* of that government—and if it be of so delicate a nature, as to suffer extinction by the prevalence of those luxurious habits to which all rational improvements lead—it certainly is a principle of too whimsical a nature to be relied on.

Admitting that this offspring of a happy instinct, moved the springs of governments, the only relics of which have been preserved by historians long buried in the dust of those very forms which they have immortalized—and that there have been certain great characteristics of human nature, buried in the same oblivion which hath deprived us of the murex dye, at once essential to its happiest state, and too precarious for cultivation, and which no force of mind or of fortune could ever regain—still there remain to modern days, resources of political happiness superior to this principle—as much superior to it, as pure religion, fixed on the immutable basis of morals, is to vague superstitions—as much as clear conclusive deductions of the judgment, are superior to the violent and irregular movements of the heart;—or a clear sense of civil freedom to an attachment to ill understood privileges.

It could have been, at most, a certain union of reason and passion, which all might possess under similar circumstances. It must have resulted from a combination of motives to which all human hearts might be subject. To what virtues in particular was it allied? Or did it act independently of that train of the affecti-

ons which the several social relations, when known, naturally inspire? It was a rule of political conduct. Political rules result from those relative duties which compose morals. Under what moral law in particular was this principle regulated? Some obligation must have been its measure of action. What state of society was most favourable to it? The state of society is nothing more than that aspect which the operations of certain powers of the understanding and passions, give through the medium of human conduct. If we fix the stage of society to which it is best adapted, we might better analyze it. It cannot be analyzed by any of that metaphysical deduction, by which we ascertain the nature and operation of other known powers of intellect, or of temper. It is imagined to have been visible, like the spirit of prophecy, in certain ages, and to have accompanied certain human institutions, in those eras of their simplicity, when enthusiasm had not found a happy substitution in the energy of true freedom, and in a just sense of civil liberty.

But this fervour ceased in those countries most celebrated for it, when that luxury advanced to which its extinction is attributed. “*Nuper divitiæ avaritia et abundantis voluptatis desiderium, per luxum atque libidinem pereundi, perdendique omnia invadere,*” says Livy. It was natural that luxury, which softens the manners, should dissipate a principle, if enthusiasm deserves the name of principle, which was the offspring of a rugged impracticability of character, and not the result of those reflections that fix the affections in the footsteps of reason:—I mean a thorough comprehension of the rights of society, not understood two hundred years since.

Supposing such a principle to have existed, and to have been destroyed by relaxation of manners, when it

was destroyed, no substitute was left to the bosom of society, that could support its rights. A sense of civil liberty was no where to be found. The forms of government, and the faculties of society which had been previously cultivated, had left such impressions as forbid the emancipation of the social character, and invited the strides of a more desperate ambition.

On the force of this principle, Montesquieu has made much use of Sparta. In speaking his lessons of political despair, and his romance of principles to the world, this philosopher says, that "They who would attempt the like institutions, must establish the community of goods, as prescribed in Plato's republic; that separation from strangers, for the preservation of morals; and an extensive commerce carried on by the state, and not by private citizens." They must give our arts, without our luxuries, and our wants, without our desires." I defy any man to comprehend that last injunction. "Money"—he goes on—"must be proscribed; it swells people's fortunes beyond the bounds prescribed by nature." What is it that this great man could not say, when he ventures to talk thus? Is it that he takes nature to mean a state of rudeness; or does he affix to human powers, certain bounds beyond which it is unnatural for them to pass? Did he recollect that Sparta formed her citizens for the hardships of a military life; and that the human character was not destined for war only?

The force of contagion might assist in supporting a martial spirit which disdained all things but its own peculiar honours, and those of public glory in victory. Under this influence, the mind would acquire a certain character in sympathy with the public, and with the predominant passion. Where the ex-

amples of hardihood were hourly presented, and the more refined gratifications, as in Sparta, were discouraged and forbidden—it might not be very difficult task, in a single city, to retard the more natural movement of the passions, and embarrass the progress of the citizen in his social pursuits.

The love of poverty, established as the foundation of the sublime Spartan government, could operate but in very small societies of men. Such institutions are founded in the paroxysms of human character, which a peculiar destiny must have inspired. The crisis of their attainment, must have been the moment of their declension; since there would certainly be wanting in the breast, the force and appeal of all laws, some motive and principle equal to such singular conduct. Where the possibility of excess is precluded, the virtues must be contracted. The mind is not formed for repose. Like mercury, to be fixed its principles must be destroyed. It could no more exist under the counteraction of such rigid principles like those of Sparta, than it could its powers of thinking, or alter the whole intellectual economy. It must burst from such confinement, and would seek either the gratification of its predominant passion, in the barbarism of arms, or pursue its progressive attainments, in the pleasures of the sciences.

The character of the species is progressive. Whatever tends to make stationary, is contrary to the laws of its nature. That inequality of fortunes should result from opulence, perfectly natural: nor can it be wished, but by a visionary mind, that any civil or political institution should be devised, were it possible that would equalize the condition of men, and force them into that level which hath chimerically been deemed the surest foundation of democracy. To do this, the mental economy

nature must be changed: and it would be necessary to root from the heart, the comparative inequalities of the passions; and from the brain, the inequalities of genius which give one man a superiority over another. No such institutions can, nor ought to be attempted, to be framed. In all things, nature, and the road she designates, are to be followed.

That governments, framed on rigid ideas of equality, like that of Sparta, have failed, is because they were formed in opposition to nature; and rather attempted to force the human character into distorted shapes, than to give it that easy play and exercise, in which alone its development and vigour will be found to consist. The study of the human genius will teach us, that man is not destined by nature for the exclusive agency of any one faculty or passion. Various in the exertions of his talents and his passions, as his situations are diversified, we see he can assume, with equal ease, the duties and capacities of the father, or the son, of the artist, the merchant, or the legislator.

Were the character of the species, like that of the horse, stationary and limited both in the desires by which it is actuated, the talents by which it is adorned in its progression, and the attainments beyond which no auspices of situation could invite it—then those laws, which attempt to fix its exertions, in weakening the springs of its industry and activity, might be more reasonable. The laws of Lycurgus would not then appear the iron bed of Procrustes: and the institution of the humble dunkers* would strike us as less visionary. But when experience in the attributes of human nature, teaches us,

NOTE.

* A small society of christians in the state of Pennsylvania, abstracted from the world, among whom a community of goods is established.

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that, by the natural movement of his passions, and from the necessary exercise of his faculties, man assumes new aspects, and gives that society which he forms, new views accommodated to his degree of cultivation, we must infer, from this operation of the immutable laws of his nature, that his advancement is a part of his destiny, and that he is to be protected in the possession of those rights which he gains under the moral necessity of his character. If luxury, in a correspondent stage of his improvement, be as natural to him as that rudeness or simplicity, supposed concomitant with virtue, from which he emerges—his deportment, as a civil being, may be as much under the guidance of his reason in this, as it was in a less advanced state. His principle of character will be the same. He cannot alter his nature; he can only cultivate it. A government that enables him to do this, is the best: consequently, that, which deprives him of the power of improvement and happiness, is unjust. He has no right to give up, in his politic capacity, those powers, without which he is crippled and retarded in the pursuits, in which nature hath inseparably blended his happiness. The same law of nature that protects what he acquires, by his industry, in the state of rudeness, is the principle of those laws that secure to him, in the state of luxurious society, those inequalities of property, that superfluity of wealth, which he gains by the honest exercise of the same talents, and under the impulse of the same principles, embellished by cultivation, and invigorated by the improved habits of his nature.

Unaccountably there are men, who are impressed with the idea, that the softness of modern manners, and the politeness of the best and firmest principles, displayed in modern conduct, are averse to that hardy tem-

D

per necessary to the preservation of democratic freedom.

The idea is but too prevalent, that as luxury hath extended, liberty hath receded; and that as men add to the aggregate of political and civil restraints, the rights of human nature are abridged. The idea is founded on a misconception of the true principles of society.

Were we to attempt to fix the commencement of national corruption at a particular stage of individual refinement, we must first prove the national character throughout to be the exact correspondent to the individual: but as this cannot be done, inasmuch as a nation is always unequally refined, and will, from the happy diversity of fortunes, ever so remain, it is in vain that we deduce a general effect from causes that can never be general. Much juster would be the reasoning, which, disdaining the definition of situations that forever evade settled acceptations, should go to prove the insufficiency of those barriers which stand on the eternal foundations of nature; which are continually reverted to in the formation and continuation of happily-accommodated constitutions.

If, after such a disquisition, it be proved, that luxury and true liberty are incompatible in a democratic form, the supporters of (what till then I should call) so romantic a fiction, might justly triumph. The truth is, liberty and the completest complication of laws, and the fullest diffusion of luxury through every vein of the body politic, are in all degrees and respects compatible with each other.

There was, in America, when she effected her independence, all that luxury which is diversified by disparity of fortune, and every elegance of a dubious refinement. If virtue be peculiar to simplicity, she had relinquished it, in that opulence of

her citizens, which has been chimerically held up as the spot where national vigour begins to mortify. But it was in that stage of her moral character, on which refining speculists have affixed the languor of corruption, that she boldly dared on scenes of danger and heroic achievement, that would do honour to the most martial age. Nor was the point, on which her revolution commenced, that sort of immediate evil, which, by torturing the heart, prevents the reasoning of the understanding. No, Virginia was immolated at the shrine of chastity, to guard the sex's honour from the brutality of a tyrant. The progress of usurpation was slow, and gave to principle all its glory. It was not of that pressing nature, that, denying men the privilege of acting from conviction, drives them to that sad alternative, in which nature, at the head of the passions, performs the duties of necessity by her own instincts.

In other revolutions, the sword has been drawn by the arm of offended Freedom, under an oppression that threatened the vital powers of society. But the American revolution took place as a necessary result of long-established opinions. The occasion advanced with the progress of usurpation—not sudden, not blown into existence by the breath of incendiaries. Flowing from the source of system, and supported by the energies of well-weighed choice, it was moderate, resolute, and irresistible. Hence is to be proved the force of that sense of civil liberty, which requires not the temper of enthusiasm. It is this union of refinement with the active state of civil liberty, that will distract the false theories to which unhappy fortunes have subjected the human character. It is this fact that will justify the ways of heaven, by proving the consistency of the social

nature with the political happiness of men. And from the study of the American democracies, sophistry will be disarmed of the argument against pure liberty, in the natural endowments of man, which a state of luxury displays.

Montesquieu, great as he was, and venerable as he will ever be, was too fond of hypothesis. He thought with solidity, and expressed himself by figures, that "lead, to bewilder, and dazzle, to blind." He was too mechanical, too geometrical. His ideas and inductions of influence from soil and climate, show that ingenuity of a great mind, which fritters away its powers in conceit. Whimsically, he would reduce the political happiness of mankind to a dependence on the planetary system, and make a cabbage or a cauliflower the source of his analogy.

III.

Aristocracy.

AMONG the chimeras of the timid, is the spectre of aristocracy. Auguring from the past, some have vainly imagined, that the democracies of America must resolve into aristocracies. It is an objection of some consequence: and the history of democratic governments shelters the apprehension. But the philosophy of human society rejects it with confidence. Since, however, there is but too apt to be a secret sort of magic in fear, that effects the completion of its own prophecies, it as an objection remains to be opposed; and it will, therefore, be necessary to show some few grounds of aristocratic ascendancy in other countries, and then prove that such grounds exist not in the united states.

To adhere to verbal derivation is too narrow a mode of reasoning, to obtain in a liberal political discussion. Aristocracy is the government of a state by certain families, invested with hereditary rights of govern-

ing. No right of governing, by the representation of constituents of equal rights, can be called an aristocratic right. Aristocracy proves an inequality of rights. Delegated power does not prove, as in the American democracies, an inequality of rights: for where the people appoint their own rulers, the rulers, though possessed of greater temporary delegated powers, possess no more rights exclusively, than those by whom they were chosen: since the very delegation shows an equality between the candidate and constituent: it shows choice, which implies a right of rejection. However varied the modifications of the powers of government may be, and however distant they may appear to be from the mass of the people, while the democratic constitution brings back the powers of government, at stated periods, to its source of sovereignty, the people, no aristocracy exists. But, agreeably to the constitutions of the united states, the rights of election are frequently exercised. Every organ of state sprouts anew from the political body of sovereignty. Hereditary honours, hereditary rights of ruling, are excluded expressly. Jealousy hath left nothing for implication to fashion. No real feature of aristocracy, therefore, is visible either in the constitutions or in the governments of the united states.

Foreigners have erroneously blended the idea of aristocracy with that division of the legislative branches of some of the American democracies, which is seen in the senates. The senate, for instance, in the constitution of the state of Maryland, is chosen for five years, not immediately by the people, but by electors of senators. But observe, that the senate is derived mediately from the people. It represents no particular order of men, or of ranks. It is a weight in the powers of legislative deliberation and argument, but not of pra-

perty, of privileges, of orders, of honours, or at all descriptive of that solecism, which presupposes a division of interests in a state, of rights and of honours. It, in fine, hath nothing in its original idea, in its relative action, or in its object, correspondent or analogous to the house of lords in England. In this American senate, prevails a democratic simplicity. No reverence peculiar to themselves is paid them. The name, which is aristocratical, may, indeed, confound a parallel-hunter; but the robes of Cyrus, with the magical power by which his virtues were imparted to the wearer, have long since perished. Men who are carried away by verbal explanations, discover in this branch an aristocratic shadow, the substance of which they in vain search for, in that mass of citizens from whom it is reflected. Among them an unequivocal and perfect equality of rights exists, in the midst of fortunes and gradations, infinitely diversified by all the inequalities of temper, possessions, talents, and tastes, that mark a refined society*

There is not, in a refined society, that invitation to aristocratic ambition, which marks the ruder age. The rights of mankind are better known, and the nerve of connexion more sensible. Passion has less and

NOTE.

* It is due to the respectable opinion of the author of the learned and able *defence of the constitutions of the governments of the united states*, to observe, that whatever may be unfolded by the contemplation of the past, or expected from the womb of future ages to countenance the anxious conjectures of his patriotic mind, the addition of a negative to each of the branches, appears to be a measure of precaution at once sanctioned by experience, and supported by a wise and elaborate investigation of historical facts.

laws and moral habits more to do.

That aristocracy does not unfold with the luxuries attendant on wealth, is evinced in the present state of Europe. It springs from those accidental arrangements of the ranks of the society, which military discipline renders necessary. It rises in the rudeness of society, and sinks with its refinement. The protection of men is not sought but in the weakness of laws. In proportion as the mass of society, by the acquisition of wealth and knowledge, place themselves in a state of domestic independence, the influence of aristocracy is observed to decrease. In those instances, where the aristocratical hath prevailed over the democratical part of the government, as in the Roman republic, the ascendancy hath been owing to the original constitution; or, as in the Venetian, obtruded on it by the hand of a temporary expedience.

Freedom seems anciently, as indeed in modern days of feudal slavery, to have meant the undisturbed enjoyment of certain peculiar privileges, inherent in the different orders of which society was composed, rather than that power of doing what good laws permit, framed by consent, agreeably to the known rights of mankind, and on the basis of equality.

The English constitution hath been infinitely improved, in proportion as that aristocracy declined, which added a number of small tyrants to one of a larger growth. The history of feuds, and of the barons, will prove this. The causes, that contributed to this declension, were the circulation of wealth, and the necessary introduction of luxury and refinement. These will always create a fluctuation of opulence favourable to democracies, and fatal to perpetuity of power. The causes, which made liberty emerge in England, after the

line of aristocratical and feudal possessions, have more or less prevailed in America; and are more relative there, as the fortunes of individuals are more equal and the door to ambition not opened by an odious establishment of different orders of citizens. The emulation of equal citizens can never lead to distinctions, nor can any ascendancy be known but that of superiority. The influence, which this may attain, will endure no longer than the life of the possessor; for where that truest nobility is not a legacy-inheritance, it is not liable to assume any form, or possess any power which can militate against the utility of its temporary existence. There cannot be, in the eyes of any critical observer, this danger in the American democracies, for in them the education of the public mind will prove an insurmountable barrier against aristocracy. On every subject, connected with the political character of the country, the ideas of men flowed from the sources of nature, the study of whose rights was considerably facilitated by the contemplation of those scenes of native simplicity by which they were surrounded.

It is a fact, in the history of governments, that those institutions, which have invited or confirmed the progress of aristocracy, have always been formed by the ambitious in a rude and martial state of society, in which men were ignorant of their rights, and unacquainted with the designations of nature. These institutions, framed under the immediate views that engage the passions of the ruder tribe, were instruments adopted under the impressions of danger, rather than schemes of civility made the objects of rational choice. They were conceded either by the improvidence of ignorance, than established on those engaged views of utility and happiness, which nature prepared the social

constitution. Such have been the commencement and formation of even governments themselves. One has differed from another in its objects: still government acted but as the agent, and varied in the shape of its instrumentality, with the ruling passions of the day.

Perhaps, indeed, a government created under a just conception of human rights, would not be relished by a rude society. The rights and characteristics, which develop with cultivation, are possibly to be enjoyed in that state only of social maturity, from which a sense of them springs. These have been generally excluded by the immutability of those unhappy forms that were accommodated to different views, and which have survived the causes of their creation.

In America, society received its impressions favourably to a democratic form, and excluded all tendency to any other. Already had it passed that crisis of its progress, which hitherto hath opened a door in most other forms, to the advances of aristocracy. The colonial situation forbade any inordinate ambition in American provincials. The humility of her society, abstracted from the splendour and amusements of the old world, held forth few allurements to invite the residence of such, from the mother country, as might possibly have aspired to the inheritments of hereditary honours. Protected from the hostilities of ambition, her citizens gained a complete conception of what either the policy, or misfortunes of European governments have hidden from the eyes of their subjects. Those who will reflect on the causes that have encouraged the growth of aristocracy in other countries, and led them on to the total subversion of freedom, and, finally, to the throne of absolute monarchy, will perceive that this mischievous form cannot be obtruded on the American govern-

ments. There, no oppressions exist, none of those occasions which military governments afford in days of rudeness, in which transcendent merit acquires permanence of authority; and where there is no impatience under evils that would receive relief from change, there will exist no probable cause of those revolutions, in which ambition hath forged chains for mankind.

The revolution made no alteration in, but rather secured, those fundamental equalities, the destruction of which hath ever been the basis of aristocracy and oligarchy. In European governments, there seems to have been a greater tendency to monarchy than to aristocracy. The *etats* of France gradually merged into a mild, but pure monarchy. The *cortez* of Spain have sunk even into oblivion. In Sweden, the pretensions of an aristocratical senate have been over-ruled by the prevailing spirit of monarchy. The nobility of England, restless, turbulent, and ambitious, have yielded a great portion of that importance which rendered them in a great degree independent of king and people; and are now distinguished by an influence, proportioned more to utility and talents, than to splendor of birth. The division of society, formed by a separation of professions, the individual independence arising from this, and the general dispersion of wealth that destroys the permanent inequalities of fortune, directly tend to the dissolution of that aristocratic importance, which, however interwoven with public institutions and national character, hath ever given way to the equalizing force of civilization.

Aristocracy is a government, in which there are orders of men possessed of unequal rights, formed on the accidental aspects of human affairs, in ages of barbarism, and under an ignorance of true civil liber-

ty. But there is, in America, a perfect equality of rights, an enlightened adoption of a free form of government, and the greatest improbability of that declension of the social character, which retrogrades it to a state of original rudeness, and partial despotism. Therefore there is neither in the united states an aristocracy, nor does there exist that ground for its ascendancy, which hath usually been its foundation in other countries.

IV.

Extent of territory.

TO vindicate the American democracies from all objections to the theory of Montesquieu, where a small territory is made an essential property of their forms, is to be debated. Montesquieu hath said, theoretical men have followed him that it is natural for a democratical public to have only a small territory. What he would convey by the term natural is mysterious, and will not be explained into meaning. Without entering into etymological details, a concise definition of the government, termed democracy, will considerably facilitate our comprehension of the subject.

Democracy is a government wherein all the members of the society are possessed of equal rights and govern either by themselves or by their representatives, elected by themselves, and invested with the powers of government.

If in such a government there be an efficiency, a celerity, and an accommodation of the laws, the extent of territory cannot form an objection. And as every objection, to what should exist without any, ought to be removed, the above shall be opposed as a mode of reasoning founded on experience, and dictated by theory.

The principal objection to extensive territory, is the difficulty of

gathering and consulting among the citizens. But since the regular division of the states into counties, each possessed of a supreme board or court, and these again divided into parishes—where voices, and not wealth, prevail in elections, the rights of which are guarded by good laws—and since the laws are exercised with as much exactness at a distance from the capital, in consequence of the superior regulations of the juridical system and of the police—where exists an inconvenience with a greater, than does not exist in a smaller extent of territory? for abuses cannot prevail without their remedies, since the constitution acknowledges no order of law superior or dangerous to the laws. These laws have been formed agreeably to right, and accommodated to useful purposes: and the juridical system hath been digested by the wisdom of past ages, and wrought to perfection both of theory and execution—an advantage, for which the American democracies are indebted to the absence of those influences which in all other democracies have either retarded the melioration of, or even a partial execution to, the operations of the laws.

The futility of every objection may be demonstrated by some attention to the different aspects which society and government assume in America from those which have given colour to this theoretical position.

It hath been common for a rude people to divide, at first perhaps to associate, in small tribes. One passion, the love of arms, pervades the infancy of all nations; because their want of cultivation deprives them of the arts of peace; and because corporal strength and the violence of the passions, as yet unrefined and uncorrected by the sentiments of a pure morality, preceded those happy and elemental endowments of a more advanced society.

That nations have been formed by

a convocation of military tribes, will account for many appearances in the political world. Kings and nobles have sprung from this origin. And all the laws, which secure their privileges and prerogatives, flow from this source. Of little consequence was it what was the declared form of their governments: men, and not laws, ruled, where the passions taught the injured to seek redress in an appeal to the sword. But those forms subsided, while the causes, from which they arose, gradually merged in the improvements of society. Thus ancient democracies were small, because they were founded on the principles of self-defence, and were martial tribes. But their forms of public administration, originally calculated for very narrow and partial spheres of action, still continued to direct schemes of higher moment, and support views that required a different scale of civil and political powers. Hence resulted a confusion and public weakness. The society, at first actuated by one spirit, and governed by laws as simple as they were few, was by no means formed for operations which demanded that complete organization which would bring into regular co-operation, all those wheels of action that consist in the various resources of a more scientific finance, and in an able and permanent administration of government.

These forms might be adapted to a small territory and infant associations; but this temporary feature of society, when met by a train of operations that ought to have been expected, but which was not foreseen, because the true political destination of human nature was unknown, became deformed by all the evils attendant on a vicious constitution.

In the ease with which a small democracy might be defended, and the facility of assemblage, consisted the measure of its territory. Its resources and the genius of the people, like

those of a military tribe, calculated them for the operations of a single campaign. When their ambition led them to foreign conquests, the inefficacy of their systems disconcerted all their views; and either brought disgrace on their arms, or opened a way for tyranny at home. They seem designed for single exertions, rather than for complicated movements. Where experience, as in the American democracies, hath given confidence to measures, and where revolutions have strengthened the springs on which such measures operate, it is idle to doubt their future efficiency. Before this efficiency can cease, the principles of justice and native energy, on which they rest, must expire.

V.

Balance of power.

THE ambition of princes hath ever been fatal to mankind. In vain hath the voice of nature spoken a law to nations, and attempted to circumscribe the horrors of war, by the rights of justifiable prevention, or of equitable redress. The power of doing mischief with a glorious impunity, hath generally been the fruit of destructive ambition; and it hath happened that men, ignorant of their rights, have lent themselves, with ruinous alacrity, to the invasion of the rights of others. The love of glory hath been the forge of chains by which the bold have shackled themselves; and the governments of Europe, placed towards each other, since their emerging from Gothic barbarism, in a system of hostile jealousy, have, till very lately, been mere engines of martial ambition, in a state of war, equipped for enterprise, rather than the arts of peace, and excellent in their own eyes, in proportion to the unhappy facility with which they could execute and maintain the projects of their sovereigns. They originated unhappily;

and the light of improvement served but to modify institutions, which ought to have subverted.

From whatever cause it may have arisen, it should seem as if, in countries, except America, certain political causes have so far preceded a sense of political rights, that revolutions and new governments have diversified the evils of civil subordination. Seldom in any revolution that hath happened in Europe, has been reserved that reversion of power and right, on which alone just government can be erected. Wars have served indeed to display resources and the virtues of gallant nations. They have sealed with the sacred blood of human nature, the claims of princes and of states. But what sides these points have they settled, and what can we call them, but splendid miseries of nations!

If that enlightened policy, which regulates its maxims by an ardour of human rights and universal freedom, be a theme of pleasure to the philosopher, and at the same time equally capable of advancing the purposes of a generous ambition, and giving effect to the resources of a state, how injurious to the rights of nations must appear to him that system, which, in attempting a balance of power, seeks to oppress individual states under the respectable sanction of a pacification, at once erroneous and impracticable!

Among the causes, which contributed to retard the advances of enlightened policy, the balance of Europe may be considered as one of the principal.

From the military genius of the sixteenth century this idea naturally arose. It had an alarming influence on the laws of nations. Its object was security. It implied a state of attention; and engendered politics better suited to defence than repose, and calculated, to the rulers of states, a science that consisted more in

knowledge of the resources of others, than in what would add to, and improve, those over which they presided. It seems to have delighted more in destruction, than in the acquisitions of that profit, or revenue, which result from those commercial ideas that form the spirit of modern cabinets. It cherished that soul of ambition, which already was but too predominant among potentates, whose claims being founded in violence and injustice, were to be supported by force, and the address of an insidious policy. It rendered that policy a law of nations, which proceeded by the worst means to accomplish the worst ends. It taught nations, that in weakening the foremost, the object of true policy would be obtained; and that in cutting off the resources of a rival, they added wealth and power to themselves. While it affected to smother the breath of universal monarchy, it in fact organized the system of universal slavery. In its effects, though not in its original object, or cause, it was a combination of those who possessed the power of doing ill, against that mass of society, which, in a rude state, never possesses their rights but to abuse them. It was a league of the strong against the weak, in its influence over civil and religious freedom. In its relation to the great cause of human nature, it was a confederacy of passion against reason, of prejudice against philosophy, and of error against truth. Considering the objects of European wars, the cause of civil liberty was never once involved—a few small states, as Holland, Switzerland, and during the civil wars, England, excepted. The rights of sovereigns stood on the ruins of nature. Sovereigns alone, their pride, and passions, seem to have been the only personages and machinery of the drama. The cause of human rights was rarely an interlude; and where it was, it was in a tragic nature. And treaties

being the etiquette of princes, rather than the foundation of national advantage, were usually the most shameful bargains between disconcerted ambition and lawless force. In consequence of this jealous policy, which surveyed every accession of advantage to one nation, as a diminution of profit to another, the hostility, so natural to barbarians, was rather kept alive than extinguished. The principle of alienage that fixes man, as much in his prejudices against his species, as in his residence, was confirmed.

Nations have the right of judging on all those points of commerce and intercourse, which decide on their safety and happiness: but this is a discretion to be used under the guidance of the laws of nature; and the primary object of society being the happiness of mankind, no motives, which do not rest on a law of nature equally strong, ought to be suffered to operate against that system of useful commutation, which modern wisdom is actually diffusing.

In proportion as nations can be brought to stand towards each other, under relations similar to such as connect moral agents, the great objects of national felicity will be attained. Nothing tends more to this, than the habits of a liberal commerce. This the suspicion incident to so false a policy prevented, and opened the door of embassy, but to promote the office of a protected spy. It facilitated that communication between princes, which was perpetually a source of insidious councils, where vast plans of slavery, either of nations, or of religion, were agitated with secrecy.

The course which human affairs took, when the close of the Roman day involved all Europe in darkness, rendered this evil somewhat necessary; but, like the guards of Pissistratus, which his self-inflicted wounds had procured him, it tended, with other

causes, to enslave, while it protested. It assisted in subverting the rights of mankind, by confirming the despotism of princes. In constituting a judicature of nations, where force and not right decided, it led to a surrender of that right which every nation hath, to the exercise of its own independent sovereignty. Kingdoms and states were bequeathed by the will of tyrants, for purposes of supporting the balance of power.

Wars, and a knowledge of their temporary resources, which were but other names for injustice and oppression, became the science of politicians. The rights of individual societies were neglected, for the ambitious enterprises of the sovereign : and reasons of state engaged those faculties and talents, which had more rationally been employed in the cultivation of commerce, and in the arts of legislation.

From this system of foreign politics, the nations of Europe became entangled in inextricable relations. Those relations were not of amity. Had they been such as were formed by a juster knowledge of the principles of government, and those sources that add to the happiness of mankind, Europe would have been infinitely more enlightened and better cultivated than at present. They were such as might be expected, (but are ever to be lamented), when we reflect on the religious oppositions which prevailed in different parts of Europe, and find the maxims of this fatal system but just yielding to the enlarged spirit of liberality—a liberality, which hath made the arts of industry a common cause—science the favoured object of rival kingdoms—banished the rack—and dispersed the daggers of fanaticism and persecution.

The prerogatives of crowned heads are indebted to this policy for their alarming growth. The spirit of secrecy, with which its maxims were

put into action, with which its enterprises were executed, hath given a plausible pretence for the usurpation of undefined powers : and it will be found, that the executive of every government hath invariably acquired a vigour proportioned to the apparent necessities that coloured the boldness of its demands. By giving the nation a great object of danger perpetually before their eyes, it hath gained an ascendancy over legislative policy, by which it hath shamefully been weakened : and embarrassed, by contradictory interests, the progress of laws, and the science of government, in the clamours of danger, and in the exigencies of preservation.

The train, into which early maxims of policy threw the passions of Europe, hath imprinted on their characters an inveteracy of feature, averse to alteration, and favourable more to habit than reflexion. Slowly will the truth advance, when unaccompanied by the passions. These have already taken their direction, and resist innovation, as if it were impiety.

Some great characteristics distinguish each nation in Europe. With few exceptions, however, bigotry, superstition, and despotism, mark their descriptions. Some are termed natural enemies. Others, from theological errors, are exalted into tyrants, or humbled into slaves. No where could an altar be raised to the truths of politics and philosophy. The sublime obscurities of established creeds would exclude it on the one side ; and, on the other, the prescriptions of civil mystery, would render it an useless or a dangerous shrine. Even in this enlightened age, an inquisition browbeats the inquisitive eye of philosophy : and there are climates from which the will of a feudal baron can exile into slavery the peasant, who tills his ungrateful field.

There was in Europe a contradiction of religious and civil principles, that created a thousand solecisms. The rule, to which the negociations of nations were subject, was so flexible in its nature, as easily to yield to the sinister views of the artful and designing. Its dangerous casuistry lent an indulgence to the blackest causes; and, with jesuitical accommodation, twisted morality in the windings of ambition, and tortured every law of heaven into a rule of lustful power. Where an attachment to the liberties of mankind had not been made the principle of conduct between princes and their subjects, little else beyond this sort of policy could be expected in the intercourse of nations. Where an internal standard was wanting, no criterion could regulate external relation. The wide wasting errors of religion held forth their mysterious jargon, in which duplicity might double, and fraud piously defend its treachery.

The governments of America are removed to a distance from such a policy, as much by their local situation, as by their political relation to other nations. They will study the interests of others, because the subject matter of their treaties must be understood. The American feels little interest in the empty declamation of memorials, which contain the claims of princes; or in those projects of preventive wisdom that are founded in a mutilation of the rights of the people. The cause of freedom will be his own: for to a citizen of America nothing seems so natural as freedom, nothing so mean as slavery. His mind, cultivated by history, and not cramped by mysteries, will eagerly lend its powers to the investigation of the most foreign subjects: and, bound by none of the prejudices, which the policy of established error hath elsewhere enforced, he will readily adopt or reject whatever may result

from an unbiassed attention to the laws and usages of other nations.

In America, the policy of the balance of Europe will not apply. Her views are different from its attractions. A consciousness of security will give her repose: and her situation, her citizens, and denizenship of the world, will protect this repose from interruption. She is the last asylum for opinion: and the harrassed human character hath not another refuge from degrading policy. The world is sufficiently enlightened to know this. Like the martial states of Greece, which, says Polybius, protected the commercial city of Byzantium, as a common benefit, philosophers and statesmen would unite against a violation of the happiness of a people, whose lot is the more precious, as it was procured by the greatest experiment that human nature ever made of its own character.

In the united states, the principles of foreign policy will be regulated by the rights of nations: and where the rights of society are not found to be incompatible with the established forms, the rights of nations will not prove a dangerous revelation, and may arrange with a more enlightened and useful policy. Self-defence will not hold out the sophistry of ambition. No pretext will assume the form of a reason of state, to commit injustice or depredation under the guise of expediency. Not "to humble the haughty," but "to protect the oppressed," will be wise and amiable policy of states, which have already proved their sense of glory, and have no interest to create another object for their exertions.

New colours suit the scene of *soften*
life:

No more, bestriding barbed steeds,
Advent'rous valour idly bleeds:
And now the bard in alter'd tones,
A theme of worthier triumph owns

By social imagery beguil'd,
He moulds his harp to manners mild;
Nor longer weaves the wreath of war
alone,

Nor hails the hostile form that grac'd
the throne*.

When Frederic died, the ensanguin-
ed blade of glory tumbled into atoms.
To the struggles of ambition and the
toils of war, succeeds the sway of
peaceful councils, and promises to the
emerging spirit of philosophical liber-
ty a reign of wisdom and tranquillity.

Per quas Latinum nomen et Italæ

Crevere vires, fama que, et imperiū

Porrecta majestas ad ortum

Solis ab hesperio cubili.

VI.

Religion †.

RELIGION, in America, pre-
sents a singular prospect. Its
progress hath kept pace with morali-
ty, and is not the less sublime because
its history hath not been marked by
those interesting scenes which have
rendered Europe the theatre of error
and bloodshed. It had ever been held
in the light of moral persuasion.
Force, restraint, and penalties, were
monsters not found within her mild
lights. The diversity and freedom of
the christian sects had poised every
schism and party on that point of
equality which precluded jealousy.
This was an attainment that philoso-
phy had only studied, and had scarce-
ly expected.

By the revolution, religious doc-

NOTES.

* Warton's ode.

† This tract upon religion, being
simply the result of rational investi-
gation, and dictated by the purest
principles of christianity, and of the
amor patriæ, cannot be imputed to
any motives less worthy, than univer-
sal religious freedom, nor, in the eyes
of the philosophical examiner, in the
smallest degree, impeach the religious
faith, of the writer of it.

trines received no shock. Supersti-
on and bigotry had nothing to la-
ment, and nothing to rouse at. These
monsters were left unchained, and
were therefore harmless. The clergy
in America did not constitute a po-
litical body. They were not, as in
England and Rome, one of the states
of the empire.

The relics of old superstitions,
which serve as apologies for modern
errors and fanaticism, were there un-
known. There were no precedents of
forefathers, to mislead the imaginati-
on of posterity, and authorise them
in a blind acquiescence under ide-
al sanctities. The novelty of all
things precluded the prescription of
error.

When christianity was transplanted
from Great Britain to the new
world, it assumed a novelty, both
consonant to its new religion, and cor-
respondent to its original simplicity.
It dropped those claims of controul,
which were yielded, by ignorance, to
the ambition of artful pontiffs and
proud ecclesiastics. Of all its supersti-
tious rites it was entirely stripped, and
in this state of native simplicity, its
arrogant interposition in civil cases,
and legislative concerns, was as little
thought of, as necessary. The go-
vernment of the passions, and the
mind, was its object. True moral
persuasion, dignified by revelation,
was its great characteristic. It had all
the modesty and gracefulness of its
holy virgin. The institutions, which
supported its public rites, were not
endangered by that mixed cloud of
ignorance and superstition, which
hath every where else enveloped the
plainest truths with mystical exhibi-
tions. The luminous era of the hu-
man mind, that conceived such insti-
tutions, secured them from the cor-
ruptions to which similar designs had
been exposed.

That, under such enlightened ideas
of society, there should exist no alli-
ance between the formalities and te-

of government and of religion, is not surprising. A change of situation had disembarrassed both from the trammels of opinion under which they had in Europe been most concealously united and confused.

It was in this country, that the light of truth divided the duties which spring from relations to the divine and human natures, and separated the heterogenous mixture of temporal and spiritual ideas. Perhaps rough imitation, and the gradual operation of philosophical causes, the inequalities and harmonious combinations of religion in the united states may infuse, in the mind of European nations, the true spirit of religious freedom. But even in the united states, some alterations of moment, on this point, are demanded by the spirit of their constitutions.

It is not a little surprising, that, when the ardor of reform is extending itself in America, from political revolutions to those of religion, it could act on so limited a scale, as to exclude all but christians, from the blessings of an equal religious freedom to which all men are equally entitled.—If not restrained by the hostility of power, nor blinded by the prejudices of Europe, how much honour and advantage would not her character acquire by the adoption of enlightened a policy!

By the constitutions, all sects of christians are entitled to equal freedom. * This is wise; and when compared with what we see in most countries of Europe, it is highly liberal. There yet remains one step: when this is gained, America will be the philosophical theatre of the world. Christians are not the only people there. There are men be-

sides christians, who, while they discharge every social duty, are shut from the rights of citizenship. If this continues, it will have been in vain that the world hath offered the experience of her follies and her crimes and that human nature hath been so long devoted to its own errors. If there be a man in the empire excluded from the fullest rights of citizenship, merely on account of his religion, the law, which excludes him, is founded in force, and is A VIOLATION OF THE LAWS OF NATURE.

It is in vain that artful men argue from policy to the necessity of religious discriminations—of tests—in capacities—and invidious disqualifications. Policy is a poison that hath acted on the political constitutions of states, to the destruction of their principles, and, finally, to the subversion of their liberty. It is often little more than the passion of the day sanctified by law and sophistry. But men are not now in that suspicious state of hostility which once may have lent some apology for injustice and particular exclusions.

“For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight,

“His can’t be wrong, whose life is in the right.”

That government was made for man, and not man made for government, is a truth that should stand foremost in all political ideas of religion.

In the adoption or creation of ecclesiastical institutions, general principles have, in other countries, either escaped observation, or have been intentionally obscured or rejected as too immutable for the purposes of a policy, which temporized with change, and made error subservient the gratifications of ambition. Hence systems have been expedients, modes of faith the politic indulgence of prevailing weaknesses, or the instruments of slavery.

NOTE.

* *The writer is here in error*
Protestants, only, in some of the states,
are eligible to offices of trust and emolument. C.

America will never sacrifice to imitation the new duties she owes the human species, and for the discharge of which heaven hath offered her situations singularly happy. It is to nature she stands pledged for an impartial trial and a fair stage. She will not narrow the foundation of her happiness by mutilating religious freedom. Her schemes will be as liberal, as her fortunes have been glorious. Her situation is the first ever offered to mankind, wherein every right of nature, explored by the eye of science, may be indulged in a latitude unembarrassed by unsubstantial forms, and unshackled by civil or religious despotism. Opinion has not yet thrown obstacles in the path of investigation, nor obtruded on the minds of men a fashion of thinking, unconnected with the philosophy of things. Prejudice against particular sects is unknown. It is in this moment, when the principles of nature prevail, that America ought to spread wide the bottom of her future character; and nothing will contribute more powerfully to this end, than that unison of all her citizens, and fusion of their common rights, which equal religious freedom will create.

Unless the governments assume to themselves an inquisitorial authority, they cannot view the citizen in any other point of responsibility to them, than that which is formed by his civil relation. Until they prove an authority, derived from the laws of nature, or delegated from heaven, they cannot claim a cognizance of religion. As well might they ordain laws of honour, of taste, of sentiment, and of ethics, as prescribe the emotions of a devout heart.

Government is a modification of the laws of nature. These are unacquainted with the distinctions of religious opinion, and of the terms Christian, Mahometan, Jew, or Gentile. The constitutions, if they pur-

sue a just direction, will not violate common sense; nor cherish, by force, those injuries done to nature, which the light of the present day is able to disperse. They will throw down every barrier erected by the despotism of impassioned ignorance, and admit every sect, whom they admit at all, to the rights of citizenship. The governments are obliged to assent agreeably to the constitution. The constitutions tolerate none but christian sects: yet the policy of governments teaches them to invade all the world, while their disingenuous fears, by shutting out from most inestimable rights, half the human species, counteract their views and real interests. So little and gloomy a policy will be despised, and as the struggles of America have endeared her to the world, her principles, on all great points, will manifest a mind universally illumined. She will prove, by a freedom of universal religion, however varied in name or mode, that civil government is not supported by trick, mystery; and that civil happiness does not depend on undetected deceptions.

Religion hath not been so much interwoven, as inserted in her constitutions. It makes no part of state policy; and if it can be proved to be a subject totally beyond the reach of human cognizance, there will be no danger in removing every section which gives her governments the power of legislation over rights. If, after an alteration of this sort, governments still continue to consider themselves the guardians of religion, their guardianship will tend to an impartial protection of every sect on earth. If they exclude any sect, it must be because they possess the power delegated from such a right to part with such right, or because they may have discovered a sect, or class of men, created out of the cognizance of the laws of nature.

by these laws all men are equally bound. Government can be justified only in proportion as these acts only in proportion as these are consistent with the laws and views of nature. It can legislate on those rights only which may be suspended or delegated by the whole to a part of society. If there exist in the human mind after any relation, the rights of which cannot be delegated, government cannot be possessed of a right to legislate on those rights—it cannot set out a rule of conduct in a series of duties, which result from a relation over which it hath no cognizance. Should it be a proved maxim, that men give up, for civil purposes, a portion of the rights of nature, it will go to this only, that they yield that of which they have a right to divest themselves, for pursuit of happiness; but will never surrender a power in government, over which which could not be yielded.

It is the duty of every man to worship God in the manner which he may think most acceptable to himself. Religion is the worship of God. It is a duty arising from the relation of man to his Creator. Whether the religion professed be natural, or revealed, the evidence, which brings conviction, is submitted to the judgment of each professed. If faith be the bottom on which particular creeds stand, still less is religion under human controul. Rewards and punishments are the objects of all religions: to render these consistent with the divine attributes, and coöperative in this world, it is a necessary principle, that each individual be tried by his own merits. The evidence of every religion must

be received in a manner peculiar to the judgment of every agent, in a degree of conviction proportioned to its force, and to that peculiarity of temper, habit, and education, which hath so wonderfully varied the moral face of things.

Religion is a matter of opinion, and of sentiment. It is not a uniform conclusion drawn from a common sense of divine relation. If it were, there would be but one opinion on the subject: and government, could it gain a right, might have in it a more palpable instrument of policy, give less indulgence to its errors; and, by defining with accuracy the duties which arise from the relation of man to God, might, with less hazard, ingraft it on the general plan of policy and legislation. But this is not the case: as religion is the duty arising from the relation of man to God, and not from the relation of man to man, the mode of discharging this duty cannot be submitted to delegation. This mode forms a part of the duty; and is that secret communication with the divinity, which cannot be supported but by the mind which feels it. This duty is enjoined by the law of nature. The law of nature was anterior to civil regulations.

Whatever rights could not be the object of civil cognizance, still remain under the cognizance of the law of nature. It is clear, that whatever rights had a reference to the relation between man and man, might, for the good of the whole, be delegated by the whole to a part of society.

It is equally clear, that whatever rights were at once rights of the individual, and duties to his Creator, could not be delegated by the whole to a part. Such a delegation would have subverted that responsibility which supports the scheme of rewards and punishments. If the right of deciding on the duty to God

NOTE.

Constitution of the state of Maryland. Here are *general* premises. In subsequent sentence, is this *particular* conclusion, that "therefore all christians shall be entitled to worship God," &c.

could be delegated, the constituent would discharge himself from his responsibility. No man, then, can divest himself of the means whereby he forms that conviction, in the exercise of his free agency, from whence he deduces those duties, in the undelegated discharge of which, he rests his hopes of salvation.

The rights, which result from social and human relations, may be delegated. The rights, which flow from the relation of man to his Creator, can no more be delegated, than the discharge of religious obligations can be made by substitutes.

Civil government can be but the concentration of many wills. Its powers must be correspondent to the rights associated. This combination includes nothing which was not delegated. No rights can be delegated, which the social being could not surrender in trust. But the rights resulting from the relation of man to his Creator, cannot be surrendered to man; and therefore the rights of religion are unalienable.

Government, which legislates with a view to rights with which it is invested by delegation, can have no cognizance over the rights of religion, which are unalienable. As long as religion is held by its professors to be a secret communication with heaven, and submitted to as the monitor of moral conduct, government can have no just power of prevention, or patronage on the subject. When it forsakes its peculiar relation, and mingles with the relations to which it bears no analogy—when it assumes powers derogatory to the rights resulting from other relations, government, as the guardian of its own peculiar rights, will interfere, and secure to all an equal enjoyment of both civil and religious freedom.

An address to an assembly of the friends of American manufactures, convened for the purpose of establishing a society for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts, read at the university of Pennsylvania, Thursday the 9th of August, 1787, by Tench Coxe, esq. and published at their request †.*

Gentlemen,

WHILE I obey with sincere pleasure the commands of the respectable assembly whom I have now the honour to address, I feel the most trying emotions of anxiety and apprehension in attempting to perform so difficult and serious a duty as that prescribed to me at our meeting. The importance and novelty of the subject—the injurious consequences of mistaken opinions on it—and your presence, necessarily excite feelings such as these. They are lessened, however, by the hope of some benefit to that part of my fellow citizens, who depend for comfort on our native manufactures, and by an ardent wish to promote every measure that will give to our newborn states the strength of manhood. Supported by these considerations, and relying on the kind indulgence wh

NOTES.

* For the constitution of this society, see page 167.

† At a numerous meeting of friends of American manufactures Thursday evening the 9th of August 1787—the hon. Thomas Mifflin, in the chair:

Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be presented to Tench Coxe esquire, for his ingenious and excellent discourse, delivered before them, preparatory to the establishment of a society for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts; and that he be requested to furnish the secretary with a copy for publication. Extracted from the minutes. W. Barton,

ever shown to well-meant endeavours, however unsuccessful, I shall venture to proceed.

Providence has bestowed upon the united States of America means of happiness, as great and numerous as are enjoyed by any country in the world. A soil fruitful and diversified—a healthful climate—mighty rivers, and adjacent seas, abounding with fish, are the great advantages for which we are indebted to a beneficent Creator. Agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, naturally arising from these sources, afford to our industrious citizens certain subsistence and innumerable opportunities of acquiring wealth. To arrange our affairs in salutary and well-digested systems, by which the fruits of industry, in every line, may be most easily attained, and the possession of property and the blessings of liberty may be completely secured—these are the important objects, that should engross our present attention. The interests of commerce, and the establishment of a just and effective government, are already committed to the care of the AUGUST BODY* now sitting in our capital. The importance of agriculture has long since recommended it to the patronage of numerous associations, and the attention of all the legislatures; but manufactures, at least in Pennsylvania, have had but a few unconnected friends, till sound policy and public spirit gave a late, but auspicious birth to this society.

The situation of America, before the revolution, was very unfavourable to the objects of this institution. The prohibition of most foreign raw materials—considerable bounties in England for carrying away the unwrought productions of this country to that, as well as on exporting British goods from their markets—the

preference for those goods, which habit carried much beyond what their excellence would justify—and many other circumstances—created artificial impediments that appeared almost insuperable. Several branches, however, were carried on to good advantage. But as long as we remained in our colonial situation, our progress was very slow; and indeed the necessity of attention to manufactures was not so urgent, as it has become since our assuming an independent station. The employment of those, whom the decline of navigation has deprived of their usual occupations—the consumption of the increasing produce of our lands and fisheries—and the certainty of supplies, in the time of war, are weighty reasons for establishing new manufactures now, which existed but in a small degree, or not at all, before the revolution.

While we readily admit that, in taking measures to promote the objects of this society, nothing should be attempted, which may injure our agricultural interests, they being undoubtedly the most important; we must observe, in justice to ourselves, that very many of our citizens, who are expert at manufactures and the useful arts, are entirely unacquainted with rural affairs, or unequal to the expenses of a new settlement; and many, we may believe, will come among us, invited to our shores from foreign countries, by the blessings of liberty, civil and religious. We may venture to assert, too, that more profit to the individual, and riches to the nation, will be derived from some manufactures, which promote agriculture, than from any species of cultivation whatever. The truth of this remark, however, will be better determined, when the subject shall be further considered.

Let us endeavour, first, to disencumber manufactures of the objections, that appear against them, the

NOTE.

* *The Federal convention.*

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principal of which are, the high rate of labour, which involves the price of provisions—the want of a sufficient number of hands on any terms—the scarcity and dearness of raw materials—want of skill in the business itself—and its unfavourable effects on the health of the people.

Factories, which can be carried on by water-mills, wind-mills, fire, horses, and machines ingeniously contrived, are not burdened with any heavy expense of boarding, lodging, clothing, and paying workmen; and they multiply the force of hands to a great extent, without taking our people from agriculture. By wind and water machines, we can make pig and bar-iron, nail-roads, tire, sheet-iron, sheet-copper, and sheet-brass, anchors, metal of all kinds, gunpowder, writing, printing, and hanging paper, snuff, linseed oil, boards, planks, and scantling: and they assist us in finishing scythes, sickles, and woollen cloths. Strange as it may appear, they also card, spin, and weave by water, in the European factories. Bleaching and tanning must not be omitted, while we are speaking of the usefulness of water.

By fire, we conduct our breweries, distilleries, salt and potash works, sugar-houses, potteries, casting and steel furnaces, works for animal and vegetable oils, and refining drugs. Steam-mills have not yet been adopted in America; but we shall probably see them, after a short time, in New England and other places, where there are few mill seats, and in this and other great towns of the United States. The city of Philadelphia, by adopting the use of them, might make a saving of about five per cent. on all the grain brought hither by water, which is afterwards manufactured into meal: and they might be usefully applied to many other valuable purposes.

Horses give us, in some instances, relief from the difficulties we are en-

deavouring to obviate. They grind the tanners' bark and potters' clay. They work the brewers' and distillers' pumps; and might be applied, by an inventive mind, as the moving principle of many kinds of mills.

Machines, ingeniously constructed, will give us immense assistance. The cotton and silk manufactures in Europe are possessed of some that are invaluable to them. One instance I have had precisely ascertained, which employs a few hundreds of women and children, and performs the work of twelve thousand carders, spinners, and winders. They have been so curiously improved of late years, as to weave the most complicated manufactures. In short, combinations of machines, with fire and water, have already performed much more than was formerly expected from them by the most visionary enthusiast on the subject. Perhaps I may be too sanguine; but they appear to me fraught with immense advantages to us, and full of danger to the manufacturing nations of Europe: for should they continue to use and improve them, as they have hitherto done, their people must be driven to us for want of employment: and if, on the other hand, they should return to manual labour, we shall underwork them by those invaluable engines. We may certainly borrow some of their inventions: and others, of the same nature, we may strike out ourselves: for on the subject of mechanism, America may justly pride herself. Every combination of machinery may be expected from a country, a native son* of which, reaching this inestimable object, at its highest point, has epitomized the motions of the spheres that roll throughout the universe.

The lovers of mankind, supported

NOTE.

* David Rittenhouse, esq. of Pennsylvania.

by experienced physicians, and the opinions of enlightened politicians, have objected to manufactures as unfavourable to the health of the people. Giving to this humane and important consideration its full weight, it furnishes an equal argument against several other occupations, by which we obtain our comforts, and promote our agriculture. The painting business, for instance—reclaiming marshes—clearing swamps—the culture of rice and indigo—and some other employments—are even more fatal to those who are engaged in them. But this objection is urged principally against carding, spinning, and weaving, which were formerly manual and sedentary occupations. Our plan, as we have already shown, is not to pursue those modes, unless in cases particularly circumstanced: for we are sensible, that our people must not be diverted from their farms. Horses, and the potent elements of fire and water, aided by the faculties of the human mind, (except in a few healthful instances), are to be our daily labourers. After giving immediate relief to the industrious poor, these un-
hurtful means will be pursued, and will procure us private wealth and national prosperity.

Emigration from Europe will also relieve and assist us. The blessings of civil and religious liberty in America, and the oppressions of most foreign governments—the want of employment at home, and the expectations of profit here—curiosity, domestic unhappiness, civil wars, and various other circumstances—will bring many manufacturers to this asylum for mankind. Ours will be their industry and what is of still more consequence, ours will be their skill. Interest and necessity, with such instructors, will teach us quickly. In the last century, the manufactures of France were next to none: they are now worth millions to her an-

nually. The manufactures of England have been more improved within the last twelve years, than in the preceding fifty. At the peace of 1762, the useful arts and manufactures were scarcely known in America. How great has been their progress since, unaided, undirected, and discouraged! Countenanced by your patronage, and promoted by your assistance, what may they not be, ere such another space of time shall elapse?

Wonderful as it must appear, the manufacturers of beer, that best of all our commodities, have lately been obliged to import malt from England. Here must be an inexcusable neglect, or a strange blindness to our most obvious interests. The cultivation of barley should certainly be more attended to: and, if I mistake not exceedingly, the present abundant crop of wheat will so fill our markets, that the farmer, who shall reap barley the ensuing year, will find it the most profitable of all grains. We cannot, however, have any permanent difficulty on this article.

Of flax and hemp, little need be said, but that we can increase them as we please, which we shall do according to the demand.

Wool must become much more abundant, as our country populates. Mutton is the best meat for cities, manufactories, seminaries of learning, and poor houses; and should be given by rule, as in England. The settlement of our new lands, remote from water-carriage, must introduce much more pasturage and grazing, than have been heretofore necessary: as sheep, horses, and horned cattle, will carry themselves to market, through roads impassable by waggons. The restrictions of our trade will also tend to increase the number of sheep. Horses and horned cattle used to form a great part of the New England cargoes for the English West India island. These

animals are exported to those places now in very small numbers, as our vessels are excluded from their ports. The farms, capital, and men, which were formerly employed in raising them, will want a market for their usual quantity, and the nature of that country being unfit for grain, sheep must occupy a great proportion of their lands.

Cotton thrives as well in the southern states, as in any part of the world. The West-India islands and those states raised it formerly, when the price was not half what it has been for years past in Europe.—It is also worth double the money in America, which it sold for before the revolution, all the European nations having prohibited the exportation of it from their respective colonies to any foreign country. It is much to be desired, that the southern planters would adopt the cultivation of an article from which the best informed manufacturers calculate the greatest profits, and on which some established factories depend.

Silk has long been a profitable production of Georgia and other parts of the united states, and may be increased. I presume, as fast as the demand will rise. This is the strongest of raw materials, and the great empire of China, though abounding with cotton, finds it the cheapest clothing for her people.

Iron we have in great abundance, and a sufficiency of lead and copper, were labour low enough to extract them from the bowels of the earth.

Madder has scarcely been attempted; but this and many other dye stuffs may be cultivated to advantage, or found in America.

Under all the disadvantages which have attended manufactures and the useful arts, it must afford the most comfortable reflexion, to every patriotic mind, to observe their progress in the united states, and particularly in Pennsylvania. For a long

time after our forefathers sought an establishment in this place, then a dreary wilderness, every thing necessary for their simple wants was the work of European hands. How great—how happy is the change! The list of articles we now make ourselves, if particularly enumerated, would fatigue the ear, and waste your valuable time. Permit me, however, to mention them under their general heads: meal of all kinds, ships and boats, malt and distilled liquors, potash, gunpowder, cordage, loaf-sugar, pasteboard, cards and paper of every kind, books in various languages, snuff, tobacco, starch, cannon, muskets, anchors, nails, and very many other articles of iron, bricks, tiles, potter's ware, mill-stones, and other stone work, cabinet work, trunks and Windsor chairs, carriages and harness of all kinds, corn-fans, ploughs and many other implements of husbandry, saddlery and whips, shoes and boots, leather of various kinds, hosiery, hats, and gloves, wearing apparel, coarse linens, and woollens, and some cotton goods, linseed and fish-oil, wares of gold, silver, tin, pewter, lead, brass, and copper, clocks and watches, wool and cotton cards, printing types, glass and stone ware, candles, soap, and several other valuable articles, with which the memory cannot furnish us at once.

If the nations of Europe possess some great advantages over us in manufacturing for the rest of the world, it is, however, clear, that there are some capital circumstances in our favour, when they meet us in our own markets. The expenses of importing raw materials, which, in some instances, they labour under, while we do not—the same charges in bringing their commodities hither—the duties we must lay on their goods for the purposes of revenue—the additional duties, though small, which we may venture to impose without risking the corruption of

on the loss of the revenue by giving—the prompt payment our men receive—the long credits give on their goods—the sale of articles by the piece to the consumer, while they sell theirs by the piece to an intermediate purchaser—the durable nature of some American manufactures, especially of those—the injuries theirs often suffer from their mode of bleaching these things, taken together, will be an advantage of twenty-five *per cent.* on many articles, and will work the total exclusion of all others.

Besides the difference in the quality of American and European linens, arising from the mode of bleaching, there is a very considerable saving of expense from the same cause. It is a much and so powerful a sunshine that a great loss of time and expense in bleaching drugs and preparations; this will be sensibly felt in our prices of linen and cotton.

We must carefully examine the conduct of other countries in order to instruct ourselves of their methods of encouraging manufactories, and purchase of them, as apply to our situation, so far as it may be in our power. Exempting raw materials, dye-stuffs, and certain implements of manufacturing, from duty on importation, is a very proper measure. Premiums for useful inventions and improvements, whether foreign or American, for the best experiments on any unknown matter, and for the greatest quantity of any valuable raw material, must have an excellent effect. They would assist the efforts of industry, and hold out the noble incentive of honourable distinction to merit and genius. The state might with great convenience enable an enlightened society, established for the purpose, to offer liberal rewards in aid for a number of objects of this nature. Our funds of that kind are considerable, and almost dormant.

An unsettled tract of a thousand acres, as it may be paid for at this time, yields very little money to the state. By offering these premiums for useful inventions, to any citizen of the union, or to any foreigner, who would become a citizen, we might often acquire in the man a compensation for the land, independent of the merit which gave it to him. If he should be induced to settle among us with a family and property, it would be of more consequence to the state than all the purchase money.

It might answer an useful purpose, if a committee of this society should have it in charge to visit every ship arriving with passengers from any foreign country, in order to enquire what persons they may have on board, capable of constructing useful machines, qualified to carry on manufactures, or coming among us with a view to that kind of employment. It would be a great relief and encouragement to those friendless people, in a land of strangers, and would fix many among us, whom little difficulties might incline to return.

Extreme poverty and idleness, in the citizens of a free government, will ever produce vicious habits, and disobedience to the laws; and must render the people fit instruments for the dangerous purposes of ambitious men. In this light the employment in manufactures, of our poor, who cannot find other honest means of subsistence, is of the utmost consequence. A man oppressed by extreme want, is prepared for all evil: and the idler is ever prone to wickedness: while the habits of industry, filling the mind with honest thought, and requiring the time for better purposes, do not leave leisure for meditating or executing mischief.

An extravagant and wasteful use of foreign manufactures, has been too just a charge against the people of America, since the close of the war. They have been so cheap, so

plenty, and so easily obtained on credit, that the consumption of them has been absolutely wanton. To such an excess has it been carried, that the importation of the finer kinds of coat, vest, and sleeve-buttons, buckles, broaches, breast-pins, and other trinkets, into this port only, is supposed to have amounted, in a single year, to ten thousand pounds sterling, which cost the wearers above sixty thousand dollars. This lamentable evil has suggested to many enlightened minds a wish for sumptuary regulations, and even for an unchanging national dress, suitable to the climate, and the other circumstances of the country. A more general use of such manufactures as we can make ourselves, would wean us from the folly we have just now spoken of, and would produce, *in a safe way*, some of the best effects of sumptuary laws. Our dress, furniture, and carriages, would be fashionable, because they were American, and proper in our situation: not because they were foreign, showy, or expensive. Our farmers, to their great honour and advantage, have been long in the excellent, economical practice of domestic manufactures for their own use, at least in many parts of the union. It is chiefly in the towns that this thirst for foreign finery rages and destroys. There, unfortunately---the disorder is epidemic. It behoves us to consider our untimely passion for European luxuries as a malignant and alarming symptom, threatening convulsions and dissolution to the political body. Let us hasten, then, to apply the most effectual remedies, ere the disease becomes inveterate, lest unhappily we should find it incurable.

I cannot conclude this address, gentlemen, without taking notice of the very favourable and prodigious effects upon the landed interest, which may result from manufactures. The breweries of Philadelphia, in their

present infant state, require ten thousand bushels of barley annually, and, when the stock on hand is exhausted, English beer shall be consumed, and call for a much larger quantity. Could the use of malt liquors be generally introduced, it would, for many reasons, be a most fortunate circumstance. Without insisting on the pernicious effects of distilled liquors, it is sufficient for our present purpose to observe, that a thousand hogheads of rum and brandy mixed with water for common use will produce as much strong drink as will require one hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain to make an equivalent quantity of beer, besides horses, fuel, hops, and other articles of the country, which a brewery employs. The fruits of the earth and the productions of nature in America, are also required by various other manufacturers, whom we will remember without enumeration. But it is not in their occupations only, that these valuable citizens are engaged for our native commodities. The farmer and his brethren, who work in foreign articles, with their wives, children, and servants, necessarily consume in food and raiment a prodigious quantity of our produce, and the buildings, for the accommodation of their families and business, are principally drawn from our land. Their effects upon agriculture are of more consequence than has ever been supposed, by those who have not made the necessary estimates. How great are the benefits to the land interest which are derived from the manufactures that we may venture to assert, without apprehension of mistake, that the value of American productions, annually applied to their various uses, as just now stated, without including the manufacturers of flour, lumber, and bar-iron, is double the aggregate amount of all our exports in the most plentiful year with which providence has ever blessed this fruitful

untry. How valuable is this market for our increasing produce! How early does it evince the importance of our present plan! But we may venture to proceed a step further—without manufactures, the progress of agriculture must be arrested on the frontiers of Pennsylvania. Though we have a country practicable for roads, our western counties are yet unable to support them, and too remote, perhaps, to use land carriage of the most easy kind. Providence has given them, in certain prospect, a passage by water: but the natural impediments, though very inconsiderable, and the more cruel obstructions arising from political circumstances, are yet to be removed. The inhabitants of the fertile tracts adjacent to the waters of the Ohio, Potomac, and Susquehanna, besides the cultivation of grain, must extend their views immediately to pasturage, and grazing, and even to manufactures. Foreign trade will never take the fruits of their labour in their native state. They must manufacture for their own consumption; and when the advantages of their mighty waters shall be no longer suspended, they must become the great factory of American raw materials for the united states. Their resources in wood and water are very great; their treasures in coal are almost peculiar. As they cannot sell their grain but for home consumption, and must propagate sheep and cattle for the reasons above stated, their country will, in a short time, be the cheapest upon earth. Let us derive the reduction of provisions and raw materials, which even the present year will produce among them, and thence judge, with the necessary consideration, of the time to come.

How numerous and important, then, do the benefits appear, which may be expected from this salutary design! It will consume our native

productions now increasing to superabundance: it will improve our agriculture, and teach us to explore the fossil and vegetable kingdoms, into which few researches have hitherto been made: it will accelerate the improvement of our internal navigation, and bring into action the dormant powers of nature and the elements: it will lead us, once more, into the paths of virtue, by restoring frugality and industry, those potent antidotes to the vices of mankind, and will give us real independence, by rescuing us from the tyranny of foreign fashions, and the destructive torrent of luxury.

Should these blessed consequences ensue, those severe restrictions of the European nations, which have already impelled us to visit the distant regions of the eastern hemisphere, defeating the schemes of short-sighted politicians, will prove, through the wisdom and goodness of Providence, the means of our **POLITICAL SALVATION**,



Account of the silk mills at Derby, in England.

IN these mills are 26,586 wheels, and 97,746 movements, continually working, except on Sundays. This grand machine is disposed in four stories of large rooms, above each other: and the whole is actuated by one great water-wheel, which goes round three times in a minute. In each time of its going round, 73,728 yards of silk are twitted, so that in twenty-four hours, 318,504,960 yards are executed. The waterwheel is kept constantly going: but on Sundays, it is disengaged from all the rest of the work. Any part of these movements may be stopped without the least prejudice or interruption to the rest.

Wond'rous machine ! thy curious fabric shows
 How far the pow'r of human wisdom goes :
 Where many thousand movements all attend
 Upon a wheel, and on that cause depend.
 Sceptic, advance ! propose thy scheme of wit,
 That faith to reason always must submit :
 Whence learn'd these movements to obey command ?
 Who taught them how to roll, and when to stand ?
 Was it by chance this curious fabric came ?
 Or did some thought precede, and rule the frame,
 Worthy the mortal, on whose soul, confess,
 His great Creator's image stands impress ?
 Now turn from earth to heav'n thy doubting eyes,
 And read th' amazing glories of the skies !
 Worlds without number roll in diff'rent spheres,
 Keep to their seasons, and complete their years !
 Five thousand circuits, made with equal force,
 The earth has finish'd by its annual course.
 The sun dispenses beams of genial light,
 And lends his rays to cheer the gloomy night.
 Stupendous pow'r and thought ! enquire no more ;
 Own the FIRST MOVER ! and, convinc'd, ADORE !

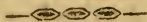


Estimate of the present value of the several manufactures of Great Britain.

THE woolen,	£. 16,800,000
Leather,	10,500,000
Flax,	1,750,000
Hemp,	890,000
Glass,	630,000
Paper,	780,000
Porcelain,	1,000,000
Silk,	3,350,000
Cotton,	960,000
Lead,	1,650,000
Tin,	1,000,000
Iron,	8,700,000
Steel and plating	3,400,000

Total, £. 51,410,000

These are estimated to give employment to upwards of five millions of people.



Account of Albion mill, erected near Blackfriar's bridge, in London.

THE particulars of this admirable work are as follow :
 Two fire-engines.

The cylinder, a thirty-six bore.

The length of the strokes five feet.

The number of the strokes, twenty in a minute.

There are to be thirty pair of stones.

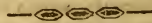
The diameter of the stones, seven feet.

The diameter of the log-wheel, seven feet.

There are to be twelve bol mills.

The consumption of coals for copper of each engine, five bushels an hour.

The quantity of work done by a pair of stones, five bushels of meal an hour.



The utility of manufactures.

[From a late London publication]
 THE raw materials of most manufactures, enhance their value in their improved state, beyond all computation,

One hundred pounds laid out in wool, and that wool manufactured into goods for the Turkey market, and raw silk brought home,

manufactured in England, would increase the hundred pounds to five thousand. This quantity of silk manufacture sent to New Spain, would turn ten thousand pounds.

The same may be said of a parcel of iron-stone; which, when originally dug from its natural bed, is not worth more than five shillings, but when manufactured into iron and steel, and thence moulded into all the various articles of iron ware, is capable of producing a sum of not less than ten thousand pounds.

Steel may be made near three hundred times dearer than standard gold, weight for weight: for six of the steel wire springs for watch penulums weigh but one grain, and, when appropriated by a skilful artist, they are each worth seven shillings and six pence sterling. This is two pounds five shillings, or five hundred and forty pence; for the whole: whereas a single grain of gold is worth no more than two pence:

Twenty acres of fine flax, manufactured into the dearest and most proper goods for foreign markets, may, on return, produce ten thousand pounds. One ounce of the finest Flanders thread has been sold in London for four pounds: and such an ounce, made in Flanders into the best lace, may be sold in London for forty pounds, which is about ten times the price of standard gold, weight for weight.

This fine thread is spun by children, whose feeling is nicer than that of grown people, by which they are capable of spinning such an exquisite thread, even smaller than the finest hair: and one ounce of that thread is said to reach in length sixteen thousand yards.



Essay on the promotion of American manufactures. By William Barton, Esq.

EVERY man must be convinced, that a people, who have re-
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course to foreign markets for almost every article of their consumption, can be independent in name only; and are incapable, under such circumstances, of becoming either great or prosperous. There is not, perhaps, any nation that is rendered so dependent, by nature. And yet, how extraordinary is it, that this country, to which providence has been peculiarly bountiful; in the distribution of those things that contribute to the convenience, ease, and happiness of man, should unnecessarily and wantonly give a preference to foreign commodities; although at the expence of the most important interests of the government and individuals! There is no country possessing greater natural advantages: and, consequently; no nation can be more respectable and happy than the united states may become, by a proper improvement of those advantages: but, to make the most of them, we must practise the virtues of industry and œconomy—virtues essential to the well-being of a republic. Our governments must also promote the introduction of useful manufactures and trades among us; and protect such as are already instituted. Thus we shall employ and enrich our own citizens; accelerate the population of an extensive and valuable country; and increase our national strength, dignity, and independence.

If we take a view of the various articles of trade and commerce, which our country supplies, and of the numerous and profitable manufactures and employments, which may be established in the several states, under due encouragement, we shall be convinced we may become, in a few years, a thriving, happy, and truly independent people. Previous to the late revolution, it was a favourite sentiment among Englishmen, and an opinion imbibed by too many Americans, that it was contrary to the interest of this coun-
G

try to carry on manufactures. However just the observation might have appeared to Englishmen, when applied to us as colonists, and a subordinate part of the British empire, it is totally inapplicable to us as a sovereign and distinct power. All the principal advantages that Europeans can derive from manufactures and mechanic arts, may be obtained by their introduction here. The inhabitants of America are supposed to double their numbers every twenty years: what, then, is to become of this vast increase of the inhabitants of our towns? They cannot be all labourers: and but a small part can engage in husbandry, the learned professions, or merchandize: consequently, the greater part must apply to trades and manufactures, or starve. Besides, it is to be supposed, that a very considerable proportion of the emigrants from Europe, hither, will be tradesmen, who are neither capable nor desirous of becoming farmers: and, in proportion to the encouragement manufactures receive, will be the accession of tradesmen and mechanics to us, from abroad.

Labour is dear in America, because the lands are thinly settled, in proportion to their extent: and this has been urged as a powerful reason, why we cannot manufacture to advantage. But it ought to be considered, that as population increases, (and this, it has been observed, is very rapidly), the price of labour will fall: and that, altho' our manufactures may, for some years to come, be higher than foreign ones, yet, as the price of the former would be paid to our own citizens, and that money be kept in the country, which would otherwise leave it, to return no more—we might thereby be better enabled to pay the advanced price for our own, than somewhat less for foreign commodities. It is, at any rate, our interest, as a nation, to

support those manufactures, in the first place, which are produced from the native productions and raw materials of the country, or from such as may be easily procured, and which require not much labour in proportion to the value. Many of the smaller kind might employ numbers of industrious poor, unfit for hard labour, and likewise women and children.

It is not necessary to add any further observations on this subject. The following LIST will, probably, suggest some additional reflections on this object of great national importance.



A list of raw materials and natural productions which now are, or may readily be, furnished by the united states of America; and of such articles, and branches of manufacture and the useful arts, as are best adapted to the resources and situation of the country—for home consumption and use, and for exportation.

ANCHORS,

Anvils,
 Andirons,
 Axes, (selling and broad)
 Adzes,
 Apparel, (wearing)
 Anniseeds,
 Apples,
 Augurs,
 Bar-iron,
 Beef, (salted and dried)
 Biscuit and ship-bread,
 Bricks,
 Buckskins, (dressed)
 Butter,
 Brass-foundry,
 Bell-foundry,
 Beer, ale, and porter,
 Bellows,
 Bagging,
 Bruiser, of hogs' bristles.
 Button-mould, of horn, bone, and wood,
 Beans,

Bees-wax,
 Buck-wheat,
 Black cattle,
 Bear-skins,
 Bristles,
 Barley,
 Books, printing of,
 Book binding,
 Bark (for tanning),
 Brass battery,
 Brass, (sheet)
 Castings of iron,
 Cabinet-ware,
 Cables and cordage,
 Carpeting,
 Callico-printing,
 Copper, sheet-copper, and copper
 coin, by authority,
 Copper-smiths' ware,
 Cotton,
 Cotton cards,
 Coaches, chariots, chaises, &c.
 Clocks,
 Compasses, for land surveyors and
 mariners,
 Cod-fish, (cured)
 Cheese,
 Cyder,
 Chocolate,
 Candles and candle-wick,
 Cottons, (printed)
 Cherry-tree plank and board,
 Carraway seed,
 Cedar ware,
 Coopers' ware,
 Carpenters' work,
 Carving and gilding,
 Checks, (linen and cotton)
 Deer-skins, made into gloves,
 breeches, &c.
 Dying of cotton, worsted, and li-
 nen yarn,
 Dying and scouring of silks and
 woolens,
 Drugs of various kinds,
 Dried peaches, apples, &c.
 Engraving of plate, copper-plates,
 seals, &c.
 Fans, (for winnowing corn)
 Feathers and feather-beds,
 Frying-pans, &c.
 Fennel-seed,

Furs and furriery,
 Fulling of woolens,
 Flax and flax-seed,
 Fish (salted and pickled)
 Fishing tackle,
 Fire-arms,
 Flour, of wheat, rye, buck-wheat, &c.
 Floor cloths, (painted)
 Fire-engines,
 Fire-shovels and tongs,
 Ginseng,
 Gartering, coach-lace, orrice, &c.
 Gun-powder,
 Glue,
 Glass-ware and window-glass,
 Gammons, hams, and bacon,
 Garden-seeds,
 Hosiery, (of thread, cotton, and wor-
 sted)
 Hoes, picks, and mattocks,
 Hair-powder,
 Hulled or pearl barley,
 Harpsichords, spinacts, &c,
 Hops,
 Hides,
 Horses,
 Hats, (beaver, castor, and felt)
 Hats, (chip, straw, &c.)
 Hemp,
 Harts' or bucks' horn, and shavings
 of ditto,
 Hogs' lard,
 Honey,
 Horn-plates, combs, powder-flasks, &c.
 Herbs, &c. of divers kinds,
 Herring (salted)
 Iron,
 Indigo,
 Indian corn,
 Juniper-berries,
 * Linens (coarse and some fine)

NOTE.

* " All parts of the linen manu-
 " facture, from the harvelling of
 " flax to the sale of the cloth, may
 " be performed by women, boys,
 " and girls : there will be, conse-
 " quently, no misapplication of
 " strength in this business." Bailey's
 treatise on the employment of poor
 in work-houses, and on the growth
 and culture of flax.

Lumber,
 Lime,
 Lamp-black,
 Lead, and lead shot,
 Linsey-woolseys,
 Leather, of various kinds,
 Live stock,
 Lasts and heels, for shoemakers,
 Mackarel, (salted)
 Mustard-seed, and mustard,
 Mill-stones,
 Mill-wright work,
 Masts, yards, and spars,
 Malt,
 Malt-liquors,
 Mill-saws,
 Mattrasses, of hair, wool, &c.
 Marble, and other stone-work,
 Metheglin,
 Millenary,
 Madder,
 Muslins, (coarse)
 Musical instruments, &c.
 Mathematical and optical instruments
 of divers kinds,
 Naval stores,
 Nails and spikes,
 *Nuts of divers kinds,
 Organ building,
 Oil, (train, walnut, linseed, &c.)
 Oats, and oatmeal,
 Onions and garlick,
 Pit-coal or stone-coal,

NOTE.

* These, and some other articles in the list, may appear too insignificant to merit notice. But, in commercial countries, every thing that may be employed in trade, deserves attention. The French send great quantities of chefnuts to foreign countries; particularly to the Dutch, who transport them to the northern parts of Europe. Why, then, may not the American chefnuts, walnuts, hickory nuts, anniseeds, apples, &c. be employed to the best advantage for the good of the country? There may, perhaps, be some articles which have escaped notice, and been omitted in the catalogue.

Pig-iron,
 Pork, (salted)
 Pease,
 Plate, (gold and silver, wrought)
 Plumbery, divers articles of
 Pot and pearl-ashes,
 Paper, (writing, printing, hanging, &c.)
 Pewterers' ware, divers articles of
 Potters' ware,
 Pasteboard,
 Parchment,
 Pitch,
 Pipes, (tobacco)
 Plane-stocks,
 Painting and glazing,
 Portrait, historical, and miniature painting,
 Rice,
 Rosin,
 Rhubarb, and other medicinal plants and drugs,
 Red lead,
 Roots of divers kinds,
 Ship and boat-building,
 Sail-cloth,
 Shoes and boots,
 Shoes, women's, of stuff and silk,
 Spirits, distilled from rye, barley, perfummons, peaches, &c. &c.
 Salt, (common)
 Sal ammoniac,
 Sal volatile,
 Shovels and spades,
 Soap,
 Ship-timber and plank,
 Scale-beams and steel-yards,
 Springs for wheel-carriages,
 Sickles and scythes,
 Silk, (raw)
 Staves and heading, and shingles,
 Snuff,
 Smiths' ware, and cutlery of various kinds,
 Straw hats, bonnets, mats, &c.
 Salt-petre,
 Sugar-refining, and sugar from the sugar-maple,
 Seine twine and pack-thread,
 Starch,
 Sealing-wax,
 Sassa-parilla,

ake-root,
assafras,
ins of divers kinds,
ys, (women's)
cking-bottoms,
ermaceri candles, &c,
dlery and harness,
eel-refining,
wing-thread,
ad, (salted)
eep,
rnerly-ware, (wooden)
allow,
ortoise-shell,
unnels, of locust, for ship-build-
ing,
obacco, and ditto for chewing and
smoking,
in-plate ware,
ypes, (printing)
iles,
ar,
urpentine,
imber, for buikling, &c,
runks,
apes,
mbrellas,
inegar,
erdigris,
enison hams,
Wheat,
oolens, (coarse and some fine)
ool-cards,
Vicker-ware,
Valnut plank and boards,
Vindfor chairs,
Vool,
White-lead,
Valking-sticks, of hickory, maple,
apple-tree, &c.
Whips,
Whale-bone,
Wood, for fuel, &c.
Vine, of currants, cherries, the
grape, &c.
Vasers,
Wheel-wrights' work, as waggons,
ploughs, harrows, &c.
Vatches,
Vire, of iron and brafs.

*Process for converting cast iron into
malleable iron.*

Milton, April 19, 1787.

Mr. Printer,

MY very valuable friend, mr. Adams, who embraces every occasion to promote the interest, as well as the honour of his country, has transmitted to me the enclosed letter, from mr. Hartley, to the commissioners of the British navy, respecting mr. Cort's *process for converting cast iron into malleable iron*. The subject is important to this country, and the process is interesting: I therefore recommend the publication of it, as a mean of diffusing a very useful discovery,

I am, your humble servant,

JAMES WARREN.

Golden Square, June 19, 1786.

Gentlemen,

I BEG your permission to transmit to you some observations upon mr. Cort's method of converting pig iron into good and malleable metal. I understand, that your board has instituted an enquiry into the proof of the facts, and that is my apology for presuming to offer to you the following observations upon the same subject, which were made upon the spot. The enquiry cannot be lodged in better hands than yours. I shall be very glad if the following remarks may in any degree contribute to illustrate the principles of this important discovery. The comparison of facts and principles together, is, in every case, the surest and safest road to proof.

Having heard last summer at Portsmouth yard, that mr. Cort had discovered a method of making the very best of iron out of common iron ballast, by a short and simple process, and that your board was disposed to give encouragement to him, I went to his works, and, as far as I could



judge, his invention appeared to me to be founded on simple principles, for reducing iron to its natural and best state, by the expulsion of all heterogeneous and unmetallic particles; the fundamental principle being, that iron is in itself a simple homogeneous metal, and that all iron is equally good when purified from heterogeneous and unmetallic particles.

The ordinary mode of converting cast iron to malleable iron, is by the use of a very great quantity of charcoal, which contains what the chymists call the phlogiston, and which has the quality of remetalizing demetalized particles, which are mixed up with iron while in fusion. The method used by mr. Cort is not by charcoal. He uses sea coal entirely, because it is not his principle to remetalize any of the demetalized particles, but to expel them.

The process, as I saw it three or four times over, is something to this effect:—Between two and three hundred weight of common iron ballast is melted in an air furnace with sea coal. When melted, it spits out in blue sparks the sulphur which is mixed with it. The workman keeps constantly stirring it about, which helps to disengage the sulphureous particles; and when thus disengaged, they burn away in blue sparks. In about an hour after melting, the spitting of these blue sparks begins to abate (the workman stirring it all the time) and the melted metal begins to curdle, and to lose its sensibility, just like soder when it begins to set. The cause of which I take to be this: the stirring not only disentangles the sulphur, but it gives opportunity for like to meet with like; by which means metallic particles meet and coalesce, never to separate again, and then they become unfusible. The unmetallic particles, which, being of a vitrifiable nature, contribute to fix the whole mass, are partly calcined,

and partly burnt away. The whole mass at the end of the first part of the process consists of metallic particles and dross sticking together, but not incorporated. The clotting of the metallic particles by the stirring about, may be compared to churning. As the stirring of cream, instead of mixing and uniting the whole together, separates like particles to like, so it is with the iron:—what was at first melted comes out of the furnace in clotted lumps, about as soft as welding heat with metallic parts and dross mixed together, but not incorporated. These lumps, when cold, resemble great cinders of iron. They are called loops.

The next part of the process is to heat these loops to the hottest welding heat in an air furnace, and to pass them under a great forge hammer, which by a few strokes at the very highest point of the welding heat, consolidates the metallic parts into a slab of malleable iron, about three feet and half long, and three inches square. The hammer, at the same time, expels and scatters the unmetallic dross. These slabs are brought to a welding point at one end. They are malleable iron, but still with a considerable mixture of dross.

The last part of the process is, to heat these slabs to the hottest welding heat in an air furnace, and then pass them through the rollers of a rolling mill: the slabs being extremely soft, at the highest point of welding heat, the force of the rollers consolidates the metallic parts into a single iron, and the dross is squeezed out and falls under the rollers. This completes the whole process; and thus in about six hours, I have seen a piece of common iron ballast rolled into a ship bolt. I have then seen this bolt laid hollow across the eye of a large forge hammer, and receive two hundred and fifty strokes of the heaviest sled

hammer; and thus bent double, without breaking, or suffering the least apparent injury.

I conceive the two principles of his invention to be, first burning off and calcining the sulphur and the de-metallized particles of ballast iron, instead of endeavouring to restore the metallized parts with charcoal at great expence, and still leaving the business undone; and, secondly, expelling the dross, and consolidating the metal, by squeezing it through the rollers, instead of the common mode of hammering, which requires considerable length of time, during which time, the metal loses the softness of a welding heat, and becomes so hard to surer the expulsion of the unmetallic parts. The common mode, therefore, operates with much less effect than Mr. Cort's mode, because it operates upon a less degree of heat and softness. It consolidates heterogeneous particles into the body of the iron, instead of expelling them by the expeditious and forcible impression of the rollers in the softest state of welding heat. It is to be observed, likewise, that the common blooms, as they are called, in ordinary forges of iron, are nearly three times as thick, and solid, as the slabs of Mr. Cort's process, and therefore much less affected by the blow of the hammer than his slabs are under the effects of the rollers. His slabs are small, soft, and ductile, and therefore easily suffer the expulsion of the dross by the squeezing of the rollers.

These appear to me to be the principles of Mr. Cort's discovery. They appear to be conformable to chemical reasoning, and to the general principles of metallurgy. The de-metallized particles of ballast iron, so de-metallized by the sulphur in the ore, form the alloy of iron; when the sulphur is carried off by the fire, and by stirring the metal about while in fusion, and when the alloy of unmetallic particles is expelled by the ap-

plication of the hammer and rollers in the softest state of welding heat; the metallic parts, thus kneaded and consolidated together, form the refined and homogeneous metal iron. Mr. Cort may therefore be said to have discovered for this country, an immense iron mine above ground, as all pig-iron, and common ballast iron, may, by this process, be purified into good metal. It is not improbable that this discovery may produce a great revolution in iron matters between imported and home made iron.

The proof of facts, which are stated to your board, from the proper officers employed by you in this enquiry, form the basis of the case. The illustration, which flows from this discussion of principles, confirms the interpretation of the facts into proofs of the merit of the invention; because those facts proceed through every stage of the process coherently with the principles which constitute the invention, and consistently with the general and acknowledged principles of metallurgy, and because the perfection of the metal results from the strict adherence in the operation to the principles of the process. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

D. HARTLEY.

To the principal officers and commissioners of his majesty's navy.



Reflections on the policy and necessity of encouraging the commerce of the citizens of the united states of America, and of granting them exclusive privileges in trade—said to be written by St. George Tucker, esq. of Petersburg.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following reflections were excited by an order of the British cabinet, dated July 2, 1783, and

soon after published in one of the gazettes of this commonwealth.

THE assembly of Virginia having passed an act, at their next session, authorising congress to prohibit the importation of British West India produce, except in American bottoms, it was thought unnecessary to communicate them to the public, as it was hoped the example set by the assembly of Virginia, would have been followed in the other states.

MEANTIME, the event but too fully justified the fears of the author: Several of his friends, to whom these observations were communicated, when first committed to paper, have made repeated applications to him, of late, to publish them. In compliance with their request, they are now submitted to the public eye: One observation, only, will the author venture to offer in their behalf, that they were dictated by no private views or consideration whatsoever. He laments very sincerely, that his situation did not permit him to obtain such necessary information as might have illustrated his subject in many instances, and more fully demonstrated its importance. An accurate account of the annual exports and imports of America, (or of any one state), with the number of vessels, seamen, &c. employed in her trade, would have thrown great light on his subject. He has been equally at a loss for materials in many other respects.

IT is difficult, if not impracticable, to investigate the remote consequences of national revolutions: yet their secret springs are in motion from their commencement. Thus, it may require some considerable period for those events, with which the late revolution is already pregnant, to manifest themselves. The politician will endeavour to trace them; and the patriot, to benefit his country by the discovery.

That glorious and important event

hath not produced a greater change in our form of government, than in our political interests. So long as we were colonies, dependent on Great Britain, the most meritorious subject was the man, whose talents were exerted to promote the interest and aggrandizement of the parent state: Was there an Englishman who did not avow, or was there an American hardy enough to controvert, this grand political maxim—that the interests of America must, in all things, be subservient to those of Britain? This doctrine was advanced in parliament by the late lord Chatham at the very time that America was erecting statues to his memory. But since this is no longer the basis of our political creed, he is the best citizen, whose aim is to advance the interest of his native country, to promote her happiness, to raise her consequence among the nations, and to defend her from foreign influence and insult, as well as from intestine jars, and the machinations of domestic enemies.

However inconsistent with the ideas of those, who feel a predilection for their former masters, and under the words, peace and reconciliation, couch the same meaning which, during the war, they affixed to violence and persecution, I shall venture to advance, as an opinion not to be controverted, that our late separation from Great Britain, after a violent struggle, on her part, to reduce us to unconditional subjection, renders her our NATURAL ENEMY. For, when a separation succeeds to an union of interests, the parties necessarily become rivals: so where an usurped authority hath been violently shaken off, a vindictive jealousy will remain in his bosom whose strength is unequal to his arrogance or ambition. Had America been subdued in the late contest, we might have eaten with our knives chained to our tables, as we are told

the Catalonians do at this day, for having espoused the cause of the house of Austria, during the contells for the Spanish succession. At any rate, we should have been abridged of many of those privileges, which we challenged as our birth-right, and which we have vindicated with our swords. Does ill success reconcile men's minds? It rather inflicts a malignant sting, against which prosperity is armed. Shall we then suppose that Britain regards America, as an independent nation, with a more favourable eye, than she would have done, if her numerous fleets and armies had accomplished the end of their mission?

If it be admitted, that Britain is the natural enemy of our liberty and independence, she must necessarily be the same to our political advancement, in every instance, but more particularly to our commercial interests. For, without an extensive territory, she is rich, powerful, and formidable among nations, whose territories are more extensive, more opulent, and more powerful, than her own. These advantages she derives from commerce, which, at this day, may be considered as the barometer of power: and the rise or declension of nations may be, in a great measure, ascertained by that standard. The Russian empire, now so formidable, was but a wilderness of barbarians, at the beginning of the present century. While the czar Peter was studying the art of ship-building, he was, in effect, laying the most solid foundation for the future greatness of his empire. A few years will shew us the fleets of Russia, pervading the utmost limits of the globe.

This opinion, with respect to commerce, may be controverted by those who deduce all their reasoning and examples from antiquity. Whence comes it, they will ask, that Rome, as well as many other nations of the old world, ascended, in turn, to the

pinnacle of human greatness, without the aid of commerce? or how does it appear, that she hath been peculiarly instrumental in the great work of erecting or demolishing empires? Without descending to an elaborate discussion of these questions, it will, I conceive, be a sufficient answer, to call the reader's attention, for a moment, to the revolution produced in the art and system of war, by the discovery of the virtues of the magnetic needle, with the use of the quadrant, and the invention of gunpowder.

The heroes of antiquity, marching at the head of numerous armies, bore down all before them, until an arm of the sea, or some wide river, was opposed to their progress: these were often insurmountable barriers to the career of victory. Cesar, it is true, passed over from Gaul to the conquest of Britain: and even before that time, the Romans had frequently traversed the Mediterranean with their fleets, and seem to have formed some idea of the importance of a naval superiority: yet their ships resembled the canoes of new Zealand, rather than the modern ships of war: and even in their naval engagements, the conflict was decided hand to hand, as on shore. Had Augustus, returning in triumph from the battle of Actium, encountered a modern fifty gun ship, he would never have ascended the imperial chair of Rome. The armed beaks of his triremes would have availed him as little, as the skill of his navigators would have done, in an attempt to cross the Atlantic ocean.

As the compass and quadrant enabled mankind to extend their commerce and navigation to regions before unknown, so the invention of gunpowder by the astonishing improvements in projectiles, to which it gave rise, co-operated with those discoveries in transferring the sinews of power, in a great measure, from the earth to the ocean—for the most
H

powerful of modern nations are those who support the greatest maritime force. This force cannot be supported without the aid of commerce: for navigation and commerce mutually promote and support each other. Hence it has become a maxim with all the maritime powers, to give every possible aid to those branches of their commerce which favour navigation. Upon this principle it is, that Britain gives a bounty to her ships which are engaged in the fisheries—a branch of trade which she considers as furnishing a nursery of seamen for her ships of war, and which, on account of the small profit it produces, would otherwise, probably, be engrossed by other nations, whose situations are more favourable for carrying it on.

From this wise attention to her commerce and navigation, Britain has gained that ascendant which first enabled her to arrogate to herself the proud title of mistress of the ocean; a title of such pre-eminence, that the whole scope of her politics seems to be directed to its support; and of all others the most formidable, so long as there remain sufficient wisdom and energy in her government to maintain it. To do this, the most ready and effectual means are, to undermine or engross the trade of every other nation. Her navigation-acts and her monopolies, are alike calculated to concentrate all the riches accumulated by her subjects in various quarters of the globe, within her own precincts. The American merchant, the West India planter, and the East India nabob, all *go home* to enjoy the fruits of their labours. Thus for more than a century, has she drawn into her vortex all the riches of those countries to which her subjects have had access, as dependencies upon her government. These last were mere factories, whose inhabitants toiled, not for their own benefit, but for the aggrandizement of

Britain. Virginia, at the commencement of the late war, was precisely in that situation. The merchants of London, Glasgow, Bristol, Whitehaven, and Liverpool, engrossed the whole trade of the colony. Was Virginia enriched by her produce? Quite the reverse. The monuments of her fertility and riches were only to be found in the possession of British merchants; the badges of poverty and dependence were worn by her own inhabitants. Britain, and Britain only, reaped those blessings which providence had destined for this country.

Should any one incline to doubt this position let him remember in what manner the trade of Virginia was conducted. The merchants of Britain not only brought into Virginia all foreign productions whatsoever, in British ships, but were the sole carriers of the produce of Virginia to the British markets. Hence they imposed whatever prices they thought fit, on the commodities which they vend, and gave just what they pleased for those which they purchased. Thus our markets, both in buying and selling, were wholly regulated as they thought fit. The trade of Virginia was a monopoly, from which her natives were wholly excluded. Let it not be supposed that I utter the dictates of an ill-founded prejudice. To minister to our luxuries, and encourage extravagance, was the policy of these people, so long as our estates were superior in value to the debt: a deed of trust or a mortgage closed the transaction*.

NOTE.

* Though the author in speaking of the evils resulting to America from her trade being engrossed by the British merchants, has confined his observations to the fatal experience of Virginia, he fears he might have drawn his examples also from other states in the union.

But it has been said, by some, that we are no longer in danger of such impositions, since, by the establishment of our independence, our trade cannot hereafter be limited, as heretofore, by acts of the British parliament.

Many reasons occur to me, why we should not too soon rest satisfied of our security. The long use of British manufactures has stamped a kind of predilection for them in our minds. A habitual intercourse with the merchants of that nation—the extensive credit which they can afford to give to those who deal with them—the scarcity of ships among us—the numbers which they own—together with the similarity of language and manners, and a long received opinion, that our commodities will sell better in British markets than elsewhere—are, I fear, but too just grounds for apprehending, that our trade may revert to its former defective channel. The last consideration, above enumerated, would certainly be of importance to a trading nation: but if our produce be exported by foreign merchants, of what consequence to us is the price they obtain? The profit is all their own: we have no interest in it.

In Hayes's gazette, of Sept. 27, 1783, there is an order of the British court, dated July 2, 1783, for regulating the intercourse between America and the British West India islands*; by which certain commodities,

NOTE.

* Whereas by an act of parliament, passed this session, entitled, “an act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the united states of America, and to give his majesty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his majesty's dominions, and the inhabitants of the said united states;” it is among other things enacted, that during the continuance of the said act, it shall

be lawful for his majesty in council, by order or orders, to be issued and published from time to time, to give such directions, and to make such regulations, with respect to duties, drawbacks, or otherwise, for carrying on the trade and commerce between the people and territories belonging to the crown of Great Britain, and the people and territories of the said united states, as to his majesty in council shall appear most expedient and salutary; any law, usage, or custom, to the contrary, notwithstanding: his majesty doth, therefore, by and with the advice of his privy council, hereby order and direct, that pitch, tar, turpentine, hemp and flax, masts, yards, and bowsprits, staves, heading, boards, timber, shingles, and all other species of lumber, horses, neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, and all other species of live stock, and live provisions, peas, beans, potatoes, wheat, flour, bread, biscuit, rice, oats, barley, and all other species of grain, being the growth or production of any of the united states of America, may (until further order) be imported by British subjects in British-built ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law, from any port of the united states of America, to any of his majesty's West India islands; and that rum, sugar, melasses, coffee, cocoa nuts, ginger, and pimento, may (until further order) be exported by British subjects, in British-built ships, owned by his majesty's subjects, and navigated according to law, from any of his majesty's West India islands, to any port or place within the said united states, upon payment of the same duties on exportation, and subject to the like rules, regulations, securities and restrictions, as the same articles by law are or may be subject and lia-

NOTE.

ported into those islands by *British subjects, in British-built ships, owned by British subjects, and navigated agreeable to their act of navigation*: the same order permits the exportation of certain West India produce to America under the like restrictions. It is observable here, that the permission hereby granted, is not to the citizens of America to trade with their islands, but a permission (in the grant of which, one would conceive, America should have been first consulted) for the inhabitants of their islands to trade with America.

I consider this edict as a declaration of the intentions and designs of the British cabinet with regard to America*. A member of the British cabinet, were he candidly to avow his sentiments, would probably express himself to this effect:—

“ Though our arms have not been
“ able to prevent the establishment
“ of the independence of America ;
“ it is in our power to render that
“ independence of little advantage
“ to her. While dependent upon
“ Britain, we never drew any reve-

NOTES.

ble to, if exported to any British colony or plantation in America. And the right honourable the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury, and the lords commissioners of the admiralty, are to give the necessary directions herein, as to them may respectively appertain.

* The order of council above-mentioned, has, from time to time, been renewed. An act of parliament, I have been told, has since passed, to the same effect. I have not seen it; nor have I seen the fishery and Newfoundland bill: but from what I have been told, the same principles are adopted throughout. The declining a treaty of commerce with America, is a further manifestation of the disposition of Great Britain towards America.

“ nue from America. Her trade was
“ the only source of those riches,
“ and of that consequence, which
“ Britain derived from her subjec-
“ tion. If, by any stratagem, we
“ can continue to monopolize her
“ trade, as heretofore, Britain can
“ suffer no injury whatsoever from
“ the American revolution. If the
“ profits of her trade centre not in
“ her own states, America will
“ ever be indigent and contemptible;
“ while the nation, which engrosses
“ her trade, will increase in wealth
“ and power, proportionate to her
“ poverty. She never can possess an
“ extensive navigation, until her
“ commerce be conducted by her own
“ citizens. Without an extensive
“ navigation, she never can become
“ formidable as a nation: for her
“ situation precludes her from ac-
“ quiring strength or consequence,
“ except as a maritime power. To
“ check or undermine her com-
“ merce, is, therefore, the most in-
“ fallible method of depressing her
“ as a nation. The present moment
“ is peculiarly favourable to our
“ purpose. She has been exhausted
“ by a long and burdensome war.
“ Her produce has perished on her
“ hands, for want of purchasers ;
“ while she has languished after the
“ productions and manufactures of
“ other countries. She will receive
“ with open arms, those who first
“ begin to trade with her: nor will
“ she scrutinize the terms on
“ which she is to deal. Our West
“ India islands have heretofore af-
“ forded a vent for many of her
“ commodities. Three-fourths of
“ her provision-trade, and almost the
“ whole of her grain trade, centered
“ there. This part of her commerce
“ having been long interrupted, she
“ will embrace, with avidity, the
“ first means of restoring it. Those
“ islands, also, produce many of
“ the habitual necessities of life. Let
“ it be our policy to permit our own

subjects to visit America in British ships, while we exclude American vessels from our islands. Hence a twofold advantage will accrue to Britain: we shall save the freight of our own commodities—shall be paid a freight on those we bring from America—regulate her markets as we please—and give an effectual check to any attempt, on the part of America, to advance in ship-building and navigation. It is as easy for us to engross the European trade. Those states, whose produce is adapted to our markets, have no ships of their own. If we prohibit the importation of the produce of one state of North America, in the ships of another, our own ships must necessarily become the carriers; and the ships of the trading states must perish, for want of employ, having no staple of their own to transport. Hence, it will follow, that we shall retrieve the advantages in our commerce with America, which we have imprudently lost; and shall effectually undermine and ruin those states, whose natural genius, enterprize, and circumstances, might otherwise have led them to become formidable rivals to the commerce of Britain.”

Such, avowedly, is the policy of Britain. Such are her interests, and such her designs, with regard to America. It therefore becomes the citizens of America to consider the most effectual method of counteracting this policy, and of defeating designs pregnant with her destruction. The present moment requires no less energy of council and of conduct, than the most critical epocha of the late war. For to what end have we established the name of independent states, if the name be all we have gained? Is it consistent with the dignity of sovereign states, to be controuled by foreign power? Is not

the essence of independence destroyed, the moment that we become in any manner subject to foreign influence? What avails it, that a British king and a British parliament have acknowledged our independence, if British counsels be permitted to sap its foundation? Let us tamely submit to be dictated to by Britain, with regard to our commerce, and what will be the immediate consequences of such a submission? The answer is but too obvious. Our whole trade will be engrossed by British merchants, to the utter ruin of our own citizens—our riches centre in Britain, to the absolute impoverishment of America—our ports be strangers to any ships but those of Britain—and we shall become as ignorant of ship-building and navigation, as the native Indians. Can a country thus situated preserve her independence? Who shall defend her from the attacks of any nation, whom ambition may prompt to undertake the conquest? or what combination of circumstances can long avert such an evil? We have fatally experienced the want of a naval force heretofore. We may, at a future day, deplore the want of an ally, to supply that deficiency, as formerly. Or, admitting that we could always obtain succour, what heart is so degenerate, as to wish, on all occasions, to have recourse to its aid? The surest means of obtaining it in the hour of danger, is to guard against the necessity of asking it, and to be in a situation, if called upon, to afford reciprocal aid to others.

What then are the measures to be adopted, on the part of America, in order to this desirable end? The answer is not difficult: A reciprocal conduct towards those nations, which have not yet entered into any commercial treaties with her, and a steady adherence to those maxims and

that policy, by which other maritime nations have acquired and maintained their ascendancy.

Upon this principle of reciprocity, I conceive, that the soundest policy, would direct us absolutely to prohibit the importation of British West India commodities, except in ships built in the united states of America, and owned by the actual citizens of these states.

The effect of this measure would be, that, as America affords a vent for a considerable proportion of the produce of those islands, Britain must either admit our vessels into her ports in the West-Indies; or open to us free ports in some of her islands; or bring her West-India produce to some intermediate neutral port; or sacrifice the interests of her islands, to the policy of restraining America, from being concerned in navigation at all.

It is probable, she will not adopt either the first or the last of these measures; and, unless she adopt one of these, or open free-ports to us in her own islands, the third will be a necessary consequence: for her islands must and will find a vent for their produce to our markets: they also must and will be supplied from America with those articles of consumption, which they have heretofore had from the united states, and which Canada and Nova-Scotia, with all the aid to be drawn from patronizing acts of parliament, will not, for many years, if ever, be able to furnish them with.

The consequence of this measure to America will be this. If Britain open her West-India ports entirely, we shall be able to contend with her ships for our share of the carrying trade. If she assign us a few free ports, the case will be the same. If she neglect to do either, our vessels will have three fourths of the carrying trade, and hers one-fourth: for there is no neutral port whither her

West-India subjects can repair, to vend their produce, and purchase ours, but is three times nearer to the islands than to any part of America, north of South Carolina. In short Britain can by no possible means prevent a beneficial intercourse between America and the British West-Indies, if America should once refuse admittance to the produce of those islands, except in *American bottoms*. For as such an intercourse will be equally beneficial to the islands as to us, if it be not permitted by law, means will be fallen upon, on their part, to evade the operation of the law.

This principle of reciprocity should be extended to every case wherein an attempt is made to exclude us from a share in the carrying trade, or, in other words, from navigation*. For wherever we find an act of parliament permitting the importation of our commodities into their colonies, we may safely draw one conclusion, *that those colonies cannot do without our commodities*. On the other hand, where the produce of the colonies is permitted to be exported directly to America, we may safely conclude, that this measure is dictated on a similar principle; *that America is the only market where a vent can be found for them*.

This is the true ground-work of the conduct of the court of Great Britain. They will permit their colonists to trade to America, so long as such an intercourse holds forth a

NOTE.

* By what I have heard of the fishery and Newfoundland bill, the principles adopted in it, are precisely the same with those in the West India bill. I have seen neither; but am informed, that the ground-work of both is to exclude American vessels from any British colony, though they freely import American produce.

mediate national advantage to themselves. Let Canada and Nova Scotia supply the West Indies with lumber and provisions; let America omit to be excluded from her share of the carrying trade; and the next thing we should hear of, would be an act of parliament prohibiting all intercourse whatsoever between the West Indies and America; and every article of West India produce, confined in America, would be brought thus from the island of Great-Britain, saddled with the additional charges of double freight, commissions, duties, and adulterations.

It has been the policy of every nation whose situation has permitted the hope of becoming a maritime power, to grant to her own subjects citizens certain exclusive privileges in trade. America, with a most extensive sea coast, and detached as this is from other nations, by a wide ocean, or deserts unexplored, must necessarily turn her attention to this object, and possesses every advantage which can possibly be required to promote a nation to the zenith of naval power. She possesses within herself the materials for ship-building, a fruitful soil, a valuable staple, numerous bold navigable rivers, and a stry on her coast. What then is wanting to enable her at once to rear her head, and assert her consequence amongst the nations of the earth? Nothing but salutary regulations in favour of her own citizens. Even Britain, at this day the first commercial nation in the universe, but two centuries past was scarcely heard of as a trading nation. Her own history inform us, that in the days of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles the Dutch had engrossed the trade of that island, as much as the Scotch had that of Virginia before the revolution. Cromwell, by the act of navigation, which is now emphatically the palladium of British commerce, first retrieved it, and laid the

foundation of its present flourishing state in that kingdom. Let us adopt that act as a pattern, and strictly adhere to principles, of whose efficacy we have so stupendous a monument before our eyes.

Upon this principle, the first object of America should be to encourage ship-building.

Nothing can so effectually promote this as the exempting ships built in America, from the payment of port, or all the duties which may be imposed on goods imported into these states from foreign nations.

Suppose, for example, that congress in their wisdom should recommend, and all the states adopt, the measure of imposing a duty of ten per cent. ad valorem, on all goods whatsoever, imported into any or either of the united states, from foreign parts, for the purpose of enabling the government to encourage the commerce of their own citizens and of such nations as have or shall enter into commercial treaties with us.

Let us then suppose, that a drawback of two and a half per cent. ad valorem, be allowed, where such goods are imported in the ships of nations, with which America is connected by treaty.

Next, let us suppose that a further drawback of two and a half per cent. ad valorem, be allowed on goods imported in ships built in America, by whomsoever owned, whether American citizens or foreigners.

Afterwards, let us suppose a further drawback of two and a half per cent. ad valorem, on all goods imported in American built ships, and owned by American citizens.

Lastly, let us suppose the whole duty taken off by each of the states, where goods are imported in ships built in that particular state, into which the goods are brought.

Here it is obvious to the meanest

comprehension, that the citizen of America, who imported his goods in a vessel built in the same state, would be able to undersell the person importing his goods in a vessel belonging to another state, two and a half per cent. He could undersell a foreigner, importing goods in an American ship, five per cent.—and a foreigner, of a nation in amity and alliance with America, importing his goods in a foreign built ship, seven and a half per cent. But he could undersell a merchant from a nation not in alliance with America, ten per cent. on the value. This would have one of two good effects. Foreigners would employ our vessels in their trade; or they would no longer be able to exclude our own citizens from a share in it.

Again, let us suppose, that, on the like recommendation, the several states were to impose a tonnage on all vessels whatsoever, except such as were built in their respective states.

That one fourth part of this tonnage be taken off, in favour of ships owned by citizens or subjects of nations in alliance with America.

That one half should be taken off, where such ships should appear to have been built in any of the united states.

And that three-fourths should be taken off, where the ship had been built in America, and was owned by citizens of the united states.

What a prodigious encouragement to ship-building would this measure hold forth, even if the tonnage, in its greatest extent, should not exceed five shillings our currency! * A ship of three hundred tons, trading to the place where she was built, would save seventy-five pounds every voy-

NOTE.

* The tonnage on all foreign ships in France, is one hundred sous, or five livres. In England, I am told, it is nearly five shillings sterling.

age, more than a foreign ship, from a nation not in alliance with us. The saving would be attended with the most important consequences to America.

Many regulations of this kind might be introduced in favour of the commerce of America, which it neither within the design, nor could it be within the compass of the sheets, to point out. The governing principle, in all measures of this nature, should be, to encourage and advance commerce among our actual citizens, and enable them to trade upon equal terms, at least, with foreigners.

The advantages at present possessed by foreigners, are not a few. Large capitals, and extensive credit, are not among the least of these. the assistance of this last, a British merchant can trade for five times amount of his real capital. The American, on the contrary, can command the whole, perhaps not fourth part, of his, on any emergency. Again, the British merchant borrow money at four per cent. The American can borrow it on terms whatsoever. If he gain a good credit, he must pay a higher interest for it, than the British merchant pays for ready money lent to him. Moreover, the British merchant, on a partner, purchases his goods himself, and saves the commission. He has a ship, which has been in the government service during the war, in which he can get no employment but in our trade. This is the case, almost, as saving the freight of his goods, too: for his ship would probably perish at his wharf, if not thus employed. Even in the article of insurance, another advantage accrues to him; for by the intricacies of those, whose interest it is to injure and depress America, a rate has been industriously circulated that our ships are made prizes of the states of Barbary. Whatever the

lation there may be for the report, it hath certainly affected the insurance on American ships bound to any part of Europe, and tends to bridge us wholly of any trade in any part of the Mediterranean. To these advantages, add those, which, as a British subject, he is entitled to in England, through the wise provisions of this act of navigation above referred to, as well as many other subsequent acts, and we shall find that the scale preponderates greatly in his favour. So that the British merchant enjoys a multitude of superior advantages in his own country, and, in America, he is upon equal terms with our citizens. Is it not obvious, then, that he can undermine and ruin the American trader, since he can sell cheaper than the other, while his profits are five times greater?

This is an alarming circumstance; and deserves to be fully considered: for we should bear in mind one thing on which the prosperity of our country depends—it is this great truth, that the gains of our own citizens augment and increase the common stock: while the gains of the British merchant impoverish America, and enrich her natural enemy.

From the indiscriminate admission of foreigners to the rights of citizenship, perhaps it may be somewhat difficult to exclude them from a participation of those privileges which are here recommended to be granted to actual citizens only. The wisdom of the several legislatures on the continent must be exerted to prevent a blessing being turned into a curse. In the interim, any regulations respecting ships, built in America, will not be subject to such perversion.

Those, who have not been concerned in commerce, can scarcely form an idea of what importance to America, the transportation of her own commodities to market will be, or how much may be annually saved to the states from that circumstance

alone. It may suffice to shew how much is now likely to be annually lost by the exportation of tobacco, alone, in foreign bottoms, unless the impending evil is averted.

Virginia and Maryland before the war exported about eighty thousand* hogheads of tobacco annually, the freight on which was computed at forty shillings sterling, per hoghead, and amounted to the enormous sum of 160,000*l.* sterling annually. It is in our power, by wise regulations, to save the greater part, perhaps the whole of this sum to America. But if we suffer foreign nations to carry our produce to market for us, this sum is irretrievably lost to us. If we would allow that the freight on tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland, is equal to one fifth part of the freight on the whole of the exports from, and imports to, all the thirteen states, the sum saved to America by carrying her own produce to market, and bringing back the returns in her own vessels, would amount to 800,000*l.* sterling annually. This calculation, I am persuaded, is much too low; yet it is high enough to shew the great importance of the subject, considered in the light of profit alone. Add to this, the annual profits which accrue to the merchant, and we might fairly conclude, that America will lose little less than two millions yearly, if her trade should be engrossed by foreigners, in exclusion of her own citizens; and that this must and will happen, without the interposition of the government, is but too evident from the reasons herein advanced.

NOTE.

* It has been computed, that there were about three hundred ships employed in the tobacco trade alone, before the war—these would require about four thousand seamen to navigate them.

Before I conclude, let me call the attention of my reader for a moment to the debt due from America to the subjects of Great Britain, which I have heard estimated at four or five millions of pounds. This debt was accumulated from a balance in trade, annually accruing to Great Britain, from the causes herein before pointed out. That trade must be destructive, where such a balance continually arises against us. Surely it is proper to guard against such an event in future. This might be effected in part perhaps, by laying heavy duties, if not actual prohibitions, on the importation of such articles as are the produce of the united states. Is it not surprising, for example, that bar iron, lead, saltpetre, leather, train-oil, tallow, candles*, soap, malt liquors, butter, beef, pork, and potatoes, should constitute a part of the annual imports from Europe to America?

To those whom early prejudices have taught to consider commerce as a bane, let me address a few words. The establishment of our independence calls upon us to act with the provident circumspection and foresight of a nation laying the foundation of its future character. Our views should be extended far beyond those narrow limits, which were rigidly prescribed to us while dependent colonies. The only means by which nations can rise into consequence, are, by their arms, or by their commerce. The genius, constitution, and situation of America preclude every idea of the former, while they naturally prompt her to resort to the latter: so long, therefore, as the dominion of the sea shall be worth contesting, commerce will be found to

NOTE.

* I have seen candles imported into America from Russia, since the peace!

be the only road, by which America can arrive at opulence and power.

COLUMBUS.

POSTSCRIPT.

THE preceding observations (with a few exceptions only) having been committed to paper above eighteen months ago, it is hoped that a short postscript may be excused.

The reader has been informed that these reflections were first excited by the order of the British council, mentioned page 267—an extract from a British pamphlet printed in the same paper † confirmed the alarm which

NOTE.

† “The lumber of these colonies,” says the author, viz. Canada and Nova Scotia, “is the best in America. Some little time may be necessary before a full supply of all the articles they can produce, will be obtained; but it will be better for this country to allow a bounty on lumber, conveyed in British vessels from Canada and Nova Scotia to the West Indies, for a limited time, than to sacrifice our carrying trade; also a bounty on building ships in Canada and Nova Scotia, to be employed in the fishery or carrying trade to the West Indies; also a small bounty, for a limited time, on making wheat into flour in Canada; to encourage milk there, and to supply the fisheries with bread and biscuit.

“Under the article of corn, it has appeared how amply Canada can supply our islands. It appears also, that no part of the world furnishes greater advantages for ship building. The oak of Canada is heavier and much more lasting than that of New England. In short it is unquestionably a fact, that Nova Scotia and Canada will soon become capable, with a little encouragement, of supplying

his order of council had excited in the breast of the author.

NOTE.

our islands with all the shipping, fish, timber and lumber of every kind, and with mill or draught horses, with flour, and several other articles they may want; and Bermuda shipping may supply the islands with such articles as will be wanted from the southern states, viz. Indian corn, rice, and the little tobacco that may be necessary in addition to what is grown in the West Indies, for the negroes." Farther on he says,

"It appears from what has been stated, that there will be no difficulty with respect to lumber and provisions, except in the beginning, and that may be obviated. British shipping must go from our islands and colonies to the American states, and cannot be refused admittance on the same footing as in other foreign countries. We should not admit into our ports, in Britain, the produce of one of the American states in the shipping of another, unless they allow the shipping of Canada and Nova Scotia also to carry the produce of the states. If they should refuse it, they will lose the market of our islands, of which they might always have a share through our shipping. But no mandate of congress will prevent those of the states, whose interest it is, from supplying us with any article we want.

"In competition with the American states, Canada and Nova Scotia will have many exclusive advantages. We must reserve to our remaining colonies those to which they are entitled. The inhabitants of Nantucket, and the fishing coast, will migrate to Nova Scotia, for the sake of the superior advantage of our fisheries, and from other parts of the American states for different advantages, which British subjects should exclusively have; but if we do not

Since that time he hath with the utmost mortification observed, that his apprehensions were but too justly founded. He has also had frequent occasion to remark from the English prints, that, that nation makes no secret of her intentions to crush the commerce and navigation of America. Merchants of the most extensive credit and solid capitals, have, since that time, been obliged to sell their ships for want of freight, while British vessels have filled every port in America, and departed laden with her produce, to vend in any part of the globe they think proper. British refugees have returned in

NOTE.

reserve those advantages to our colonies, not content with the irreparable and for ever debasing sacrifice of the loyalists and their property to the rebels, we continue to hold out a premium for rebellion. But if our remaining colonies are put on a proper footing, nothing can be more destructive to their interest than a separation from us by revolt or conquest.

"It will not be an easy matter to bring the American states to act as a nation; they are not to be feared as such by us. Their climate, their staples, their manners are different, their interests opposite, and that which is beneficial to one, is destructive to the other. In short, every circumstance proves, that it will be extreme folly to enter into any engagements, by which we may not wish to be bound hereafter. It is impossible to name any material advantage the American states will or can give us in return, more than what we of course shall have. No treaty can be made with the American states that can be binding on the whole of them. No treaty that could be made, would suit their different interests; when treaties are necessary, they must be made with the states separately."

swarms ; and, strange to tell, have been permitted to continue peaceably among the very people whom they had injured and insulted, beyond the term stipulated by the treaty of peace. British factors are spread over the whole face of the country, engrossing and forestalling the staple commodities thereof, to the great prejudice of the planter, as well as of the fair trader. The former is injured, without knowing it at the time—the latter feels the stroke immediately. These evils have not been confined to any particular state ; they have been felt throughout, and heavily complained of in many. The commercial states of the north and eastern parts of the continent, have first felt the blow, which is aimed at the *whole*, and which the *whole* will severely feel, unless the *whole* unite to ward it off. Have we not seen every overture on the part of America to form a commercial treaty with Britain, treated with contempt ? Has not the prime minister of that nation declared in parliament, that he saw no reason for entering into any commercial treaty with America, since Britain could obtain nothing by such a treaty, which she would not *acquire from the very nature of things alone* ? Has not the same minister declared, that Britain could not *possibly gain* any thing, but *might lose*, by a treaty with America. Surely these things are not hard to be understood : for it is a fundamental principle, in such treaties, that there shall be mutual advantages secured to both nations. The British minister has found, that he already possesses every advantage for which he could wish to stipulate. Let us beware, then, of a treaty that may not only abridge us of what we have already, but may restrain us from future encroachments ! This is the true interpretation of such language and conduct, on the part of Britain.

I trust it is now evident to every

person of reflection, that America stands in so critical a predicament at the present moment, that nothing but that wisdom and unanimity of council, and energy of execution, which saved her from the fierce attacks of Britain, can now secure her from the effects of those engines which she is secretly exercising for her destruction. This can only be effected by granting to the united states in congress, the powers necessary for this end—for no partial engagements, by the individual states, can possibly answer the purpose fully : yet it is not impossible that some salutary regulations, which might in the mean time be adopted in the several states, would, in some measure, check, though they might be insufficient to remedy the evil.

Virginia, July 16, 1785.



The constitution framed for the united states of America, by a convention of deputies from the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, at a session begun May 14, and ended September 17, 1787.

WE, the people of the united states, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the united states of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION I.

ALL legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a congress of the united states, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SECTION II.

1. The house of representatives shall consist of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states : and the electors, in each state, shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.
2. No person shall be a representative, who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and seven years a citizen of the United States ; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.
3. Representatives, and direct taxes, shall be apportioned among the several states, which may be included in this union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States ; and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand : but each state shall have at least one representative : and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to three ; Massachusetts eight ; Rhode Island and Providence plantations one ; Connecticut five ; New York six ; New Jersey four ; Pennsylvania eight ; Delaware one ; Maryland six ; Virginia ten ; North Carolina five ; South Carolina five ; and Georgia three.
4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.
5. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other

officers ; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.

1. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years : and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year ; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year ; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year : so that one third may be chosen every second year. And if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States ; and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate ; but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

4. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside : and no person shall be convicted, without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

5. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under the united states. But the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof: but the congress may, at any time, by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.

1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business: but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings; punish its members for disorderly behaviour; and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings; and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy: and the yeas and nays, of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for

more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.

1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for the services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the united states. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest, during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to, and returning from the same: and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office, under the authority of the united states, which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased, during such time: and no person, holding any office under the united states, shall be a member of either house, during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.

1. All bills, for raising revenue, shall originate in the house of representatives: but the senate shall propose or concur with amendments, on other bills.

2. Every bill, which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the united states. If he approve, he shall sign it: but if he shall return it, with his objections, to that house, in which it shall have originated, who shall enter objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered: and, if approved by a

ards of that house, it shall become a law. But, in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays : and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill, shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president, within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return ; in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the president of the united states ; and, before the same shall take effect, be approved by him ; or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of both houses, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.

The congress shall have power

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence, and general welfare, of the united states : but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the united states.

2. To borrow money on the credit of the united states.

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes.

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the united states.

5. To coin money ; regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin ; and fix the standard of weights and measures.

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities

and current coin of the united states.

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads.

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries.

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court.

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations.

11. To declare war ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; and make rules concerning captures on land and water.

12. To raise and support armies. But no appropriation of money for that use, shall be for a longer term than two years.

13. To provide and maintain a navy.

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces.

15. To provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions.

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the united states : reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by congress.

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square), as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the united states ; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of

forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings : and

18. To make all laws, which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the united states, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.

1. The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the states now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress, prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight : but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another : nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law : and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money, shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the united states :—And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of congress, accept of

any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION X.

1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation ; grant letters of marque and reprisal ; coin money ; emit bills of credit ; make any thing but gold and silver coin tender in payment of debts ; pass a bill of attainder, ex post facto law, law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary in executing its inspection laws ; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the united states ; and such laws shall be subject to the revision and controul of the congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or under such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION I.

1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the united states of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years ; and, together with the vice-president chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives, to which the state may be entitled in the congress. But no senator, or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit, under the united states, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective states; and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the united states, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president: and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list, the house shall in like manner choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person, having the greatest number of votes of the electors, shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more, who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice-president.

4. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the united states.

5. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the uni-

ted states, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president. Neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the united states.

6. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president; and the congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president: and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

7. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished, during the period for which he shall have been elected: and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the united states, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

“ I do solemnly swear (or affirm)
“ that I will faithfully execute the
“ office of president of the united
“ states; and will, to the best of my
“ ability, preserve, protect, and de-
“ fend the constitution of the united
“ states.”

SECTION II.

1. The president shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the united states, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the united states. He may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officers in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices: and he shall have power to

grant reprieves and pardons, for offences against the united states, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power; by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the united states, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen, during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.

He shall, from time to time, give to the congress information of the state of the union; and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them: and, in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper. He shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the united states.

SECTION IV.

The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the united states, shall be removed from office, on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors,

ARTICLE III.

SECTION I.

The judicial power of the united states shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts, as the congress may, from time to time ordain and establish. The judges both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the united states, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the united states shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, and between citizens of different states, claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases, affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury: and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed: but when committed within any state, it

shall be at such place or places the congress may by law have designated.

SECTION III.

1. Treason against the united states shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION I.

Full faith and credit shall be given, to each state, to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.

1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person, held to service or labour in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECTION III.

1. New states may be admitted by

the congress into this union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state—nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states—without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

2. The congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the united states; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the united states, or of any particular state.

SECTION IV.

The united states shall guarantee to every state in the union, a republican form of government; and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress; provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engage-

ments entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the united states, under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the united states which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the united states, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges, in every state, shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives beforementioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the united states and of the several states, shall be bound, by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the united states.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the united states of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, pref.
and deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

John Langdon,
Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Nathaniel Gorham,
Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.

William Samuel Johnson,
Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.

Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.

William Livingston,
David Brearly,
William Paterson,
Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Benjamin Franklin,
Thomas Mifflin,
Robert Morris,
George Clymer,
Thomas Fitzsimons,
Jared Ingersoll,
James Wilson,
Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE.

George Reed,
Gunning Bedford, junior,
John Dickinson,
Richard Bassett,
Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND.

James M^cHenry,
Daniel of St. Thomas Jeni,
Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA.

John Blair,
James Madison, junior.

NORTH CAROLINA.

William Blount,
Richard Dobbs Spaight,
Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

John Rutledge,
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney,
Charles Pinckney,
Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.

William Few,
Abraham Baldwin.

Attest. *William Jackson, sec'y*

convention, Monday, September 17th, 1787.

P R E S E N T,
the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Mr. *Hamilton* from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia :
Resolved,

THAT the preceding constitution be laid before the united states in congress assembled, and that it is the opinion of this convention, that it should afterwards be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification; and that each convention assenting to, and ratifying the same, should give notice thereof to the united states in congress assembled.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this convention, that as soon as the conventions of nine states shall have ratified this constitution, the united states in congress assembled should fix a day on which electors should be appointed by the states which shall have ratified the same, and a day on which the electors should assemble to vote for the president, and the time and place for commencing proceedings under this constitution. That after such publication, the electors should be appointed, and the senators and representatives elected. That the electors should meet on the day fixed for the election of the president, and should transmit their votes certified, signed, sealed, and directed, as the constitution requires, to the secretary of the united states in congress assembled. That the senators and representatives should convene at the time and place assigned. That the senators should appoint a president of the senate for the sole purpose of receiving, opening, and counting the votes for president; and, that after he shall

be chosen, the congress, together with the president, should, without delay, proceed to execute this constitution.

By the unanimous order of the convention,

GEORGE WASHINGTON, Pres.
William Jackson, Secretary.

In convention, September 17, 1787.
SIR,

WE have now the honour to submit to the consideration of the united states in congress assembled, that constitution which has appeared to us the most advisable.

The friends of our country have long seen and desired, that the power of making war, peace, and treaties, that of levying money, and regulating commerce, and the correspondent executive and judicial authorities, should be fully and effectually vested in the general government of the union; but the impropriety of delegating such extensive trust to one body of men is evident. Hence results the necessity of a different organization.

It is obviously impracticable in the federal government of these states, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society, must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. The magnitude of the sacrifice must depend as well on situation and circumstance, as on the object to be obtained. It is at all times difficult to draw with precision the line between those rights which must be surrendered, and those which may be reserved; and on the present occasion this difficulty was increased by a difference among the several states, as to their situation, extent, habits, and particular interests.

In all our deliberations on this subject, we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest

interest of every true American, the CONSOLIDATION OF OUR UNION, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our NATIONAL EXISTENCE. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention, to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected: and thus the constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession, which the peculiarity of our POLITICAL SITUATION RENDERED INDISPENSIBLE.

That it will meet the full and entire approbation of every state, is not, perhaps, to be expected: but each will, doubtless, consider, that had her interests been alone consulted, the consequences might have been particularly disagreeable to others. That it is liable to as few exceptions, as could reasonably have been expected, we hope and believe. That it may promote the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all, and secure her freedom and happiness, is our most ardent wish.—With great respect, we have the honour to be, sir,

your excellency's most obedient
and humble servants,
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President.

By unanimous consent of the convention.

His excellency the president of congress.

Resolution of congress recommending the appointment of state conventions, to consider the preceding constitution.

The united states in congress assembled, Friday, Sept. 23, 1787.

Present New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina,

South Carolina, and Georgia, and from Maryland mr. Rofs.

CONGRESS having received the report of the convention lately assembled in Philadelphia,

Resolved unanimously, that the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention, made and provided in that case.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

Resolutions of the assembly of Pennsylvania, fixing the time and order of electing delegates to convention.

State of Pennsylvania.

In general assembly, Saturday, September 29, 1787, A. M.

WHEREAS, the convention of deputies, from the several states composing the union, lately held in this city, have published a constitution for the future government of the united states, to be submitted to conventions of deputies chosen in each state by the people thereof, under the recommendation of its legislature, for their assent and ratification: and whereas, congress, on Friday, the 28th instant, did unanimously resolve, that the said constitution be transmitted to the several legislatures of the states, to the intent aforesaid: and whereas, it is the sense of great numbers of the good people of this state, already signified in petitions and declarations to this house, that the earliest steps should be taken to assemble a convention within the state, for the purpose of deliberating and determining on the said constitution.

Resolved, that it be recommended to such of the inhabitants of the state, as are entitled to vote for re-

representatives to the general assembly, that they choose suitable persons, to serve as deputies in a state convention, for the purpose herein before mentioned: that is, for the city of Philadelphia, and the counties respectively, the same number of deputies, that each is entitled to, of representatives in the general assembly.

Resolved, that the elections for deputies, as aforesaid, be held at the several places, in the said city and counties, as are fixed by law for holding the elections of representatives to the general assembly; and that the same be conducted by the officers who conduct the said elections of representatives, and agreeably to the rules thereof.

Resolved, that the election of deputies, as aforesaid, shall be held for the city of Philadelphia, and the several counties of this state, on the first Tuesday of November next.

Resolved, that the persons so selected to serve in convention, shall assemble on the third Tuesday of November, at the state-house, in the city of Philadelphia.

Resolved, that the proposition, submitted to this house, by the deputies of Pennsylvania, in the general convention of the states, of ceding to the united states a district of country, within this state, for the seat of the general government, and for the exclusive legislation of congress, be particularly recommended to the consideration of the convention.

Resolved, that it be recommended to the succeeding house of assembly, to make the same allowance to the attending members of the convention, as is made to the members of the general assembly; and also to provide for the extraordinary expences which may be incurred by holding the said elections.

Extract from the proceedings of the house,

PETER Z. LLOYD, Clk.

On the necessity of unanimity in America.

MR. PRINTER,

IN searching among some old papers, a few days ago, I accidentally found a London newspaper, dated in March, 1774, wherein a certain dean Tucker, after stating several advantages attendant on a separation from the then colonies, now united states of North-America, proceeds thus—"After a separation from the colonies, our influence over them will be much greater than ever it was, since they began to feel their own weight and importance."—"The moment a separation takes effect, intestine quarrels will begin"—And "in proportion as their factious republican spirit shall intrigue and cabal, shall split into parties, divide and subdivide—in the same proportion, shall we be called in, to become their general umpires and referees."

I stood aghast on perusing this *British prophecy*, and could not help reflecting, how my infatuated countrymen are on the very verge of suffering it to be fulfilled—Already have they, in several of the states, spurned at the federal government, despised their admonitions, and absolutely refused to comply with their requisitions: nay they have gone further, and have enacted laws in direct violation of those very requisitions; nor does the present federal constitution give congress power to enforce a compliance with the most trifling measure they may recommend. Hence liberty becomes licentiousness (for while causes continue to produce their effects, want of energy in government, will be followed by disobedience in the governed.) Hence, also, credit, whether foreign or domestic, public or private, hath been abused, and of course is reduced to the lowest ebb. Rhode-Island faith in particular, is become superlatively infamous, even to a pro-

verb. Would to God that the censure in this respect, were only due to that petty state! Sorry I am to say, several others merit a considerable share of it—Ship-building and commerce no more enrich our country—agriculture is neglected, or, what is just the same, our produce, instead of being exported, is suffered to rot in the fields. Britain has dared to retain our frontier posts, whereby she not only deprives us of the fur-trade, but is enabled to keep up a number of troops, to take every advantage of any civil broils which may arise in these states; and, to close the dismal scene, rebellion, with all its dire concomitants, has actually reared its head in a sister state—Such have been the deplorable effects of a weak and impotent government. Perhaps the present situation of America cannot be better described than by comparing her to a ship at sea, in a storm, when the mariners tie up the helm, and abandon her to the fury of the winds and waves. O America! arouse! awake from your lethargy! bravely assert the cause of federal unanimity! and save your sinking country! Let it not be said, that those men, who heroically extirpated tyranny from America, should suffer civil discord to undo all that they have achieved; or to effect more than all the powers of Britain, aided by her blood-thirsty mercenaries, were able to accomplish. Let not posterity say—“Alas! our fathers expended much blood and treasure in erecting the temple of liberty; and when nothing more was wanting but thirteen pillars to support the stately edifice, they supinely neglected this essential part; so has the whole become one mighty heap of ruins, and slavery is entailed on their unhappy offspring.” God forbid, that this should ever be the case!

Do any of my fellow citizens ask, how may we avert the impending danger? The answer is obvious—Let us adopt that federal constitution,

which has been earnestly recommended by a convention of patriotic sages and which, while it gives energy to our government, wisely secures our liberties. This constitution, my friends, is the result of four months’ deliberation, in an assembly composed of men, whose known integrity, patriotism and abilities justly deserve our confidence. Let us also consider, that the illustrious WASHINGTON was their president. And shall we, my fellow-citizens, render all their measures ineffectual, by withholding our concurrence? The preservation of ourselves and of our country forbid it. Methinks I hear every hill from St. Croix to the Mississippi re-echo the praises of this simple, but excellent constitution.

Having once adopted this truly federal form of government, dear Tucker, and all the divines of England may prophecy our downfall if the will; we shall not regard them. The shall commerce re-visit our shores then shall we take a distinguished rank among the nations of the earth then shall our husbandmen and mechanics of every denomination, enjoy the fruits of their industry; and then, and not till then, shall we be completely happy.

A PENNSYLVANIA FARMER
Bucks county, September 22, 1787.



On the situation of the British West India islands.

Mr. Printer,

AS the commerce of America, an object which ought to claim the particular attention of the several legislatures throughout the united States, I send you the following extracts from a new publication, addressed to the British ministry, and which has been received by the people of England, with general approbation. The subject, I doubt not will be considered, as interesting to the public. The importance of the

American supplies, to the West Indies, is therein fully represented; and, notwithstanding the arrogance assumed by the nation, in their prohibitions, it still remains in the power of this country (provided our measures are adopted with UNANIMITY, and adhered to with PERSEVERANCE) to establish the commerce of America, upon the most extensive and permanent basis. The effects are as follow, viz.

“ The internal resources of Britain, are insufficient for the increased demands of government; it has at length become *dependent* upon external resources for its commerce.

“ The nearness of situation, enabled the American merchant to make two, and often three voyages to the West-Indies, in a year; so that from America, the islands received regular and plentiful supplies, upon the best terms; for which the Americans took rum, sugar, &c. in payment: the planters, thus supplied with cattle, horses, provisions, and labour, were enabled to adopt the system of management, most advantageous to themselves and to Great Britain: much of that land, which otherwise would have been applied to the cultivation of provisions for the maintenance of negroes and raising cattle for draft, was appropriated by them, to the cultivation of the sugar-cane. In consequence thereof, the quantity of rum and sugar, the most profitable articles of their produce, were greatly increased, and the *revenue proportionably augmented*. Official accounts, delivered at the bar of the House of commons, prove, that from the year 1762 to 1773, the import of sugar only to England, rose from one hundred and thirty thousand, to one hundred and seventy thousand hogsheads; which increase of forty thousand hogsheads, was valued at eight hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum.—And by the late additional duties on those articles,

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would produce an annual increase to the revenue, of two hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling: but, unfortunately for Britain, the system adopted by the late ministry, has deprived the nation of this great commercial benefit.

“ The increase in the import of sugar to England, in eleven years, ending in 1773, was 40,000 hogsheads; and the decrease in the course of ten years, from 1773 to 1783, appears by the custom-house books, to be upwards of 60,000 hogsheads.

The proclamation now in force, obliges British subjects to become owners of the vessels employed in the West India trade. Sloops and schooners may, indeed, be built in England, suited to the West India trade: but, for good reasons, which might be assigned, the planters are not likely to engage in that branch of commerce; and British merchants will be induced to embark in it, only by the hopes of *great profits, from high freight*: Nothing therefore, can be more clear, than that the vast difference in the price of materials for building in England and America, with the difference of subsequent charges of repairs, wages, maintenance of seamen, and the high freight, must be all laid on the price of supplies. The consequences therefore apprehended are, that the West-India supplies will be scanty and irregular; and quite precarious—and even if it should happen, that their supplies were regular, yet the price of every article imported for the use of the plantations, would be raised so much above its proportion to the value of sugar and rum, at any foreign market, as to prove in a few years ruinous to the islands.

“ In the present distressed situation of the islands, the planter cannot *let* his lands, for if he devotes them to the cultivation of the sugar-cane, he must establish the manufacture of sugar and rum; and for the establish-

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ment of this manufacture, a numerous body of working people, costly buildings, with an infinite variety of expensive materials, are required; but if the planter is obliged to reduce his crop of cane, in the degree that may be necessary for the production of provisions, in quantities sufficient for the maintenance of his plantations, the produce of his lands, for foreign markets, will not be sufficient for his maintenance; if on the contrary, he should sacrifice provisions to the growth of sugar-cane, he then becomes subject to the impositions and exorbitant demands of those British merchants, who have engaged in the trade. It is the highest madness and ignorance, to suppose that Canada and Nova Scotia, are equal to the demands of the islands."

As a specimen of the annual supplies, the following account is taken from custom-house books.

"The exports from America to the West India islands:

	1771.
Lumber,	21,271,995 feet.
Shingles,	16,483,543 No.
Staves,	15,546,113 No.
Corn,	418,307 bushels.
Pease,	20,140 ditto.
Bread & flour,	140,198 barrels.
Oats,	9,680 bushels.
Oil,	1,342 barrels.
Tar,	4,864 ditto.
Horses,	2,170
Shaken hogf- heads and water-casks	16,264
Rice,	24,780 barrels.
Beef and pork,	13,511 ditto.
Fish,	16,144 hhd. 15,143 barrels. 9240 quintals.

1772.

Lumber,	27,138,507 feet.
Shingles,	26,936,188 No.
Staves,	21,160,347 No.
Corn,	365,300 bushels.
Pease,	20,304 ditto.

Bread & flour,	131,342 barrels.
Oats,	6,136 bushels.
Oil,	960 barrels.
Tar,	7,760 ditto.
Horses,	2,220
Shaken hogf- heads and water-casks	17,211
Rice,	13,133 barrels.
Beef and pork,	12,575 ditto.
Fish,	21,185 hhd. 17,740 barrels. 10,940 quintal

1773.

Lumber,	28,591,233 feet.
Shingles,	23,351,465 No.
Staves,	21,319,504 No.
Corn,	220,806 bushels.
Pease,	26,779 ditto.
Bread & flour,	138,506 barrels.
Oats,	7,407 bushels.
Oil,	1,507 barrels.
Tar,	4,407 barrels.
Horses,	2,798
Shaken hogf- heads and water-casks	20,563
Rice,	23,567 barrels.
Beef and pork,	18,890 ditto.
Fish,	16,771 hhd. 15,780 barrels. 16,028 quinta

"From the foregoing may seen the vast and annual supplies provisions, live stock, and lumb formerly furnished by America, the West Indies, and from hence so judgment may be formed, in what degree the production of sugar may be affected, when the planters shall be obliged to apply their lands and labour to the production of an equivalent quantity; the loss also to the national revenue is alarming, it being certain, that the diminution, the production of sugar, is a proportionate loss to the revenue.

"How much the revenue has suffered by the diminution of the article of rum, will appear from the f

ving official account of the net duties and excise received on rum, imported into England, from the 5th of July, 1774, to the 5th of July, 1783,

1774,	£. 316,411
1775,	291,153
1776,	314,243
1777,	346,600
1778,	320,918
1779,	321,876
1780,	301,539
1781,	230,379
1782,	223,561
1783,	237,307



Reflections on the policy of Britain with regard to America.

N the year 1784, lord Sheffield wrote a book, entitled, *Observations on the commerce of the united States*. The great esteem the British nation had for the work, made it necessary to print a second edition. This laborious work, which proves lordship to have a good head, and a bad heart, he has formed a plan more injurious to these states, than the stamp-act, or the impolitic measures his countrymen lately carried on against us: and nothing, but our acting as brethren, concerned in the common cause, and making the most vigorous exertions, can save us from destruction. His lordship advises the prohibiting our dealing with the British colonies in our own bottoms. He says, no nation in Europe will suffer any other nation to deal with their colonies: at the same time, he advises that the British colonies should be permitted to trade with us in British bottoms, navigated by British seamen. The whole book, which ought to be read by every American, points out the utility and necessity of depriving us of buying the produce of the united States in American ships, to their markets; and blames the king's

proclamation, for permitting us to land goods in Great Britain, without paying larger duties than the same goods pay, when brought in British ships. He endeavours to shew, that it is in the power of the British fully to engross the whole trade of these states; and has formed such plans, as, if carried into effect, will make us ten times more the slaves of Britain, than we were before the war. He says, we must blame our rebellion for our destruction. He points out the facility of engrossing our whole trade; and, by giving us very short credit, of obliging us to take such prices for our country produce, as the British merchants please to give us. In a word, if his plans are followed, we shall see the British merchants meet here annually, and fix the price of rice, indigo, tobacco, &c. as they used to do at Williamsburgh, to fix the price of tobacco. He says in his notes, page 321, "It is said the mode of doing business likely to prevail, particularly in the southern provinces, will be, what is denominated a wholesale trade, to be carried on by European, or rather British merchants, who will form connections at home, and carry out cargoes of assorted goods, to be sold by the package, unopened, to those who retail, and who will receive, in return, within the year, from the American merchants, the produce they may collect, which will be shipped off by the British wholesale merchant. This is the species of trade that the British subjects should wish to pursue. Without being concerned in retailing goods, they should endeavour to MONOPOLIZE the supplies in wholesale to country merchants. This will enable them to deal to a great extent, with half the hazard formerly experienced: and it will, besides, give them the sole command of the shipping business. It is not probable, that the British merchants will choose, in the new

state of affairs, to fix their stores, as formerly, in Virginia and Maryland. They may rather adopt the expedient already mentioned, of sending out agents and partners, with wholesale cargoes, to be sold to merchants, who may not have credit here, and yet may be very safe, whilst their creditors are on the spot, ready to compel punctuality, and to receive and ship their produce. This line of commerce, although the profits may at first be smaller, will ultimately be more advantageous to the British merchants:” (that is, when they have fully monopolized the trade, and have it in their power to fix the price of imports and exports for the American merchants and planters): “large sums will not, as formerly, be sunk in debts in the country. The returns will be more certain, and less liable to those disappointments, which prevailed when every American planter was a British debtor.” His lordship seems to despise any associations or combinations we may enter into. He seems to consider us as a rope of sand: but perhaps places too much confidence in the British emissaries or pensioners, who, he knows, reside among us, who have been steady friends to the British, during the war, and have been politic enough to remain here, with orders to use their utmost endeavours to disunite us.

On an average of ten years before the war, while the British monopolized our trade, rice did not bring above seven shillings per hundred. When peace and independence took place, it rose to fifteen or sixteen. Now it is at twelve: and it must appear plain as the sun that shines at noon-day, that if we suffer them again to renew their monopoly, rice will fall to the old price: what, then, will become of our planters, who have given seventy-five pounds for negroes? To lessen the consumption of rice, the British have

laid a duty of seven shillings per hundred on it.

But perhaps it may be objected that, if we exclude the British ships from our ports, the crop must lie on hand. This must be said only to those who do not know any thing of our trade. The last year, nearly half the rice shipped from this state [South Carolina] was shipped in American and what the British call foreign bottoms. Philadelphia, New York and New England, could and would carry all our produce to market, at the prices that are now given. The Hollanders would be glad to enter into a contract to carry the whole were it ten times as much, at a lower price. Perhaps the French would do the same. Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, and all the mercantile nations of Europe, would be glad to be our carriers, and bring the manufactures and produce of their countries to our markets, if we gave them an opportunity of doing it. But nothing raised or made in any other country, that has never been first sent to Britain, is saleable. Our Madeira wine must be London particular, although they do nothing with it, but mix and adulterate it; yet we drink a composition of poisonous ingredients, rather than the neat produce of the island. England has supplied us with all our wine, although it is well known she makes none. Oil, lemons, almonds, raisins, have been imported in America from England, although we know they are not the produce of that island. One half of the goods sent from Britain, are not the manufacture of that country, but imported from the East Indies, and other parts of Europe: yet many persons think they cannot be good, unless they come from England. Ask a man why he prefers the English goods to those that come cheaper from other countries; he answers because they are the best in the world.

and he chooses to have the best, cost what they will. Ask him, why he does not then prefer the American hats, joiners' furniture, &c. He will allow they are better, but they come a little higher, and the English will serve his turn: and so they will, only because they are English. Such is the American infatuation for goods sent from England. Time only will wear off the prejudice. I hope yet to live to see British cruelties and British manufactures equally despised by every

AMERICAN.

Charleston, 1786.



Directions for raising hemp, by Loammi Baldwin, esq. Published by order of the agricultural committee of B. ton.

THE soil should be a warm, light loam, composed of a pure mould and a little sand, manured much in the same proportion as for Indian corn; some compost manure is to be preferred, which has not any foul seeds among it; (weeds are very prejudicial to a crop of hemp) better if the manure is applied, and ploughed in, just before winter.

The land should have three ploughings, at least, in the spring, and be made very fine. The seed should be sowed on a well harrowed surface, early in May, if the season is dry and favourable; but if not, the sowing may be deferred a week or fortnight:—in that case, another ploughing will be necessary, observing always, that the seed should be sowed soon after the last ploughing is performed, before the land settles, and becomes stiff and heavy; then harrow it in with a fine iron-tooth harrow.

The quantity of seed (if new) may vary from two bushels and a quarter to three bushels per acre. If, through necessity, old seed is to be sowed, the quantity must be greater; and it should be deposited in a cellar, two, three, or four weeks previous to sowing. The time ought to be something in proportion to the age of the

seed. The older it is, the longer it should lie in the cellar, not exceeding three or four weeks: (but old seed seldom answers well.) The land should be sowed twice over, the sower passing it in cross-wise directions, the better to scatter the seed equally on the ground.

Some of the Sudbury people, who have practised the growing of hemp for a series of years, hold, that to crop the land every year, successively, with hemp, is better than to shift or vary the crop. This seems to be against the general principle in cropping land. However, by a little attention, the fact may be ascertained.

The time for pulling, is, when the female or male hemp turns whitish, before it turns blackish, just at the time when the farina escapes (this is known by its smoking when agitated by the wind, or any other cause) which commonly happens about the first of August.

There are two kinds of hemp, male and female: the female bears the seed; therefore some of the best plants should be reserved in the borders of the field, or other places, in order to produce seed for the next year, and the rest is to be pulled up by the roots; and as it is pulled, lay it about an inch thick on the ground where it grew, or if thinner the better; and what that land will not receive, must be carried off to other ground, and there spread in the same manner, taking care to turn it once or twice: and in two or three days, if the weather is good, it will be fit to bind into bundles of about twelve or fifteen inches girth, in order to be housed; and the sooner it is dried, and got into the barn, the better. If the quantity be small, and can be placed under cover immediately upon pulling, so as to dry well without receiving any wet, it will be heavier, and of a brighter greenish colour when dressed, better resembling foreign hemp. In short, the attentive

cultivator of this useful article neglects all other affairs to take care of his hemp at this stage of the business, if exposed when a shower or storm threatens, and get it secured under shelter, where it remains until about Indian harvest time, when it is taken out and removed to a proper place for water rotting: this should be a pond, where the water can be drawn off and flowed again at pleasure.—There bed it in circular heaps, with the top ends inward, lapping about two thirds of the length of the stalk; add some weight to keep it from swimming, then raise the water high enough to cover it. There it may continue about three weeks, longer or shorter, according to the state of the weather, hotter or colder. When rotted enough, take it up, washing it at the same time, and remove it to dry ground, and set it with the but ends downward, leaning against poles, arranged for the purpose, on crotches about three feet high, placing a bundle on one side of the pole, and another on the other side, alternately, until the whole is set up; or it may be set against a rail fence, in the same manner, running the top ends of the hemp through, between the upper and second rail, which will secure it from being blown down by the winds. There it is to remain, exposed to the action of all the varieties of the weather, until the spring following. Some attention should be paid to the situation of the ground, where it is thus to be placed, in order to have the hemp dry for dressing as early in the spring as possible. It would be well to invert the bundles, or place them horizontally on poles, disposed for that purpose, time enough for the but ends (which have stood on the ground all winter) to get thoroughly dry, previous to the dressing, or a great loss will take place; for if it be wet, the coat or hurl on the but ends of the stalk, for seven or eight inches, (being the heaviest

part in proportion to its length) will go to waste in the operation of the brake. It should first be broken in a very coarse brake, the floats or teeth of which should be three inches and an half, or four inches asunder; then in a common flax brake.

The swingling is performed much in the same manner as flax, only applying a more driving, but not harder stroke, continuing the knife down nearly to the end of the hemp, sleeking it as much as possible with the knife.

A man will dress about thirty or forty pounds a day, according to the rot it gets, and its dryness, and the dryness of the weather at the time of dressing. This is very essential.—I have been informed that Mr. Elisha Rice, of Sudbury, has broke and swingled ninety-five pounds of hemp, in one day.

The common produce of hemp, on an acre of Sudbury land, varies from nine to twelve hundred weight.

I would recommend to the common farmers, in general, to raise half an acre, or an acre of hemp, annually; but not to go so largely into the business as to force them to neglect the other necessary affairs of their farms, or hire many labourers.

Under disadvantages for attempting more than can be accomplished with convenience, will increase the expence, consequently lessen the profit, and thereby discourage the work. L. B.



Directions for raising and managing sheep.

SHEEP are very profitable animals; they produce both meat and clothing; and it is a pity so little pains is taken to raise them. If a plenty of wool was raised here, our woollens might be manufactured amongst ourselves, and vast quantities of money prevented from being sent out of the country. The same

may be said of silk and flax—our climate will admit of the cultivation of both. I have seen a garment made of excellent silk, that was raised and manufactured no farther to the southward than the state of New-York. If a sufficient quantity of silk, wool, and flax, was raised in the united states, thousands of poor people that are out of employ, might be set to work, and our clothing made on this side the Atlantic.

As to the raising and managing of sheep, the methods are various:—Some keep them in large flocks, under the direction of shepherds—others keep them in small companies, without a shepherd; the last method generally produces the largest and fattest sheep. It has been observed, that they do best upon high land, because the feed is the sweetest. They should be often removed from one pasture to another; and should not live upon a farm, more than three years, without being removed to some distant place. If they live too long upon a farm, they will depreciate, and be exceedingly small. They ought to be housed under an open shed, in wet weather; but they should not be kept in a warm place at any time, unless they have been newly sheared, or have newly lambed:—If they are kept too warm or too poor, they will shed their wool before shearing time. The best time for shearing, is in the latter end of May; but before they are sheared, they ought to be washed in a warm day. Great care ought to be taken, to prevent their eating vegetable poison, and being devoured by wild beasts, hungry dogs, and other greedy animals. When a sheep is poisoned, a glass of rum, or half a pint of urine, ought to be thrown down its throat, to make it vomit.

A ram ought not to come near the sheep, until the latter end of November, or beginning of December, that the lambs may not come until the winter is over, which may prevent

their dying with the cold. A gill of Indian corn, given to a sheep in a day, for a few days before and after she lambs, is said to be of great service, as it is very strengthening.

When sheep first go to grass, they ought to have salt every day: but if they have it once in three days afterwards, it will answer. People are too apt to injure their flocks of sheep, by selling off the best of their lambs to the butchers.

In an extreme hot country, sheep will not thrive, neither will they where the cold is severe. The heat has such a strange effect upon the sheep, in the West-Indies, that hair like that of a goat, grows upon them, instead of wool. In Great-Britain, they have two sorts of sheep—one produces exceeding fine wool, which is the staple commodity of that kingdom. Sheep amongst us, thrive exceeding well, and if proper care should be taken, we may undoubtedly raise wool enough for our own use.

AGRICOLANUS.



*Reflections on the utility of discountenancing the use of spirituous liquors—
Addressed to the Philadelphia Society
for promoting agriculture, and published by them.*

Gentlemen,

WHILST you are laudably engaged in promoting every improvement in agriculture, you may, perhaps, esteem any hint to preserve the health of the farmer, not unworthy your notice and patronage.

The destructive effects of spirituous liquors, in the united states, have been long observed and complained of, by the friends of America. Unhappily, our citizens in general are not in a situation to examine this subject with attention and impartiality. The custom of drinking these poisons having been introduced, at an

early period, into America, is regarded with that blind prepossession; which is too often acquired in favour of ancient usages. The certain destruction of the morals, the property, and the lives of our fellow citizens, by the excessive use of rum, is overlooked: and every reformation is considered as a measure totally impossible, particularly among that class of citizens, whom you wish to encourage and support. Influenced by this universal opinion, during the first years of conducting my farm, I gave my men a dram in the morning; and, during harvest, allowed each man one pint of rum per day.

Observing the ill consequences of this practice, and considering it as inconsistent with humanity, and contrary to the true interest of my poor neighbours, I ventured, this year, upon a new experiment; and, amidst the general prejudices of the country, have conducted a farm of above two hundred acres under cultivation, without the use of spirituous liquors of any kind. As a substitute, I have given small malt beer, made in the family: and it is with particular pleasure, that I can inform your useful society, that this experiment has been attended with a success beyond my most sanguine expectation. I have just finished a very extensive harvest, without any accident, drunkenness, or disorder, and with an alacrity and neatness, which I never before experienced.

Our own interest, as farmers, should engage us to banish the rum-bottle from our plantations: our situations, as members of society, should oblige us to banish it from the state.

No American can regard the baneful effects of this poison on his distressed country, without experiencing an anxiety to remove it: but this cannot be accomplished without the steady perseverance of every individual of influence and reputation.

I am, gentlemen, with great respect,
your real friend, G. LOGAN.

Stenton, August 11, 1787.



On agriculture.

*THE Pennsylvanians, venerate the
plough!*

*Nor ye, tho' num'rous, who so idly
live,*

*In luxury and ease—in pomp and pride,
Think these low themes unworthy of
your ear.*

*Such themes as these the rural Maro
sung*

*To wide-imperial Rome, in the full
height*

*Of elegance and taste by Greece re-
fin'd.*

*In ancient times the sacred plough em-
ploy'd*

*The kings and awful fathers of man-
kind,*

*And some, with whom compar'd, your
inferior tribes*

*Are but the beings of a summer's day,
Have held the scale of empire, rul'd the
storm*

*Of mighty war; then with unwearied
hand,*

Disdaining little delicacies, seiz'd

*The plough, and greatly independent
liv'd.*

Thomson's Seasons altered.

SINCE the conclusion of the late war, there has been a strange inattention, amongst the people of this state, to their true interests. Manufacturing has been neglected; the weavers are either idle or driven to seek for other employment, to which they were not bred, and consequently ignorant of; the labouring men are nearly idle in the winter, or obliged to work almost for their diet; and the women, who could so usefully employ themselves with the wheel, have nothing to do. It is time, my fellow countrymen, to provide work for those who are willing to do it, and those who will not (and are able)

ought not to eat. It will soon be time to sow your flaxseed: and should it excite one person "to do likewise," I shall be fully paid for relating my experience.

Some years ago, I manured an acre of land; sowed it with flaxseed; and, after it came off, ploughed the ground; and sowed nearly a bushel of wheat on it. I had about two hundred weight of excellent flax from the swingle, and rather more than ten bushels of seed; and of the wheat, twenty four bushels and a half. I gained by the two crops seven pounds, clear of the rent of the land, and every expense and trouble attending it.

A FARMER.

Chester county, March 5, 1787.



Remarks on the beneficial effects of a variation of crops—published by order of the Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture.

THE earth, in general, is a compound of vegetative matter, formed by nature, to propagate a variety of plants: and those salts, peculiar to each plant; must be extracted from the earth by each peculiar species of plant: for the land may have strength to bring good different crops one after another: but it seldom abounds with one kind of salt, sufficient to produce a good crop of the same grain, often repeated successively, unless the land be rich indeed, and the soil, with the climate, well adapted to that kind of grain, plant, which is often so repeated; a remark, which will ever be found true, clearly points out the indispensable necessity of varying crops often, not annually.

The foregoing observations I make to the Society, for the benefit of their theoretical members; as, from their former practice, great advantage is to be expected towards improving agriculture in America; it being this loss of men, fertile in genius, emu-

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lous to promote their country's good, and able to bear the expense, who in Europe have, by their laudable experiments, led the way for poor farmers to adopt a course of cropping, as approved at this day, in lieu of their forefathers' old established custom—The basis of this new method is founded on manure, especially from marle: and the superstructure is perfected by crops of pulse, artificial grass, and grain, which they raise alternately: and in this, systematically done, is comprised the mystery of real husbandry. Presuming the following remarks are not generally known, I insert them for the information of the public,

A more beneficial discovery has not been made in agriculture, than that of clover being an infallible preparative for a wheat crop. With once ploughing, I have sowed several hundred acres; and have seen thousands growing, yet never knew one crop to fail, although in some cases the land was poor: but it is particularly agreeable to rich land, as the straw will be strong, the ear large, and the stemming incredible. If ever a marvellous crop of wheat be raised on very rich ground, it must be in this way: for fallows produce a luxuriant tall straw, weak at the root, with a small ear which will fall.

In proof of the foregoing observations, let reason be attended to: clover grass affords rest to land, and keeps out weeds; the pasture produces feed in abundance for cattle; the soil of the cattle, with the vegetable salts contained in the large tap root and heart of the clover, afford vivid manure for wheat—One other advantage arising from this mode of farming, is, the furrows being whole and the root of the grain in them, it admits the water to drain from the root, and the surface of the ground will not rise with the frost, as fallows of fine mould are subject to do—the wheat, therefore, must stand the

M

winter much the best, if sowed after clover with one ploughing.

I shall conclude these remarks, with the method of sowing wheat on clover land; wishing the citizens of Philadelphia to put it in practice this fall, on some of their clover lots, which are in proper order.

Take an acre of clover land, that has been pastured quite to the ground; in the September of the second summer after it was sowed, turn it clean over with the plough; but before the two last furrows of each land are split, take a handful of wheat, and drop a little seed from between the thumb and fore-finger, along each furrow, throwing it before you, as you step along, and then split the two furrows, turning them on the wheat; if this be not done, the side of the lands will be bare. The same day it is ploughed, sow on the acre three pecks of clean feed-wheat, broadcast; after it is sowed, take a roller, and run over the lands the same way they are ploughed. When that is done, harrow it two or three times over the same way, until the seed be covered: but by no means harrow across the land: make the water furrows (if need be) with the spade, and turn the grass side of the fods downwards.



Letter relative to the Hessian fly, from col. Morgan, to the president of the Philadelphia society for promoting agriculture—published by said society.

Prospect, July 25, 1787.

Dear sir,

MY information to the society, respecting the Hessian fly*, would be incomplete, were I not to add my further remarks on this destructive insect, which, I am sorry to inform you, has crossed the Dela-

NOTE.

* See vol. I. p. 529, of the first edition—or page 456 of the second.

ware, and will make considerable advances southward and westward the present season.

I think it proper to confirm every particular, mentioned in my letter of the twentieth of May, except such as I shall here differ in, from having had better opportunities, and from more attentive observations, than I have had it in my power to make until now.

Having hatched or bred a number of these insects, from the chrysalis into the fly state, last year and this, I became well acquainted with them, and watched all their motions.

As I have already described the egg, or nit, and chrysalis, I need now only say, that the fly, which proceeds from the latter, is at first of a white body, with long black legs, and whiskers, so small and motionless, as not to be easily perceived by the naked eye: but with a microscope they are very discernible. They soon, however, become black, and very nimble, as well on the wing, as feet; and about the size of a small ant.

The phial, which will be handed to you with this, contains a number of the flies, which were living and of their full growth, when I put them into it. I will also add a few of the nits, in which state it is that they destroy the wheat.

I have, during the height of the brood in June, where fifty or a hundred of these have been deposited in one stalk of wheat or barley, discovered them to twist and move, or being disturbed. This is while they are white. But they do not then travel from one stalk to another, nor to different parts of the same stalk.

The usual time of their spring hatching, from the chrysalis to the fly state, is in May. But this last season having been cold and backward the fly did not make its appearance in my neighbourhood until June, by which time the wheat was far advanced.

vanced : and from the favourable-ness of the season in other respects, we have had good crops, notwithstanding there was not a stool of wheat in any of our fields but had the first shoot killed last fall. The grain is large and heavy in the bushel, contrary to our expectations, and the information we had received, as mentioned in my letter of the twentieth of May.

In my neighbourhood, this insect has made little impression upon the rye, which will induce our farmers to go principally upon that grain, instead of wheat ; but we must entirely decline sowing fall and spring barley, and spring wheat. Oats and buckwheat escape their ravages altogether.

My barley promised well until June, at which time it was full of juices, and suited the taste of the insect, to that degree, as to occasion its almost total destruction. Here the roller can be of no use ; neither can it to wheat : as both are too forward to make use of it at this season.

Those, who are doubtful, whether the fly be in their neighbourhood, or cannot find their eggs or nits in the wheat, may satisfy themselves by opening their windows at night, and burning a candle in the room. The fly will enter in proportion to their numbers abroad.

The first night after the commencement of the wheat harvest, this season, they filled my dining room in such numbers, as to be exceedingly troublesome, in the eating and drinking vessels. Without exaggeration, I may say, that a glass tumbler from which beer had been just drunk, at dinner, had five hundred flies in it, within a few minutes. The windows are filled with them, when they desire to make their escape. They are very distinguishable from every other fly, by their horns or whiskers.

These circumstances will not ap-

pear trivial to you, nor any other lover of agriculture ; nor to the naturalist. Others will not read them.

In my letter of the twentieth of May, I mentioned a species of wheat grown on Long Island, said to resist the ravages of the fly, whilst every other kind of grain perishes under it : and I took the liberty to suggest to the society, the advantages which might arise to the public, from their sending an observant person to ascertain the fact. Some of my neighbours, to whom I made the like proposition, took up the matter : and one of them, mr. Thomas Clark, who is not only a good farmer, but of perfect veracity, undertook to visit that part of Long Island, where the fly made its first appearance in 1778, and where it has continued ever since, although it is now greatly decreased—so much, indeed, that the inhabitants, in general, think they had none this season ; though mr. Clark says, they are nearly as numerous as we have them here at this time. He has made his report to us in writing, as follows :

Stony Brook, 7th mo. 20th, 1787.

AGREEABLY to the request of my neighbours, and my promise, I left home on the twenty-ninth day of last month, and arrived at Long Island the day after.

On the best enquiry and examination I could make, during my stay there, which was until the fourth of this month, I satisfied myself in the following particulars, viz.

That the Hessian fly made its first appearance there about the year 1779, so as to injure, and, in some cases, to destroy their crops of wheat.

That their crops have failed more or less every year since, until the present year.

That their goodness this year is attributed to the introduction of a new species of wheat, which, from several years experience, is found to

withstand the attacks of the fly, so as to yield good crops, whilst every other kind of wheat has suffered considerably, or been wholly destroyed.

That the wheat, which has been so found to resist the fly, is a yellow bearded whear, not the red, nor the white bearded wheat.

That it was, first, accidentally introduced there, from a prize shallop, or schooner, in the year 1781, taken in the river Delaware, and carried into New York, from whence it was sent to I. Underhill's mill, on Long Island, to be ground.

That D. Underhill reserved some of it for seed, and sowed it with success, whilst his neighbours lost their crops. This encouraged him to persevere: and he spared some seed to others, from the idea, that as it was a different kind of wheat, its success might be owing to that. Their expectations were answered, whilst all other kinds of wheat failed wholly, or in part: insomuch that general conviction has now taken place: and little or no other wheat will be sown on that part of the island, as long as there are any appearances of the fly in the country.

These circumstances induced me to engage my seed wheat, whilst I was on the island: and I recommend to my neighbours who mean to sow wheat next fall, to send there for their seed. It may perhaps, be well for a number to join and send a person for the wheat, that no mischief may arise from getting foul grain. The price they hold their seed wheat at, is 10s. and 11s. New York money in specie, per bushel.

I find that the fly injures rye on Long Island, but very little, and oats not at all, nor buck wheat. But I could get no satisfactory information respecting barley.

(Signed,) T. CLARK.

This account includes all that I think necessary to communicate on the subject, except to add my sincere

wishes, that the farmers of Pennsylvania, and of the more southern states, may not suffer as those in East Jersey and Long Island have.

I remain, dear sir, your's, &c.

GEORGE MORGAN.

Samuel Porvel, Esq. president of the agricultural society, Philadelphia.



Letters on the federal government: by Tench Coxe, Esq.

LETTER I.

IT is impossible for an honest and feeling mind, of any nation or country whatever, to be insensible to the present circumstances of America. Were I an East Indian, or a Turk, I should consider this singular situation of a part of my fellow creatures, as most curious and interesting. Intimately connected with the country, as a citizen of the union, I confess it entirely engrosses my mind and feelings.

To take a proper view of the ground on which we stand, it may be necessary to recollect the manner in which the united states were originally settled and established. Want of charity in the religious systems of Europe, and of justice in their political governments, were the principal moving causes, which drove the emigrants of various countries to the American continent. The congregationalists, quakers, presbyterians, and other British dissenters, the catholics of England and Ireland, the hugonots of France, the German Lutherans, Calvinists, and Moravians with several other societies, established themselves in the different colonies, thereby laying the ground of that catholicism in ecclesiastical affairs, which has been observable since the late revolution. Religious liberty naturally promotes corresponding dispositions in matters of governments. The constitution of England, as it stood on paper, was one of the freest at that time in the world: and the A-

ican colonies considered themselves entitled to the fullest enjoyment of Thus, when the ill-judged dispositions of late times, in England, brought into question the rights of the country, as it stood connected with the British crown, we were found very strongly impressed with their importance, and accurately acquainted with their extent, than the wisest and best learned of our brethren beyond the Atlantic. When the greatest bodies in parliament insisted on the superiority of that body over the commerce of the colonies, and even the right to bind us in all cases whatsoever, America, seeing that it was not another form of tyranny, insisted upon the immutable truth, that taxation and representation are inseparable; and, while a desire of harmony and other considerations inclined her into an acquiescence in the commercial regulations of Great Britain, it was done from the declared necessity of the case, and with a cautious full, and absolute saving of our voluntarily-suspended rights. The parliament was persevering; and America continued firm till hostilities in open war commenced, and finally late revolution closed the contest forever.

It is evident from this short detail, and the reflexions which arise from it, that the quarrel between the United States and the parliament of Great Britain, did not arise so much from objections to the form of government, though undoubtedly a better one by far, is now within our reach, as from a difference concerning certain important rights, resulting from the essential privileges of liberty, which the constitution preserved to all subjects actually residing within the nation. It was not asserted by America that the people of the island of Great Britain were slaves; but that we, though possessed absolutely of the same rights, were not admitted to an equal degree of freedom.

When the declaration of independence completed the separation between the two countries, new governments were necessarily established. Many circumstances led to the adoption of the republican form, among which was the predilection of the people. In devising the frames of government, it may have been difficult to avoid extremes opposite to the vices of that we had just rejected: nevertheless many of the state constitutions we have chosen, are truly excellent. Our misfortunes have been, that in the first instance we adopted no national government at all; but were kept together by common danger only; and that in the confusions of a civil war, we framed a federal constitution, now universally admitted to be inadequate to the preservation of liberty, property, and the union. The question is, not, then, how far our state constitutions are good or otherwise—the object of our wishes is, to amend and supply the evident and allowed errors and defects of the federal government. Let us consider awhile, that which is now proposed to us—let us compare it with the so-much-boasted British form of government; and see how much more it favours the people and how completely it secures their rights; remembering, at the same time, that we did not dissolve our connexion with that country so much on account of its constitution, as the perversion and mal-administration of it.

In the first place, let us look at the nature and powers of the head of that country, and those of the ostensible head of ours.

The British king is the great bishop or supreme head of an established church, with an immense patronage annexed. In this capacity, he commands a number of votes in the house of lords, by creating bishops, who, besides their great incomes, have votes in that assembly, and are judges in the last resort. They

have also many honourable and lucrative places to bestow; and thus from their wealth, learning, dignities, powers, and patronage, give a great lustre and an enormous influence to the crown.

In America, our president will not only be without these influencing advantages, but they will be in the possession of the people at large, to strengthen their hands in the event of a contest with him. All religious funds, honours, and powers, are in the gift of numberless unconnected, disunited, and contending corporations, wherein the principle of perfect equality universally prevails. In short, danger from ecclesiastical tyranny, that long-standing and still-remaining curse of the people—that sacrilegious engine of royal power in some countries, can be feared by no man in the united states. In Britain, their king is for life—in America, our president will always be one of the people, at the end of four years. In that country the king is hereditary, and may be an idiot, a knave, or a tyrant by nature, or ignorant from neglect of his education, yet cannot be removed; for “he can do no wrong.” In America, as the president is to be one of the people, at the end of his short term, so will he and his fellow citizens remember, that he was originally one of the people; and that he is created by their breath. Further, he cannot be an idiot, probably not a knave or tyrant: for those whom nature makes so, discover it before the age of thirty-five, until which period he cannot be elected. It appears, we have not admitted that he can do no wrong, but have rather pre-supposed he may and will sometimes do wrong, by providing for his impeachment, his trial, and his peaceable and complete removal.

In England, the king has a power to create members of the upper house, who are judges in the highest court, as well as legislators. Our

president not only cannot create members of the upper house; but creation, like his own, is by the people, through their representatives, and a member of assembly may be as certainly dismissed at the end of his year for electing a vicious or wicked senator, as for any blunder or misconduct.

The king of England has legislative power; while our president only use it when the other servants of the people are divided. But in great causes, affecting the national interests or safety, his modified and restrained power must give way to the sense of two-thirds of the legislature. In fact, it amounts to no more, a serious duty imposed upon him to request both houses to reconvene on any matter on which he entertains doubts or feels apprehensions: and the people have a strong hold on him from his sole and personal responsibility.

The president of the upper house (or the chancellor) in England, is appointed by the king; while our president, who is chosen by the people through the electors and the senators, is not at all dependent on the president but may exercise equal power on some occasions. In all royal governments, an helpless infant or an inexperienced youth, may wear a crown. Our president must be matured by the experience of years: an infant born among us, his character at thirty-five must be fully understood. Wisdom, virtue, and active qualities of mind and body can alone make the first servant of a free and enlightened people.

Our president will fall very short indeed of any prince in his annual income, which will not be hereditary, but the absolute allowance to the people, passing thro’ the hands of their other servants from year to year as it becomes necessary. There will be no burdens on the nation, to provide for his heir, or other branches

family. 'Tis probable, from the
of property in America, and
circumstances, that many citi-
will exceed him in shew and ex-
—those dazzling trappings of
ly rank and power. He will
no authority to make a treaty,
out two thirds of the senate, nor
he appoint ambassadors or other
t officers, without their approba-
; which will remove the idea of
onage and influence, and of per-
obligation and dependence. The
pointment of even the inferior of-
s may be taken out of his hands
an act of congress at any time.
can create no nobility or titles of
our, nor take away offices during
d behaviour. His person is not
much protected as that of a mem-
of the house of representatives:
he may be proceeded against like
other man in the ordinary course
law. He appoints no officer of the
separate states. He will have no in-
fluence from placemen in the legisla-
ture, nor can he prorogue or dissolve it.
will have no power over the trea-
ties of the state: and, lastly, as he is
elected through the electors, by the
people at large, he must ever look up
the support of his creators. From
a servant, with powers so limited
transitory, there can be no danger,
especially when we consider the solid
foundations on which our national
liberties are immovably fixed, by the
other provisions of this excellent con-
stitution. Whatever of dignity or au-
thority he possesses, is a delegated part
of their majesty and their political im-
portance, transiently vested in him by
the people themselves, for their
on happiness.—Philadel. Sept. 26.



LETTER II.

WE have seen, that the late ho-
nourable convention, in de-
termining the nature of the chief ex-
ecutive office of the united states, have

deprived it of all the dangerous appen-
dages of royalty, and provided for the
frequent expiration of its limited pow-
ers. As our president bears no resem-
blance to a king, so we shall see the se-
nate have no similitude to nobles.

First, then, not being hereditary,
their collective knowledge, wisdom,
and virtue are not precarious; for by
these qualities alone they are to obtain
their offices: and they will have none
of the peculiar follies and vices of
those men, who possess power merely
because their fathers held it before
them: for they will be educated (under
equal advantages, and with equal pros-
pects) among and on a footing with
the other sons of a free people. If we
recollect the characters, who have, at
various periods filled the seats of con-
gress, we shall find this expectation
perfectly reasonable. Many young
men of genius, and many characters of
more matured abilities, without for-
tunes, have been honoured with that
trust. Wealth has had but few repre-
sentatives there: and these have been
generally possessed of respectable per-
sonal qualifications. There have also
been many instances of persons, not
eminently endowed with mental qua-
lities, who have been sent thither from
a reliance on their virtues, public and
private. As the senators are still to
be elected by the legislatures of the
states, there can be no doubt of equal
safety and propriety in their future
appointment, especially as no further
pecuniary qualification is required by
the constitution.

They can hold no other office, ci-
vil or military under the united states;
nor can they join in making provisions
for themselves, either by creating new
places, or increasing the emoluments
of old ones. As their sons are not
to succeed them, they will not be in-
duced to aim at an increase or per-
petuity of their powers, at the ex-
pense of the liberties of the people, of
which those sons will be a part. They
possess a much smaller share of the ju-

dicial power than the upper house in Britain ; for they are not, as there, the highest court in civil affairs. Impeachments alone are the cases cognizable before them : and in what other place could matters of that nature be so properly and safely determined ? The judges of the federal courts will owe their appointments to the president and senate ; therefore may not feel so perfectly free from favour, affection, and influence, as the upper house, who receive their power from the people, through their state representatives, and are immediately responsible to those assemblies, and finally to the nation at large. Thus we see when a daring or dangerous offender is brought to the bar of public justice, the people, who alone can impeach him by their immediate representatives, will cause him to be tried, not by judges appointed in the heat of the occasion, but by two thirds of a select body, chosen a long time before, for various purposes by the collected wisdom of the state legislatures. From a pretence or affectation of extraordinary purity and excellence of character, their word of honour is the sanction, under which these high courts in other countries, have given their sentence : but with us, like the other judges of the union, like the rest of the people, of which they are never to forget they are a part, it is required that they be upon oath.

No ambitious, undeserving, or inexperienced youth can acquire a seat in this house by means of the most enormous wealth, or most powerful connexions, till thirty years have ripened his abilities, and fully discovered his merits to his country—a more rational ground of preference surely than mere property.

The senate, though more independent of the people, as to the free exercise of their judgment and abilities, than the house of representatives, by the longer term of their office, must be older and more experienced men ; and the public treasures, the sinews of

the state, cannot be called forth in their original motion. They must restrain the profusion or errors of the house of representatives : but they cannot take the necessary measures to raise a national revenue.

The people, through the electors, prescribe them such a president as shall be best qualified to controul them.

They can only, by conviction and impeachment, remove and incapacitate a dangerous officer : but the punishment of him as a criminal, remains within the province of the courts of law, to be conducted under all the ordinary forms and precautions which exceedingly diminishes the importance of their judicial power. They are detached, as much as possible, from local prejudices in favour of their respective states, by having a separate and independent vote ; and the sensible and conscientious use of which, every member will find himself person, honour, and character seriously bound. He cannot shelter himself, under a vote in behalf of his state, among his immediate colleagues. As there are only two, he cannot be voluntarily or involuntarily governed by the majority of the deputation. He will be obliged by wholesome provisions, to attend his public duty ; and thus in great national questions must give a vote of the honesty of which, he will find necessary to convince his constituents.

The senate must always receive the exceptions of the president against any of their legislative acts ; which, without serious deliberation and sufficient reasons, they will seldom disregard. They will also serve as a considerable check from the constitutional powers of the state legislatures, whose rights they will not be disposed to infringe ; since they are the bodies to which they owe their existence, and are moreover to remain the immediate guardians of the people.

And lastly, the senate will feel the mighty check of the house of repre-

tives—a body so pure in its election, so intimately connected, by its interests and feelings, with the people at large, so guarded against corruption and influence—so much, from its nature, above all apprehensions, that it must ever be able to maintain the high ground assigned it by the federal constitution.

Philadelphia, Sept. 28, 1787.



LETTER III.

IN pursuing the consideration of the new federal constitution, it remains now to examine the nature and powers of the house of representatives—the immediate delegates of the people.

Each member of this truly popular assembly will be chosen by about six thousand electors, by the poor as well as the rich. No decayed or venal borough will have an unjust share in their determinations: no old Sarum will send thither a representative by the voice of a single elector*. As we shall have no royal ministers to purchase votes, so we shall have no votes for sale: for the suffrages of six thousand enlightened and independent freemen are above all price. When the increasing population of the country shall render the body too large, at the rate of one member for every thirty thousand persons, they will be returned at the greater rate of one for every forty or fifty thousand; which will render the electors still more incorruptible. For this regulation is only designed to prevent a smaller number than thirty thousand from having a representative. Thus we see, a provision follows, that no state shall have less than one member: for if a new and greater number should hereafter be fixed on, which should exceed the whole of the inhabitants of any state, such state,

NOTE.

* This is the case with that British borough.

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without this wholesome provision, would lose its voice in the house of representatives—a circumstance which the constitution renders impossible.

The people of England, whose house of commons is filled with military and civil officers and pensioners, say, their liberties would be perfectly secured by triennial parliaments. With us, no placemen can sit among the representatives of the people, and two years are the constitutional term of their existence. Here, again, lest wealth, powerful connexions, or even the unweariness of the people, should place in this important trust an undeserving, unqualified, or inexperienced youth, the wisdom of the convention has proposed an absolute incapacity till the age of twenty five. At twenty-one, a young man is made the guardian of his own interests: but he cannot, for a few years more, be intrusted with the affairs of the nation. He must be an inhabitant of the state that elects him, that he may be intimately acquainted with their particular circumstances. The house of representatives is not, as the senate, to have a president chosen for them, from without their body, but are to elect their speaker from their own number. They will also appoint all their other officers. In great state cases, they will be the grand inquest of the nation; for they possess the sole and uncontrollable power of impeachment. They are neither to wait the call, nor abide the prorogations and dissolutions of a perverse or ambitious prince: for they are to meet at least once in every year, and sit on adjournments, to be agreed on between themselves and the other servants of the people. Should they differ in opinion, the president, who is a temporary fellow servant, and not their hereditary master, has a mediatorial power to adjust it for them; but cannot prevent their constitutional meeting within the year. They can compel the attendance of their members, that their public duty may not be evaded

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in times of difficulty or danger—The vote of each representative can be always known, as well as the proceedings of the house, that so the people may be acquainted with the conduct of those in whom they repose so important a trust. As was observed of the senators, they cannot make new offices for themselves; nor increase, for their own benefit, the emoluments of old ones, by which the people will be exempted from needless additions to the public expenses on such sordid and mercenary principles. They are not to be restrained from the firm and plain language, which becomes the independent representatives of freemen; for there is to be a perfect liberty of speech. Without their consent, no monies can be obtained, no armies raised, no navies provided. They, alone, can originate bills for drawing forth the revenues of the union: and they will have a negative upon every legislative act of the other house.—So far, in short, as the sphere of federal jurisdiction extends, they will be controulable only by the people: and, in contentions with the other branch, so far as they shall be right, they must ever finally prevail.

Such, my countrymen, are some of the cautionary provisions of the frame of government your faithful convention have submitted to your consideration—such the foundations of peace, liberty, and safety, which have been laid by their unwearied labours. They have guarded you against all servants, but those, “whom choice and common good ordain,” against all masters, “save preserving Heaven.”

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.

Philadelphia, Sept. 29, 1787.



Remarks on several ludicrous advertisements.

MR. PRINTER,

I Am extremely fond of newspapers, and indulge myself in feasting upon all I meet with. If any thing occur in them, which pleases my fancy, I note it down in my com-

mon-place book: and as this has been my practice for many years, you may easily suppose I have a curious collection. I could keep you laughing a week at least. But this collection is not intended for public use: it is at the service of only select friends. Among other things, there are in it *improprieties in advertisements*, some of which I have concluded to send you for publication; as they may be useful in preventing similar ones in future.

The first I shall mention, is an advertisement published by a person who styles himself “A gentleman of considerable experience in the *law line*.” Is it not rational to suppose the “*law line*” to mean a *halter*? What, then, should we suppose this gentleman’s experience means? Certainly, that he had followed the honourable and useful employment of common hangman, or that he had been hanged himself, until he was almost dead. This is a very natural supposition. But it appeared by the sequel, that the only idea he intended to convey, was, that he had served a regular apprenticeship to a lawyer, and was himself a considerable practitioner.

Another gentleman, of the same profession, advertises “the *premises following* to be sold.” A scholar will immediately see the impropriety of the expression: but for the sake of the unlearned, it is necessary to observe, that *premises* signify things preceding or going before; so that “*premises following*” are, in plain English, *the foregoing things following*, which must be strange things, to be sure!

And yet things may be placed in such a situation, as both to go before and follow, at the same time, though not with respect to the same object—Suppose, for instance, A, B, C, to be three ganders walking in the order in which I have placed them; B certainly goes before C, and at the same time follows A: however, this was

not the case with "the premises;" for they *all followed*.

A man informed us through the medium of the news-paper, that his wife had eloped; and added, "this is therefore to forewarn all persons to *trust her*; as I am determined to pay no debts," &c.—I think he would have treated the public more civilly, had he forewarned them *not* to trust her, as he had determined not to pay debts contracted by her: for how could he suppose, others would be willing to trust her, when she had lost all credit with him, who must be best acquainted with her character and circumstances?—It was an insult offered to our understandings. Perhaps he meant, that we should *not* trust her; then he should have said so.

The following is the most singular advertisement, I ever met with.—"To be sold the south part of Abraham Lawrence's neck."—Extraordinary as it is, it certainly appeared in the news-paper, or it never would have been in my common-place-book.—Pray can you tell, which is the *south* part of a man's neck? I remember, that when I studied geography, my preceptor taught me always to consider the *upper* part of the map as *north*, unless a compass on it gave different information: for this reason I should conclude, that the lower part of a man's neck (or that next to his shoulders) must be the *south* part; but perhaps I may be mistaken.—A number of curious questions will naturally obtrude themselves here, as, why a man should propose to sell part of himself at all? why he might not as well sell himself together? why he should prefer a part of *his neck*, to any other part, for this purpose? &c. &c. But these are more properly subjects of speculation for a *society of gentlemen*; as *one* mind is hardly equal to the *disquisition*.—If the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, for promoting useful knowledge, or the

American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston, should undertake the investigation, the result of their enquiry would doubtless be pleasing, if not useful to the public. However, lest they should be induced to spend as much time in this business, as it is said the Royal Society did in enquiring into the cause of a man's having hair on one leg and none on the other (which he had shaved) I will just hint to them, that as "a house and barn, and about 250 acres of upland," were mentioned in the advertisement, it is to be supposed that a piece of land, and not his *natural neck*, is intended.

In a late Massachusetts paper, is this notice: "The *select* men of Boston acquaint the inhabitants, that they laid before the grand jury, now sitting, the matter respecting the calf (whose dam was bit by a dog supposed to be mad) who could not find sufficient cause for presentment against the supposed offender. The select men, however, have ordered the several parts of said veal, brought to market, to be buried six feet underground." There could be no doubt but the authors of this paragraph were *select* men, even if they had not told us so; for the *common* *mass* of mankind could not furnish a similar piece of composition—Let us analyse it. "The calf (whose dam was bit by a dog supposed to be mad) who could not find sufficient cause for a presentment."—A parenthesis contains something which may be omitted, without injuring either the sense or reading:—omit it upon this occasion; then we have "the *calf*, who could not find sufficient cause for presentment." Thus we find the antecedent, to which *who* relates, and it turns out to be a *calf*, and a dead one too. Who under heaven (except a very few *select* persons) would ever expect such a beast to know any thing about presentments or the causes of them? Ill-natured men might

be led, by the construction of this sentence, to think a reflexion was intended, either upon the jury generally, or their foreman in particular: but I cannot allow myself to suppose the select men of Boston would be guilty of such rudeness; and therefore prefer ascribing this particular mode of expression to a *defect in grammatical knowledge*, which may be easily accounted for, by supposing the writer to be a *young gentleman*, the completion of whose studies might have been prevented by the commencement of hostilities at *Lexington*, and the long war which ensued. But to proceed:—this same calf “could not find sufficient cause, for a presentment against the *supposed offender*.”—The reader is left altogether in the dark as to the *offender* intended here. I have studied this point ’till my head almost akes; but cannot satisfactorily ascertain, who was the offender.

The only antecedents in the sentence are the select men of Boston, the inhabitants, the grand jury, the calf, its dam, and a dog supposed to be mad. It is evident, that neither of the first three could have been intended: it is equally so, that the fourth could not; for the *calf* was to judge of the cause of presentment. It would be unjust to accuse the calf’s dam of the offence, because she was clearly the offeree, and not the offender; and being bit (by the bye *bitten* would have been more grammatical) was her misfortune, and not her crime: wherefore, accusing her would not only be unjust, but cruel.

The only remaining object of accusation, is “the dog supposed to be mad.” But here difficulties occur too: for who ever heard of a mad dog’s being *presented*? If even a *calf* were to find *billa vera* in this case, we should pronounce it to be as mad, as the dog was supposed to be: and a jury, a *grand jury*, who should do it, must be much more so. Who, then, was the offender? Aye, that’s the rub! Why, in truth, I cannot find out: and having reached my *ne plus ultra* in conjecture, I shall leave it to the select men of Boston to determine. From the obscurity of this paragraph, and the use of the phrase, “*said veal*,” I should be inclined to think, one of the order of lawyers was the draftsman of it: but though the obscurity would justify such a conjecture, it can hardly be supposed, that a person, accustomed to legal precision, would introduce “*said veal*,” when veal had not been mentioned before. Upon the whole, this is, in every point of view, a most perplexing paragraph. The more I consider it, the more difficulties occur. I shall therefore leave it, as I found it.

It was my intention to have said something about the correctors of our presses, who frequently suffer errors of great consequence to escape their notice (such as—ground to be sold by a sheriff, to “*ratify*” a judgment—so *fragrant* an infringement of the laws, as an attempt to rob a shop, &c.) but I fear, I have already trespassed on your patience.

Address to gen. Washington. By Philip Freneau. Written anno 1781.

ACCEPT, great chief, that share of honest praise,
A grateful people to your merit pays:
Verse is too mean your virtues to display,
And words too weak our meaning to convey.
When first proud Britain rais’d her heavy hand,
With claims unjust to bind your native land,
Transported armies, and her millions spent,
To enforce the mandates, that a tyrant sent;
‘Resist! Resist!’ was heard through ev’ry state.
You heard the call, and mourn’d your country’s fate:
Then rising fierce, her sons in arms array’d,

And taught to vanquish those who dar'd invade.

Those British chiefs, whom former wars had crown'd
With conquest—and in ev'ry clime renown'd,—
Who forc'd new realms to own their monarch's law,
And whom e'en George beheld with secret awe—
Those mighty chiefs, compell'd to fly or yield,
Scarce dar'd to meet you on th' embattled field:
To Boston's town you chas'd the trembling crew:
Quick e'en from thence, the British ruffians flew;
Through wintry waves they fled; and thought the sea,
With all its storms, less terrible than thee!

What chief, like you, our armies could command,
And bring us safely to the promis'd land?—
Not, Clinton-like, with victory elate—
'Tis in misfortune you are doubly great.
When Howe, victorious, thy weak army chas'd,
And, sure of conquest, laid Cefarea waste—
When prostrate, bleeding, at his feet she lay,
And the proud victor tore her wreaths away—
You, undismay'd, put forth your warlike hand,
And rais'd the drooping genius of the land;
Repell'd the foe, their choicest warriors slain;
And drove them, howling, to their ships again.

While others kindle into martial rage,
Whom fierce ambition urges to engage,
An iron race by angry heav'n design'd
To conquer first, and then enslave mankind;
In you, a hero more humane we see:
You venture life, that others may be free.
O! may you live, to hail that glorious day,
When Britain homeward shall pursue her way—
That race subdu'd, who fill'd the world with slain,
And rode tyrannic o'er the subject main!
What few presum'd, you boldly have achiev'd,
A tyrant humbled, and a world reliev'd.

Rome's boasted chiefs, who, to their own disgrace,
Prov'd the worst scourges of the human race,
Pierc'd by whose darts a thousand nations bled,
Who captive princes at their chariots led—
Born to enslave, to ravage and subdue—
Return to nothing, when compar'd to you.
Throughout the world thy growing fame has spread:
In ev'ry country are thy virtues read.
Remotest India hears thy deeds of fame:
The hardy Scythian flammers at thy name:
The haughty Turk, now longing to be free,
Neglects his sultan, to enquire of thee:
The barb'rous Briton hails thee to his shores,
And calls him "rebel"—whom his heart adores!

Still may the heav'ns prolong thy vital date,
And still may conquest on thy banners wait:
Whether afar to ravag'd lands you go,
Where wild Patowmac's rapid waters flow,
Or where Saluda laves the fertile plain—
And, swoln by torrents, rushes to the main—
Or if again to Hudson you repair,
To smite the cruel foe that lingers there—
Revenge their cause, whose virtue was their crime,
The exil'd hosts from Carolina's clime.

Late from the world in quiet may'st thou rise,
And, mourn'd by millions, reach thy native skies—
With patriot kings and gen'rous chiefs to shine,
Whose virtues rais'd them to be deem'd divine!
May Louis only equal honours claim,
Alike in merit and alike in fame.



On the love of our country.

YE souls illustrious, who, in days of yore,
With peerless might the British target bore—
Who, clad in wolf-skin, from the scythed car,
Frown'd on the iron brow of mailed war—
Who dar'd your rudely-painted limbs oppose
To temper'd steel, and skill of Roman foes—
And ye, of later age, not less in fame,
In tilt and tournament, the princely game
Of Arthur's barons, wont by hardiest sport
To claim the fairest guerdon of the court—
Say, holy shades, did e'er your gen'rous blood
Roll thro' your faithful sons in nobler flood,
Than when, of late, fair Liberty unfurl'd
Her injur'd banners o'er the western world?
Your brave descendants heard the voice around,
And, swains till then, turn'd heroes at the sound.
Say, holy shades, did patriotic heat
In your big hearts with quicker transports beat,
Than in your sons, when forth like storms they pour'd,
In freedom's cause, the fury of the sword—
And bade Quebec and Saratoga tell,
How Gates subdued, and how Montgomery fell?
Poor is his triumph and disgrac'd his name,
Who draws the sword for empire, wealth, or fame.
For him tho' wealth be blown in ev'ry wind,
Tho' fame announce him mightiest of mankind,
Tho' twice ten nations crouch beneath his blade—
Virtue disowns him; and his glories fade:
For him no pray'rs are pour'd, no pæans sung,
No blessings chaunted from a nation's tongue.
Blood marks the path to his untimely bier:
The curse of widows, and the orphan's tear,
Cry to high heav'ns for vengeance on his head—
Alive deserted, and accurst when dead.
Indignant of his deeds, the muse who sings
Undaunted truths, and scorns to flatter kings,
Shall shew the monster in his hideous form,
And mark him as an earthquake or a storm.
Not so the patriot chief, who dares withstand
The base invaders of his native land—
Who makes her weal his noblest, only end—
Rules but to serve her, fights but to defend—
Her voice in council, and in fight her sword,
Lov'd as a father, barely not ador'd;
Who, firmly virtuous, and humanely brave,
Strives not to conquer fellow-men, but save.
On worth like his the muse delights to wait,
Reveres alike in triumph, or defeat;
Crowns with true glory, and with spotless fame,

And, fix'd on his, forgets proud Fred'ric's name.
In times like these, if such a man there be,
Who does not feel, that WASHINGTON is he?
Hail, first of patriots! form'd by heav'n's own hand,
First to preserve, then teach thy native land:
Whose arm was nerv'd by freedom, when he fought,
Whose pen bright wisdom guided while he wrote—
Whose conduct seals the lessons he has taught—
From whose wise page Columbia's rising youth
Must gather public honour, faith, and truth;
There learn by times, that freedom's sacred cause
Must sink, when faction bursts the gen'rous laws,
By wisdom fram'd, the wayward to controul;
And from the public body tears the soul.
Hail happy man! thy animating name
To latest times shall kindle freedom's flame,
The grateful breasts of future myriads fire,
When heav'n-taught bards shall strike the sounding lyre,
And tell them, glowing with a conscious pride,
Thou wast their chief, deliv'rer, parent, guide.
Illustrious warriors, late Columbia's boast,
Who, in the noblest cause, were nobly lost,
Fain would the muse here check her bold career,
To drop o'er you a monumental tear;
But from your ashes, hark! a voice proceeds,
"That tell is he, who for his country bleeds."
This bids us not your envied fate to rue,
But in your brave survivors honour you.
Dear is the tie that links the anxious fire,
To the fond babe that prattles round his fire:
Dear is the love that prompts the grateful youth
A parent's cares and drooping age to soothe:
Dear is the sister, brother, husband, wife,
Dear all the charities of social life:
Nor wants firm friendship holy wreaths, to bind,
In mutual sympathy, the faithful mind.
But not th' endearing springs that fondly move
To filial duty or parental love—
Nor all the ties that kindred bosoms bind—
Nor all in friendship's holy wreaths entwin'd,
Are half so dear, so potent to controul
The gen'rous workings of the patriot's soul,
As is that holy voice, that cancels all
Those ties, and bids him for his country fall.
At this high summons, with undaunted zeal,
He bares his breast, invites th' impending steel,
Smiles at the hand, that deals the fatal blow,
Nor heaves one sigh for all he leaves below.
Nor yet does glory, though her boast be bold,
Her aspect radiant, and her tresses gold,
Guide through the walks of death alone her car,
Attendant only on the din of war:
She ne'er disdains the gentle vale of peace,
Or olive shades of philosophic ease,
Where heav'n-taught minds, to woo the muse resort,
Create in colours, or with sounds transport,

Where freedom's senate form'd the noblest plan,
 That e'er compris'd the various rights of man ;
 More pleas'd on Hudson's silent marge to roam,
 Than lead her captive foes in triumph home ;
 Where Pennsylvania's polish'd farmer greets
 The home-born pleasures of his calm retreats ;
 And far from strife a chosen few among
 Pours the mellifluous wisdom of his tongue.
 Thus safely landed on some friendly shore,
 The seamen smile while distant tempests roar.

To read with Newton's ken the starry sky,
 And God the same in all his orbs descry,
 With Franklin, nature's hidden paths explore,
 To point at causes never known before,
 Disarm the storm, and bid the lightning's fire,
 Rush innocently down the guardian wire,
 To lead forth merit from her lonely shade,
 Extend to rising arts a patron's aid,
 Build the nice structure of the gen'rous law,
 That holds the freeborn soul in willing awe,
 To swell the sail of trade, the barren plain,
 To bid with fruitage blush, and wave with grain,
 O'er pale misfortune drop, with friendly sigh,
 Pity's mild balm, and wipe affliction's eye—
 These, these are deeds Columbia must approve,
 Must nurse their growth with all a parent's love.
 These are the deeds her Washington pursues—
 The public good still cent'ring all his views.
 These are the deeds that public virtue owns,
 And, just to public virtue, glory crowns.

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T H E
A M E R I C A N M U S E U M :

O R

R E P O S I T O R Y

OF ANCIENT AND MODERN

F U G I T I V E P I E C E S, &c.

P R O S E A N D P O E T I C A L.

For OCTOBER, 1787.



..... " *With sweetest flow'rs enrich'd,*
" *From various gardens cull'd with care.*"

..... " *Collecta revirescunt.*"



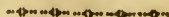
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M, DCC, XCII.

THE

AMERICAN MUSEUM

For OCTOBER, 1787.



Observations on the late insurrection in Massachusetts; its causes; artifices of incendiaries; prejudices in favour of native country, prevalent every where but in America.

LETTER I.

THE late events have been so interesting and so rapid, that the public mind has been confounded by the magnitude, and oppressed with the variety, of the reflexions which result from them. The season of the most useful observation for statesmen and philosophers is not yet arrived. Their decisions are made upon facts as they appear in their simplicity, after faction has ceased to distort, and enthusiasm to adorn them. It is otherwise with the public:—their judgment is formed, while the transactions are recent—while the rage of party gives an acumen to their penetration, and an importance to their discoveries; which, however, are soon cheerfully consigned to oblivion. This seems, therefore, to be the time to re-consider the state of parties, and to examine the opinions which have lately prevailed. Perhaps some fruit may be gathered from our dear experience, and we may in some measure succeed in eradicating the destructive notions which the seditious have infused into the people.

But experience, which makes individuals wise, sometimes makes a public mad. Judging only by their feelings, disastrous events are usually charged to the agency of bad men; and, in the bustle excited by their vindictive zeal, the precious lessons of adversity are lost. It belongs to the sage politician, to draw from such events just maxims of policy, for the future benefit of mankind: and it belongs to mankind, to keep those maxims accumulating, by repeating the same blunders, and pursuing the same phantoms, with equal ignorance, and equal ardour, to the end of the world. This disposition is so obvious, that proof cannot be needed; but if it is desired, it is furnished so abundantly by the history of every nation, that it requires some taste, to select judiciously the most pertinent evidence: it is most useful, to advert to our own times.

In spite of national beggary, paper money has still its advocates, and probably, of late, its martyrs. In spite of national dishonour, the continental impost is still opposed with success. Never did experience more completely demonstrate the iniquity of the one, and the necessity of the other. But in defiance of demonstration, knaves will continue to proselyte fools, and to keep a paper-

money faction alive. The fear of their success has annihilated credit, as their actual success would annihilate property. For many years, we may expect that our federal government will be permitted to languish, without the powers to extort commercial treaties from rival states, or to establish a national revenue. All this is notorious—it is the common language of the people, not excepting the least informed. But it is vain to expect, that schemes, plainly unjust and absurd, will *therefore* want advocates: our late experience forbids this confidence. Hitherto, invention has not equalled credulity: and the next pretence for rebellion will probably fail of rousing the disaffected to arms, more because it is not monstrous and absurd enough, than because its repugnance to reason and common justice is palpable. The love of novelty, and the passion for the marvellous, have ever made the multitude more than passive: they have invited imposture, and drank down deception like water. They will remain as blind, as credulous, as irritable, as ever. Ambitious men, and those whose characters and fortunes are blasted, will not be wanting to deceive and inflame them, openly or by intrigue. The opposition to federal measures, and the schemes of an abolition of debts, and an equal distribution of property, with their subdivisions and branches, will be pursued with unremitting industry, till they involve us again in general confusion, unless government, by system, energy, and honesty, shall render the laws from this period irresistibly supreme.

But success never fails to produce good humour, and to procure for government a season of popularity. The public attention is now awake; and this is the favourable moment to induce the people, by a retrospect of their errors, to renounce them—to place confidence in their rulers, and in the

permanency and energy of our republic—and to unite in the patriotic sentiment, that it is indispensably necessary to the general prosperity, and to the very existence of government, that the reins should be resumed and held with a firmer hand; and that palliatives and half expedients and the projects of factious ignorance will not avail.

To a philosophic observer, indeed the present confusion will afford an inexhaustible fund of astonishment and concern. He will behold men who have been civilized, returning to barbarism, and threatening to become fiercer than the savage children of nature, in proportion to the multitude of their wants, and the cultivated violence of their passions. He will see them weary of liberty, and unworthy of it, arming their sacrilegious hands against it, though it was bought with their blood, and was once the darling pride of their hearts complaining of oppression, because the law, which has not forbidden, has not also enforced; cheating; endeavouring to oppose society against morality, and to associate freemen against freedom. He will call this a chaos of morals and politics, in which all floating and conflicting, not the first principles and simple elements out of which systems may be formed, but the fragments which have escaped the wreck of institutions and opinions—not the embryo, but the ruins, of world. When he turns his eye from this landscape of barrenness and horror, so painful to the senses and the imagination, he will be led to contemplate the rigorous wisdom of providence, which has so palpably ordained, that the guilt of this rebellion shall be punished by its folly.

To the very ignorant man, who has been the fellow student and companion of his oxen, this subject has suggested very different reflections.

Under the loss of the most vene-

ble and useful institutions, he could have consoled himself by reflecting, that they cost money. This an, conceited and obstinate in proportion to his ignorance, confirmed in his hatred of *great men*, and irritated by the perpetual recurrence of arguments which he does not understand, is felt his pride regaled with the success of the conventions, in their attempts to bring matters and characters to a level. He will not perceive, at the small charge incurred to support a free and equal government, is all laid out, to defend the residue of his property; nor, that the ambition of the conventioners and leaders of the rebellion would prove more voracious than the present servants of the people: for has not long fasting nettled the keenness of their appetites? Blind, because he will not see, this calculator of half-pence could not have been convinced but by the experience of his folly.—Most probably he would murmur against owing the premium for the discovery of the longitude; and would estimate the value of civil liberty, and perhaps of his own salvation, in pounds, shillings, and pence.

The rebel officer, and the paper money knave, have laughed at the speculations of philosophers; and would have rejoiced in the opportunity to tread upon the carcase of the commonwealth, till they had fattened the wickedness of their iniquity.

Tribes of angry politicians, groaning under the weight of the poll tax, have concurred in imputing their burdens to the exactions of the *great men*. His use of the words, *great men*, is in all instances proof of a seditious purpose in the speaker, where he is not exculpated by his ignorance. The most ignorant and unthinking of our community have stood in a peculiar edicament. For many years past, their understandings have been adulled. Their narrow vision has been strained to comprehend the most

extensive questions of right and policy. For their benefit, the most simple subjects have received the most copious exposition. Successive general courts, especially the last, have laboured to demonstrate certainty, and to illuminate sunshine; until jealous ignorance, insulted by instruction, inferred that there must be great doubts where there was so much argument. Patriots, as well as incendiaries, have excited their jealousy, and stimulated their enthusiasm. They have become drowsy, by too long warring; sceptics, by too much proof; and, in fact, are fairly mad with politics. It has happened with them as with new converts to religion—their excessive zeal has made them infidels.

It is no less true than singular, that our government is not supported by national prejudice. The people of every country, but our own, though poor and oppressed, bear a patriotic preference to their own laws and national character. They will not suffer any one to revile them. The Briton, who sells his vote, and is sold by his representative, glories in that freedom which is his birthright. Without the smallest knowledge of the principles and institutions by which that freedom is secured, he relies on the fact, and takes rank of a Frenchman, whom he stigmatises as a slave: to defend that rank, his ardent valour is always devoted to his country. Every Frenchman is equally prompt to maintain the glory of his king. This prejudice is useful, and bears, to just political knowledge, the relation of instinct to reason; its decisions are quick; its influence uniform and certain. It is the cement of political union. The government of Turkey is doubtless applauded at Constantinople. Tyranny receives the homage of its dupes and its victims. But Liberty in America cannot preserve the reverence of her sons. We have no national character—no just pride in the glorious distinction of freemen,

which elevates an American beggar above the despots of Asia. We have, it is true, our portion of common follies; and we are not exceeded by any people in the zeal to maintain them. But unfortunately they tend to vilify and to destroy the public liberty. The people have turned, against their teachers, the doctrines which were inculcated in order to effect the late revolution: with more privileges and more information than are possessed by the inhabitants of any other country, our citizens, either because they have not learned the value of those privileges by the loss of them, or by a comparison with the nations subject to despotism, or because they have not been accustomed to think that any change will be unfavourable to them, appear to have no more attachment to the constitution, than to the rules of the Robinhood society. The admirers of our government are beyond the Atlantic: it is extolled by the sages of Europe, as giving the sanction of law to the precepts of wisdom, and investing philanthropy with the power to legislate for mankind. But, far from contemplating its excellence with partial fondness and implicit reverence, the people arraign the infirmity of the senate, the exactness and multiplicity of the laws, and the constitution itself. Devoted to folly—they will continue to destroy the pillars of their own security, until they are buried in its ruins!!

CAMILLUS.

LETTER II.

IN our last speculation we expressed our surprise, that a government, which is free almost to excess, should want the love and veneration of that class of the people, whose rights and privileges are so peculiarly connected with its preservation. But it is to be considered, that they have once subverted, and again formed, a con-

stitution. Their complete success in both attempts has extinguished all their ideas of the difficulty and hazard of this operation; and, accordingly, they seem to think it as easy and safe to change the government as the representatives. We have already considered some of the cause which have produced this perversion of opinions. It is not strange, that people, with little information or leisure, with violent prejudices and infinite credulity, should make indifferent politicians; but it remains, subject of amazement, that the men of speculation and refinement have wandered still more widely from the path of duty and good sense. It will be amusing to review the extravagances of these framers of hypotheses. They considered the contest with Britain as involving the fate of liberty and science. To animate and to recompence their sufferings and to during the conflict, their ardent enthusiasm had anticipated a system of government too pure for a state's imperfection. When they found that, for the first time in the history of man, a nation was allowed by providence to reduce to practice the schemes which Plato and Harrington had only sketched upon paper, they expected a constitution which should be perfect and perpetual. Politics have produced enthusiasts, well as religion; and in the theory of our constitution, they could trace their fancied model of perfection. To the mind of the dreamer in speculation, the government was a phantom; and, to adorn it, his fancy had stolen from the evening cloud the gaudiest of its hues; he had dipped his pencil in the rainbow, to portray a picture of national felicity for Admiration to gaze at. Then was the time to tell of Virtue being raised from the dungeon, where priests and tyrants had confined her; at that Science had been courted from the skies to meet her. Then was the

me to talk of restoring the golden age, without being laughed at; and many seemed to believe, that a political millennium was going to commence.

But here end our heroes. When they quitted the theory, to attend to the administration, of government, they descended to vulgar prose; they found, that their admired plan of freedom of election had produced a false faithful representation of the electors; and, that something more, and something worse, than the public freedom and integrity, were represented. They often heard the unmeaning din of vulgar clamour excited, to make that odious which was right, and that popular which was wrong.

They well knew, that the laws were made supreme; and, that politicians should have no passions: yet it was soon perceived, that the legislators themselves sometimes felt, and so often feared and obeyed the sudden passions, and ignorant prejudices, of their constituents. They expected government by laws, and not by men; and they were chagrined, to see, that the feelings of the people were not only consulted in all instances, but that, in many, they were allowed to legislate. They had hoped, that the supreme power would prove, for all legal purposes, omnipotent: and they were thrown into absolute despair, when they found, that not only individuals, but conventions and other bodies of men, unknown to the constitution, presumed to resist, and in effect to repeal, the acts of the legislature. Besides, the first years of the millennium had fallen far short of the expected felicity. But, when a mad people flew to arms—when they found, that, in spite of the indocile and impenetrable stupidity of the insurgents, there was so much meaning in their wickedness, and that the reasonings of great numbers, who espoused the cause of

government, were almost as hostile as the other party—they gave way to their spleen and disappointment, and declared their conviction, that a republican government was impracticable and absurd. They argued, as they said, from facts, as well as from principles, that such a government was cursed with inherent inefficiency, and that property was more precarious than under a despot. A despot, they said, is a man, and would fear the retaliation of his tyranny; but an enthusiastic majority, fleeced against compassion, and blind to reason, are equally sheltered from shame and punishment. The theory of the constitution, has not escaped their fastidious criticism: and they have seen, with complacency, the stupid fury of Shays and his banditti employed to introduce a more stable government, whose powers (they predicted) would soon be lodged in the hands of abler men. They raved about monarchy, as if we were ripe for it—and as if we were willing to take from the plough-tail or drayman, some vociferous committee-man, and to array him in purple, with all the splendor of a king of the gypsies.

So far as we may argue from the sympathy which fools and knaves have for their fellows, and from the fact of Luke Day's influence in the rebellion, the presumption is, that our king, whenever providence in its wrath shall send us one, will be either a blockhead or a rascal.

The sons of science, who have adopted this reprehensible mode of reasoning, are, notwithstanding, the most sincere lovers of their country: they are not the men to subvert empires. I will repeat, for their consideration, some observations, which, though true, are not unedifying.

The idea of a royal or aristocratical government for America, is very absurd: it is repugnant to the gen-

us, and totally incompatible with the circumstances, of our country. Our interests and our choice have made us republicans. We are too poor to maintain, and too proud to acknowledge, a king. The spirit of finance, and the ostentation of power, would create burdens—These would produce the Shayes and the Wheelers. The army must be augmented—oppression and discontent would augment, of consequence : but this is mere idle speculation ; for every honest man is surely bound to give his support to the existing government, until its power becomes intolerable. A change, though for the better, is always to be deplored by the generation in which it is effected ; much is lost, and more is hazarded. Our republic has not yet been allowed a fair trial. The rebellion hath called forth its powers, and pointed out most clearly the means of giving it stability. Let us, therefore, cherish and defend our constitution ; and, when time and wealth shall have corrupted it, our posterity may perform the melancholy task of laying, in human blood and misery, as we have done, the foundations of another government. We, who are now upon the stage, bear upon our memories too deep an impression of the miseries of the last revolution, to think of attempting another.

It is an Herculean labour, to detail our political absurdities. Since the days of Cromwell, there never has been an instance of such general infatuation. But while almost every tavern and conversation circle were infested with the harangues of the emissaries of treason, who, without fear or measure, reviled the government, and, without shame, perverted the truth, the opinions of the people at large were inevitably tainted with the impurity of the source from which they were derived.

Nor was the agency of rebel emissaries the only cause of popular error.

Where so much uneasiness prevailed against government, they could not be persuaded that all was right. The sufferers, many conceived, were the best able to decide upon the reality of their grievances ; and so many honest men would not combine to deceive them. The general court had given some colour to these presumptions, and no small consequence to the party by the minute attention which they paid to their complaints, before they adopted measures to suppress the rebellion, and by the laws, of an unprecedented nature, enacted for their relief. Great numbers took their seat for their counsellors, and thought rashness to contend against the invincible host of insurgents. Another state tax was more dreaded, by many than the subversion of government. Some said, very gravely, Shays himself is for government ; while others as absurdly, in their zeal of philanthropy against shedding blood, seem wholly to forget, that the right of self defence belongs to rulers, as plain as to private men. In matters of etiquette and punctilio, the apostles of mischief seemed agreed, that it was more proper for the rulers of a great commonwealth than for the leaders of a ragged banditti, to make concessions. Disappointed men have hoped to gratify their ambition or the revenge. The abolition of public and private debts has been a favourite object with some. Others (such have been the extreme of phrenzy) have contended for an equal distribution of property : while the giddy multitude have enjoyed the bustle of parties, and have found amusement in destruction.

With what impression will the impartial world peruse the record of these facts ? They will be ready to affirm, with the lunatic, that all the world had got mad, except a few who, for their sobriety, were confined in Bedlam.

C A M I L L U S.

Adventures of colonel Daniel Boon, one of the original settlers at Kentucke; containing the wars with the Indians on the Ohio, from 1769, to the year 1784, and the first establishment and progress of the settlement on that river. Written by the colonel.

It was on the first of May 1769, that I resigned my domestic happiness, and left my family and peaceful habitation on the Yadkin river, North Carolina, to wander through the wilderness of America, in quest of the country of Kentucke, in company with John Finley, John Stuart, Joseph Holden, James Money, and William Cool.

On the 7th of June, after travelling through a mountainous wilderness, in a western direction, we found ourselves on Red River, where John Finley had formerly been trading with the Indians; and, from the top of an eminence, saw with pleasure the beautiful level of Kentucke. For the first time we had experienced the most uncomfortable weather. We were encamped, made a shelter to defend us from the inclement season, and began to hunt and reconnoitre the country. We found abundance of wild beasts in this vast forest.—The buffaloes were more numerous than cattle on other settlements, browsing on the leaves of the cane, or cropping the herbage on those extensive plains. We saw hundreds in a grove, and the numbers about the salt springs were amazing. In this vast forest, the habitation of beasts of every American kind, we hunted with great success until December.

On the 22d of December, John Stuart and I had a pleasing ramble; but fortune changed the day at the close of it. We had passed through the great forest, in which stood myriads of trees, some gay with blossoms, others rich with fruits. Nature was here a series of wonders and a fund of delight. Here she displayed her liberality and industry in a variety of

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flowers and fruits, beautifully coloured, elegantly shaped, and charmingly flavoured; and we were diverted with numberless animals, presenting themselves perpetually to our view. In the decline of the day, near Kentucke river, as we ascended the brow of a small hill, a number of Indians rushed out of a thick cane brake, and made us prisoners. The Indians plundered us, and kept us in confinement seven days.—During this, we discovered no uneasiness or desire to escape, which made them less suspicious; but in the dead of night, as we lay by a large fire, in a thick cane brake, when sleep had locked up their senses, my situation not disposing me to rest, I gently awoke my companion. We seized this favourable opportunity, and departed, directing our course towards our old camp, but found it plundered, and our company dispersed or gone home.

About this time my brother, Squire Boon, with another adventurer, who came to explore the country shortly after us, was wandering through the forest, and accidentally found our camp. Notwithstanding our unfortunate circumstances, and our dangerous situation, surrounded with hostile savages, our meeting fortunately in the wilderness, gave us the most sensible satisfaction.

Soon after this, my companion in captivity, John Stuart, was killed by the savages: and the man that came with my brother returned home by himself. We were then in a dangerous, helpless situation, exposed daily to perils and death, amongst savages and wild beasts, not a white man in the country but ourselves.

Thus many hundred miles from our families in the howling wilderness, we did not continue in a state of indolence, but hunted every day, and prepared a little cottage to defend us from the winter storms. We met with no disturbance during the winter.

On the first of May 1770, my brother returned home by himself, for a new recruit of horses and ammunition, leaving me alone, without bread, salt, or sugar, or even a horse or dog. I passed a few days uncomfortably. The idea of a beloved wife and family, and their anxiety on my account, would have disposed me to melancholy, if I had further indulged the thought.

One day I undertook a tour through the country; when the diversity and beauties of nature I met with, in this charming season, expelled every gloomy thought. Just at the close of day, the gentle gales ceased; a profound calm ensued; not a breath shook the tremulous leaf. I had gained the summit of a commanding ridge, and looking round with astonishing delight, beheld the ample plains and beauteous tracts below. On one hand I surveyed the famous Ohio, rolling in silent dignity, and marking the western boundary of Kentucke with inconceivable grandeur. At a vast distance, I beheld the mountains lift their venerable brows, and penetrate the clouds. All things were still. I kindled a fire, near a fountain of sweet water, and feasted on the loin of a buck, which a few hours before I had killed. The shades of night soon overspread the hemisphere, and the earth seemed to gasp after the hovering moisture. My excursion had fatigued my body, and amused my mind. I laid me down to sleep, and awoke not until the sun had chased away the night. I continued this tour, and in a few days explored a considerable part of the country, each day equally pleased as at first; after which I returned to my old camp, which had not been disturbed in my absence. I did not confine my lodging to it, but often reposed in thick cane brakes to avoid the savages, who, I believe, often visited my camp, but, fortunately for me, in my absence. No populous

city, with all the varieties of commerce and stately structures, could afford so much pleasure to my mind as the beauties of nature I found this country.

Until the 27th of July I spent time in an uninterrupted scene of sports and pleasures, when my brother, my great felicity, met me, according to appointment, at our old camp. Soon after we left the place, and proceeded to Cumberland river, reconnoitering that part of the country, and giving names to the different rivers.

In March 1771 I returned home my family, being determined to bring them as soon as possible, at the risk of my life and fortune, to reside in Kentucke, which I esteemed a second paradise.

On my return I found my family in happy circumstances. I sold my farm at Yadkin, and what goods I could not carry with us; and,

On the 25th of September 1771 we bade farewell to our friends, and proceeded on our journey to Kentucke, in company with five more families, and forty men that joined in Powell's Valley, which is 150 miles from the now settled parts of Kentucke; but this promising beginning was soon overcast with a cloud of adversity.

On the 10th of October, the rear of our company was attacked by a number of Indians, who killed six and wounded one man. Of these my dearest son was one that fell in the action. Though we repulsed the enemy, yet this unhappy affair scattered our cattle, brought us into extreme difficulty, and so discouraged the whole company, that we retreated forty miles to Clinch river. We then passed over two mountains, Powell's and Walden's, and were approaching Cumberland mountain, when this reverse fortune overtook us. The mountains are in the wilderness, passing from the old settlements of Virginia to Kentucke, are ranged

south-west and north-east direction, of great length and breadth, and at far distant from each other. Over their nature hath formed passes less difficult than might be expected from the view of such huge piles. The aspect of these cliffs is so wild and horrid, that it is impossible to behold them without terror.

Until the 6th of June, 1774, I remained with my family on the Clench, when I and Michael Stoner, were solicited by governor Dunmore, of Virginia, to conduct a number of surveyors to the falls of Ohio. This was a tour of near eight hundred miles, and took us sixty-two days.

On my return, governor Dunmore gave me the command of three garrisons, during the campaign against the Shawanese.

In March, 1775, at the solicitation of a number of gentlemen, of North Carolina, I attended their treaty at Wataga, with the Cherokee Indians, to purchase the lands on the south-side of Kentucke-river. After this, I undertook to mark out a road for the best passage from the settlements, through the wilderness to Kentucke.

Having collected a number of enterprising men, well armed, I soon began this work ; we proceeded until we came within fifteen miles of where Boonsborough now stands, where the Indians attacked us, and killed two, and wounded two more. This was the 20th of March, 1775. Three days after, they attacked us again ; we had two killed and three wounded. After this, we proceeded to the Kentucke river without opposition.

On the first of April, we began to erect the fort of Boonsborough, at a short distance, sixty yards from the river, on the south side.

On the 4th, they killed one of our men.

On the 14th of June, having finished the fort, I returned to my fa-

mily, on the Clench. Soon after I removed my family to this fort ; we arrived safe ; my wife and daughter being the first white women that stood on the banks of Kentucke river.

December 24th. The Indians killed one man, and wounded another, seeming determined to persecute us for erecting this fort.

July 14th, 1776. Two of col. Calway's daughters, and one of mine, were taken prisoners near the fort. I immediately pursued the Indians, with only eighteen men.

On the 16th, I overtook them, killed two of them, and recovered the girls.

The Indians had divided themselves into several parties, and attacked, on the same day, all our settlements and forts, doing a great deal of mischief. The husbandman was shot dead in the field, and most of the cattle were destroyed. They continued their hostilities until

The 15th of April, 1777, when a party of 100 of them attacked Boonsborough, and killed one man, and wounded four.

July 4th, they attacked it again with 200 men, and killed us one and wounded two. They remained 48 hours, during which we killed seven of them. All the settlements were attacked at the same time.

July 19th. Colonel Logan's fort was besieged by 200 Indians ; they did much mischief ; there were only fifteen men in the fort ; they killed two, and wounded four of them. Indians loss unknown.

July 25. Twenty-five men came from Carolina. About

August 20th, colonel Bowman arrived with 100 men from Virginia. Now we began to strengthen, and had skirmishes with the Indians almost every day. The savages now learned the superiority of the LONG KNIFE, as they call the Virginians ; being outgeneraled in almost every battle. Our

affairs began to wear a new aspect ; the enemy did not now venture open war, but practised secret mischief.

January 1, 1778. I went with thirty men to the Blue Licks, on Licking-river, to make salt for the different garrisons.

February 7th. Hunting by myself, to procure meat for the company, I met a party of 102 Indians and two Frenchmen, marching against Boonsborough. They pursued and took me ; and next day I capitulated for my men, knowing they could not escape. They were 27 in number, three having gone home with salt. The Indians, according to the capitulation, used us generously. They carried us to Old Chelicothe, the principal Indian town on Little Miami.

On the 18th of February we arrived there, after an uncomfortable journey, in very severe weather.

On the 10th of March, I and ten of my men were conducted to Detroit.

On the 30th, we arrived there, and were treated by governor Hamilton, the British commander at that post, with great humanity.

The Indians had such an affection for me, that they refused 100l. sterling offered them by the governor, if they would leave me with the others, on purpose that he might send me home on my parole. Several English gentlemen there, sensible of my adverse fortune, and touched with sympathy, generously offered to supply my wants, which I declined with many thanks, adding that I never expected it would be in my power to recompence such unmerited generosity. The Indians left my men in captivity with the British at Detroit.

On the 10th of April, they brought me towards Old Chelicothe, where we arrived on the twenty-fifth day of the same month. This was a long and fatiguing march, through an ex-

ceeding fertile country, remarkable for fine springs and streams of water. At Chelicothe, I spent my time as comfortably as I could expect ; was adopted, according to their custom, into a family, where I became a son, and had a great share in the affection of my new parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. I was exceedingly familiar and friendly with them, always appearing as chearful and satisfied as possible, and they put great confidence in me. I often went a hunting with them, and frequently gained their applause for my activity at our shooting-matches. I was careful not to exceed many of them in shooting ; for no people are more envious than they in this sport. I could observe in their countenance and gestures, the greatest expression of joy when they exceeded me ; and when the reverse happened, of envy. The Shawanese king took great notice of me, and treated me with profound respect, and entire friendship often entrusting me to hunt at my liberty. I frequently returned with the spoils of the woods, and as often presented some of what I had taken to him, expressive of duty to my sovereign. My food and lodging was in common with them, not so good indeed as I could desire, but necessity made every thing acceptable.

I now began to meditate an escape but carefully avoided giving suspicion.

Until the first day of June, I continued at Old Chelicothe, and then was taken to the salt springs on Scioto, and kept there ten days making salt. During this time, I hunted with them, and found the land, to a great extent about this river, to exceed the soil of Kentucke, if possible and remarkably well watered.

On my return to Chelicothe, four hundred and fifty of the choicest Indian warriors were ready to march against Boonsborough, painted and armed in a fearful manner. Thi

harm me, and I determined to escape.

On the 16th of June, before sunrise, I went off secretly, and reached Boonsborough on the 20th, a journey of one hundred and sixty miles, during which I had only one meal. I found our fortrefs in a bad state, but we immediately repaired our flanks, gates, posterns, and formed double bastions, which we completed in ten days. One of my fellow prisoners escaping after me, brought advice, that on account of my flight, the Indians had put off their expedition for three weeks.

About August 1st, I set out with nineteen men to surprise Point Creek Town on Sciotoh. Within four miles we fell in with thirty Indians going against Boonsborough. We fought, and the enemy gave way. We suffered no loss. The enemy had one killed, and two wounded. We took three horses and all their baggage. The Indians having evacuated their town and gone all together against Boonsborough, we returned, passed them on the sixth day, and on the seventh arrived safe at Boonsborough.

On the 8th, the Indian army, four hundred and forty-four in number, commanded by capt. Duquesne, and eleven other Frenchmen, and their own chiefs, came and summoned the fort. I requested two days consideration, which they granted. During this, we brought in through the posterns all the horses and other cattle we could collect.

On the 9th, in the evening, I informed their commander, that we were determined to defend the fort, while a man was living. They then proposed a treaty, and said if we sent out nine men to conclude it, they would withdraw. The treaty was held within sixty yards of the fort, as we suspected the savages. The articles were agreed to and sign-

ed; when the Indians told us, it was their custom for two Indians to shake hands with every white man in the treaty, as an evidence of friendship. We agreed to this also. They immediately grappled us to take us prisoners, but we cleared ourselves of them, though surrounded by hundreds, and gained the fort safe, except one that was wounded by a heavy fire from their army. On this they began to undermine the fort, beginning at the water-mark of Kentucke river, which is sixty yards from the fort. We discovered this by the water being made muddy with the clay, and countermined them by cutting a trench across their subterranean passage. The enemy discovering this, by the clay we threw out of the fort, desisted.

On the 20th of August they raised the siege.

During this dreadful siege, we had two men killed, and four wounded. We lost a number of cattle. We killed thirty-seven of the enemy, and wounded a great number. We picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds of their bullets, besides what stuck in the logs of the fort.

Soon after this I went into the settlement, and nothing worthy of notice passed for some time.

In July, 1779, during my absence, col. Bowman, with 160 men, went against the Shawanese of Old Chelicothe. He arrived undiscovered; a battle ensued, which lasted until ten in the morning, when col. Bowman retreated thirty miles. The Indians collected all their strength, and pursued him, when another engagement ensued for two hours, not to col. Bowman's advantage. Col. Harrod proposed to mount a number of horses and break the enemy's line, who at this time fought with remarkable fury. This desperate measure had a happy effect, and the savages fled on all sides. In these two battles we had

nine men killed, and one wounded. Enemy's loss uncertain, only two scalps being taken.

June 22d 1780, about 600 Indians and Canadians, under colonel Bird, attacked Riddle's and Martin's station, and the Forks of Licking river, with six pieces of artillery; they took all the inhabitants captives, and killed one man and two women, loaded the others with the heavy baggage, and such as failed in the journey, were tomahawked.

The hostile disposition of the savages, caused general Clark, the commandant at the falls of Ohio, to march with his regiment and the armed force of the country against Peccaway, the principal town of the Shawanese, on a branch of the Great Miami, which he finished with great success, took seventeen scalps, and burned the town to ashes, with the loss of seventeen men.

About this time, I returned to Kentucke with my family; for, during my captivity, my wife, thinking me killed by the Indians, had transported my family and goods on horses through the wilderness, amidst many dangers, to her father's house in North Carolina. The history of my difficulties in going and returning, is too long to be inserted here.

On the 6th of October 1780, soon after my settling again at Boonsborough, I went with my brother to the Blue Licks, and on our return, he was shot by a party of Indians: they followed me by the scent of a dog, which I shot, and escaped.

The severity of the winter caused great distress in Kentucke, the enemy during the summer having destroyed most of the corn. The inhabitants lived chiefly on Buffaloes' flesh.

In spring 1782, the Indians harassed us.

In May they killed one man at Ashton's station, and took a Negro.

Capt. Ashton pursued them with 25 men, and in an engagement which lasted two hours, his party were obliged to retreat, having eight killed, and four mortally wounded; their brave commander fell in the action.

August 10th, two boys were carried off from major Hoy's station. Capt. Holder pursued with 17 men: they were also defeated, and lost four and one wounded. Our affairs became more and more alarming. The savages infested the country, killing men at every opportunity.

In a field near Lexington, an Indian shot a man, and running to scalp him, was himself shot from the fort, and fell dead upon his enemy.

All the Indian nations were now united against us.

August 15th, five hundred Indians and Canadians came against Briant's station, five miles from Lexington: they assaulted the fort, killed all the cattle round it; but being repulsed, they retired the third day, having about thirty killed, their wounded uncertain. The garrison had four killed and three wounded.

August 18th. Colonel Todd, colonel Trigg, major Harland, and myself, speedily collected one hundred and seventy-six men, well armed, and pursued the savages. They had marched beyond the Blue Licks to a remarkable bend of the main fork of Licking river, about forty-three miles from Lexington, where we overtook them on the 19th.

The savages observing us, gave way, and we, ignorant of their numbers, passed the river. When they saw our proceedings, having greatly the advantage in situation, they formed their line of battle from one bend of the Licking to the other, about a mile from the Blue Licks. The battle was exceeding fierce for about fifteen minutes, when we, being overpowered by numbers, were obliged to retreat, with the loss of

fty-seven men, seven of whom were taken prisoners. The brave and much lamented colonels Todd and Trigg, major Harland, and my second son, were among the dead. We were afterwards told, that the Indians on numbering their dead, finding they had four more killed than we, out of our people they had taken, were given up to their young warriors to be put to death after their barbarous manner.

On our retreat, we were met by colonel Logan, who was hastening to join us, with a number of well armed men. This powerful assistance we wanted on the day of battle. The enemy said one more fire from us would have made them give way.

I cannot reflect upon this dreadful scene, but sorrow fills my heart. A zeal for the defence of their country led these heroes to the scene of action, though with a few men, to attack a powerful army of experienced warriors. When we gave way, they pursued us with the utmost eagerness, and in every quarter spread destruction. The river was difficult to cross, and many were killed in the flight, some just entering the river, some in the water, others after crossing, in ascending the cliffs. Some escaped on horseback, a few on foot; and being dispersed every where, in a few hours, brought the melancholy news of this unfortunate battle to Lexington. Many widows were now made. The reader may guess what sorrow filled the hearts of the inhabitants, exceeding any thing I am able to describe. Being reinforced, we returned to bury the dead, and found their bodies strewed every where, cut and mangled in a dreadful manner. This mournful scene exhibited a horror almost unparalleled; some torn and eaten by wild beasts; those in the river eaten by fishes; all in such putrefied condition that no one could be distinguished from another.

When general Clark at the falls of

Ohio, heard of our disaster, he ordered an expedition to pursue the savages; we overtook them within two miles of their towns, and we should have obtained a great victory, had not some of them met us when about two hundred poles from their camp. The savages fled in the utmost disorder, and evacuated all their towns. We burned to ashes Old Chelicothe, Peccaway, New Chelicothe, Willis Town, and Chelicothe; entirely destroyed their corn and other fruits; and spread desolation through their country. We took seven prisoners, and five scalps, and lost only four men, two of whom were accidentally killed by ourselves.

This campaign damped the enemy, yet they made secret incursions.

In October, a party attacked Crab Orchard, and one of them, being a good way before the others, boldly entered a house, in which were only a woman and her children, and a negro man. The savage used no violence, but attempted to carry off the negro, who happily proved too strong for him, and threw him on the ground, and in the struggle the woman cut off his head with an axe, whilst her little daughter shut the door. The savages instantly came up and applied their tomahawks to the door, when the mother putting an old rusty gun barrel through a crevice, the savages went off.

From that time, until the happy return of peace between the united states and Great Britain, the Indians did us no mischief.

Soon after the Indians desired peace.

Two darling sons, and a brother I have lost by savage hands, which have also taken forty valuable horses, and an abundance of cattle. Many dark and sleepless nights have I spent, separated from the cheerful society of men, scorched by the summer's sun, and pinched by the win-

ter's cold, an instrument ordained to settle the wilderness. But now the scene is changed: peace crowns the sylvan shade.

DANIEL BOON.

Fayette County, Kentucke:



Essay on the advantages of trade and commerce.

LETTER I.

HISTORY records but two ways which nations have taken to raise themselves to any considerable degree of opulence and power. The first is by conquest, laying waste countries, murdering the inhabitants, and seizing the spoil. This was done by the Assyrians, Babylonians, Grecians, Romans, Turks, Persians, and, in later times, by the Portuguese, the Dutch, and English in the East-Indies, by the Spaniards in America, and very lately by the English in all the united states. This is wading or rather swimming to riches through a sea of blood. But this grandeur is of short duration; riches suddenly acquired, introduce luxury and effeminacy, and expose the possession to other conquerors, or the vanquished break their chains, destroy the late conquerors, and establish their old governments, or form new ones.

The other method, and the only one consistent with humanity, is by encouraging agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. The first country, which the historic page exhibits, as rising to any degree of splendor and opulence, was Egypt. Heaven had blessed her with a healthy climate and good soil. To tilling the land, they soon joined the mechanic arts; of which those stupendous monuments, their pyramids and sepulchres, remain to this day, and look as if they intended to outbrave time itself. The scripture mentions the fine linens and purples of Egypt: their situation, at the head of two seas, gave them a great advantage to

trade to the eastern and western worlds (if I may be allowed the expression), and made Egypt not only the grand seat of arts and commerce, but of grandeur, opulence and power. The Tyrians, their near neighbours, saw the advantages they derived from trade and soon visited, with their fleets, the adjacent coasts, and enriched themselves by their manufactures and commerce. The scripture says their merchants were princes, and for many centuries enjoyed an extensive trade and rose to a surprising degree of opulence, till they were subdued by Alexander the Great. A small colony, that left Tyre, settled on the coast of Africa, not far from Algiers where they purchased a small piece of ground, it is said no more than they could surround with the thong of a bull's hide; but it was not material whether it was one hundred or a thousand acres; they carried with them the mechanic arts, and the spirit of commerce, riches, that in time must always conquer countries, and subdue the minds of the most savage nations. This republic subsisted for seven hundred years, and was in time able to contend with the Romans, then the greatest power in the known world; and at last were conquered by their own divisions. After this, the spirit of commerce raised its head among the Venetians, and Venice became the greatest entrepôt in the world: they imported the raw materials of other nations, manufactured them, and exported them to an immense amount. Their bank is to this day one of the richest in the world; and they are still a republic of considerable weight in the political scale of Europe.

During the war between the Romans and Carthaginians, great numbers of the latter settled in Spain, and numbers of their countrymen, now called Moors, joined them: the offspring remained there till about the beginning of the fourteenth cen-

ary. They chiefly were engaged in agriculture and manufactures, and, with the assistance of the Jews, began to trade largely in Europe.

Spain, from lately being a Roman province, began to raise her head above the other kingdoms of Europe; but bigotry induced Ferdinand and Isabella, to expel the manufacturers and merchants from the kingdom; a loss that Spain has not recovered to this day, and perhaps will not for many centuries yet to come. About the same time America was discovered; but the immense sums of money brought from the rich mines, and all the wealth they acquired by murdering nineteen millions of the inhabitants of South America, have not made amends for the loss of the one million they expelled; for with them went the spirit of manufacturing and commerce, which always gives vigour to agriculture.

Spain possesses one of the finest climates and best soils in Europe; above fifty millions of dollars are annually wasted into her ports, and yet she is poor, and must ever remain so, till manufactures and commerce can convince the haughty Spaniard, that they alone are the only true, permanent source of wealth.—What riches have the Dutch heaped together in less than two centuries, by being the carriers of all Europe, while they reside in a country seemingly not designed by nature to be inhabited by men? England, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, made but a small figure in the political or mercantile scale of Europe; they then exported, chiefly in foreign bottoms, their wheat, which is now consumed by their manufacturers, a little lead, tin, and their wool to Flanders; in return, received foreign manufactures—they were poor, and in fear of all the powers of Europe. A petty duke of Normandy had lately conquered them: and their less numerous neighbours, the Scotch, often made inroads upon and

took their frontier counties from them. But as soon as the spirit of manufacturing raised its head, and commerce was regulated by good laws, they rose superior to every obstacle; and we have seen them in the late unjust war, not only able to contend with three millions of their subjects, but supporting a war against three powers, each of which have made them heretofore tremble.

What was Russia at the beginning of this century? A nation of barbarians! Commerce and manufactures have civilized that great empire, and lent a helping hand to agriculture. Russia has raised her head with uncommon rapidity, and nations now stand in fear of her power, that in the last century scarce knew her name. What was Scotland before the establishment of their Glasgow company? not perhaps quite as bad as Churchill paints it; a country quite divested of every necessary; where half-starved spiders feed on half-starved flies; and if Judas had betrayed his master there, it would have been easier for him to have found the grace of repentance, than a tree to hang himself on; yet it is agreed by every person, that no country ever increased in riches faster than Scotland has lately done. They established a great company at Glasgow, to trade to Virginia and Maryland; they shipped the manufactures of Scotland there, exchanged them for tobacco, skins, furs, flax, hemp, &c. The tobacco was shipped to the continent of Europe, and the ships brought such articles back as would suit the American trade; and from a small beginning, in one century they have risen to be (perhaps) next to the East-India company, the greatest mercantile company in Europe. Manufacturers were invited into Scotland. These, with the great number of sailors, and victualling their ships, raised the price of provisions, and gave life to agriculture: land rose in value—the barren heaths were ma-

nured and tilled—rents rose—the tenants grew rich—the numbers increased—their cities were improved—their large villages became cities, and new towns were built in places, that till lately seemed to defy human art to improve them. This is, and always will be the effect of manufactures and commerce, in every country. Some wise heads concerned in this trade, took every method to bring all the profits of the trade to their own doors: they sent seven or eight hundred factors to Virginia and Maryland, bound by articles not to marry in the country, but to return to Scotland with what they had made, and spend their money there. They fell on every method of engrossing the whole trade into their own hands, and so effectually did it, that the price of every succeeding crop was determined in Glasgow, and what advance the goods should be sold for. These factors were formed into houses, and dispersed through the two provinces, in every place that was thought fit for trade; one from each house was obliged to meet annually at Williamsburgh, to receive the company's instructions for that year, and every house was obliged strictly to adhere to it in every point.

This monopoly enriched the company, and enabled them to give large credit, to take mortgages for land; and I have been well informed half the land in the lower part of Virginia was, at the commencement of the late war, mortgaged to the Glasgow company. A little before the war, they sent over orders to sell the lands for ready money, and their agent was ordered to buy it in for the company. Vast estates were sold and resold on credit for three or four times the sum. And this must be the case with every country, whose exports exceed their imports; their lands must change their masters, and pay the balance.

LETTER II.

IT is in vain for any people to attempt to be rich, or have a sufficient circulating specie among them, whose imports exceed their exports: the hand of the manufacturer in a distant land seems to act upon gold and silver, as the loadstone does upon the needle. What is it but this that draws the immense wealth of North and South-America to Europe? What is it but manufactures that draw the specie of Europe to the East?—We have had severe lessons of vice and immorality from the British heroes, that lately came here to steal our negroes and rob our hen-roosts: let us despise them for their meanness and brutality—but let us profit by every thing they have done worthy of notice. During the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, the outline of the navigation act was formed, which afterwards was passed into a law, and, with several amendments and alterations, appears in its present form.

This act, formed by the British republic, is the foundation of the wealth, power, and unsufferable pride of the British nation, and has not only enabled them to disturb all Europe, but to murder the inhabitants of the East-Indies, and this western continent, with a true refinement of cruelty that exceeds all the arts of the most barbarous nations.

In the year 1773, they imported into Britain about eleven millions chiefly of raw materials, to employ their manufactories; and exported about sixteen, besides what supplied their home consumption. Here was five millions gained to the nation. Their merchants undoubtedly gained twenty-five per cent. on their trade which, on their exports, amounted to four millions. They had 7694 sail of ships, whose building and repair amounted annually to half a million; the wages of an hundred thousand men, with their provision.

n, amounted to at least four millions: all which, and many other matters not reckoned in this account, brought in at least fourteen millions to the nation. Their trade to these states amounted to about one quarter of the whole: consequently they raised annually, a revenue of three millions and an half, by monopolising our trade. A great part of this may be saved to these states, by our becoming our own merchants and carriers; and a great part of the remaining sum may be saved in a few years, by encouraging our own manufactures: and even this encouragement will be of service to our revenues. I mean laying a duty on our imports, and giving a small part of the money, in bounties, to our own traders. Some, perhaps, may think this may do in time, but we are too young a country to attempt it at present: when we have more people, it may do, but till then we cannot attempt it. This is something like the boy that would not go a swimming till he could swim better. Would you not laugh at a mason that would delay beginning a large building, because it was a work that required time? Others, perhaps, may think that I would wish them to turn their hands from the planting business, to manufacturing; I by no means wish it: I only wish to encourage European traders to come and reside here: their numbers will add strength to us, and enable the planters, without danger, to keep a greater number of hands in the field. I wish to see as much as possible exported, and as little imported. The planters that buy the manufactures of America, stop so much money in their country, which must return gain to the planters hands as long as traders eat.

Perhaps some persons may think if we lay any restrictions on the British trade, we shall not have ships to carry our produce to market, and the

price will be lowered on that account. In the year 1773, there was 2342 ships, carrying 400,000 tons, employed in the British commerce, built in America, besides what we had in other branches of our trade. One tenth of these ships would carry our crops to market. The Dutch would readily be our carriers at the present freight, and perhaps the French would do the same: but why should we look up to foreigners, when there are several single ports on the continent, that alone can send us ships enough, built after this day, to carry our next year's crop to market, and would be glad to do it at the present prices?

When the British left Philadelphia, one solitary ferry boat was all that was left to swim on the waters of the majestic Delaware; yet soon after, when we came from St. Augustine, we met near forty sail of vessels in the river, manned and armed, going out, mostly new ships that had never been at sea. But let us turn to our own custom-house book, and we shall find (or I am misinformed) that the greatest part of our last year's crop was exported in American (or what the British call foreign) ships; and this I know to be a fact, that the British merchants cannot give us as much for our rice to ship to Britain, as the American or Dutch merchant can. A duty of seven shillings per hundred, is laid on our rice in England, that prevents the consumption of it there, and most of it is reshipped to Holland. Besides large port charges, there is double freight, double insurance, and a merchant's profit to be laid on it; all which must come out of the planter's pocket at the time he sells his rice.

Whilst the British had the entire monopoly of our trade, rice sold, on an average of ten years before the war, for about 7s. per hundred. Suffer them, by their arts, to monopolize it again, it will be nearly the

same price; and lord Sheffield has laid down a regular plan for doing it, which the British ministry are now pursuing, and nothing but our uniting with our sister states, will prevent it from taking place, and inevitable ruin and destruction must be the consequence, or we must cease to be an independent nation.

Lord Sheffield says, strictly enforcing the British navigation-act will put a stop to our trade and ship-building, drain our seamen from us, and make us tired of our independence, especially if they can set the Algerines upon us: this last they have done, and seem to glory in it.

But let me ask, what is it that makes us love and prefer the British to all other nations? Is it because they have murdered our men in cool blood by thousands, and ravished our women? Is it because they have ravaged our country, and plundered us of our property? Is it because they have lately set us an unheard of example of cruelty, perfidy, and brutality; and we, like spaniel dogs, love the severest masters best, that we give the preference to them, and permit them, and them only, without any treaty of commerce, to trade with us? Is it because they alone dare insult us, and pull down our flags in our own ports? In a word, if we intend to maintain our independence, we must try to counteract their machinations with such laws, as they have made in the other states: support and assist them, and they will support and assist us.

We export, annually, the value of about 400,000l.: our imports are now larger, but must, in time, be only near our exports. Suppose the British merchants make twenty-five per cent. on our imports only, it will amount to 100,000l.

The freight of our crop, I am informed, amounted to 87,000l. last year, and we may suppose the freight of our imports was, 143,000l. in all

230,000l. This enormous sum Great Britain must annually drain us of, if we suffer her to monopolize our trade. But it may be asked, what shall we do, we are not able to become our own merchants and carriers? This is by no means clear to me; I think if every man would give the profit of his trade to the inhabitants of this state, and the legislature was to lay some small restrictions on foreigners, a few years would do much. This I am sure of, if we do not make beginning, we never shall accomplish it.

Next to being our own carrier it is our interest to employ the vessels of our sister states; and next to them, gratitude obliges us to give preference to the French, Dutch, & who assisted us during the war, and have treaties of amity and commerce with us. This, I am confident, the interest of every Carolinian, and every

AMERICAN.

Charleston, 1786,



Extracts from an oration delivered before his excellency the governor South Carolina, and a number of other gentlemen, on Monday the four of July, 1785, being the celebration of American independence—By the late Dr. Ladd.

" TELL YE YOUR CHILDREN
" IT, AND LET YOUR CHILDREN
" DREN TELL THEIR CHILDREN
" DREN, AND THEIR CHILDREN
" DREN ANOTHER GENERATION."

A Prophet divinely inspired, and deeply impressed, with the importance of an event which had just taken place, breaks into this exclamation—an exclamation happily adapted to the present occasion; tending to perpetuate the remembrance of an event, which is written upon the heart of every true American—every friend to his country.

When we consider this as the national anniversary of our infant empire, we shall ever be led to call into grateful recollection the fathers of independence; those to whom (under God) we are indebted for our political existence and salvation. A short eulogium upon them, their merits, and their honors, will be the subject of the present discourse; for what more happy subject can be chosen on this day, than the great authors of our liberty? they! who "dug it out with their swords!"—who, in the grim face of death, amidst perils innumerable—gave the purchase of their blood—who built upon their tombs, and whose spirits, bending from the sky, point with pleasure to its foundation. But where am I? Fairy scenes open around me, and I seem to press the round of enchantment. Behold on vast structure, which towers to the very heavens! Is it not cemented with blood, and built upon the slaughtered carcase of many a gallant soldier? on its broad front, AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE shines conspicuous in characters of crimson!—surrounding nature appears animated! the very tombs accost the traveller, and seemingly repeat—

How beautiful is death when earn'd by virtue!

Who would not sleep with those?—what pity is it

That we can die but once to save our country!"

Add. Cato.

* * * *

The eventful history of our great revolution, is pregnant with many a source of sublime astonishment! Succeeding ages shall turn the historic page, and catch inspiration from the era of 1776; they shall bow to the rising glory of America; and Rome, once mistress of the world, shall fade on their remembrance.

The commencement of our struggles, their progress and their perils,

will furnish a useful lesson to posterity—they will teach them that men—desperate for freedom—united in virtue—and assisted by the God of ARMIES, can never be subdued. The youthful warrior—the rising politician, will tremble at the retrospect, and turn pale at the amazing story. America—the infant America, all defenceless as she is, is invaded by a most powerful nation; her plains covered by disciplined armies, her harbours crowded with hostile fleets. Destitute of arms; destitute of ammunition; with no discipline but their virtue, and no general but THEIR GOD, behold our brave countrymen arising to resistance—see the first encroachments of hostility withstood at Lexington; and O Britain! write that page of thy history in crimson, and margin it with black, for thy troops fled!—routed with stones, with clubs, and every ignominious weapon—they fled from our women; they were defeated by our children.

At this very time, a member of the British parliament could assert in open day, that a single regiment of disciplined troops would march thro' America, and crush the rebels to subjection. The experiment was tried; it was reiterated, and the success was every way worthy of the rash attempt. Such has the inconsistency been of theory and practice, relative to American subjugation.

But were freemen—were Americans to be intimidated by the military parade of hostile regiments? Answer, ye Britons! for by a *bloody experience*, have ye been taught the reverse; by a *bloody experience* were ye taught never to oppose men desperate for their country; and by that *bloody experience* will your children, and your children's children acquire instruction. They will learn wisdom from the history of defenceless Americans, who, when threatened with the loss of their liberties, (liberties!

which were coeval with their existence, and dearer than their lives) arose in resistance, and were nerved by desperation ! what was the consequence ? the invaders were repulsed, their armies captured, their strong works demolished, and their fleets driven back. Behold the terrible flag, that glory of Great Britain, drooping all tarnished from the mast, bewails its sullied honours.

This, my countrymen, by assistance superhuman, have we at length accomplished—I say superhuman assistance, for one of us has “ CHASED A THOUSAND, AND TEN PUT TEN THOUSAND TO FLIGHT. THE LORD OF HOSTS WAS ON OUR SIDE, THE GOD OF THE ARMIES OF ISRAEL ;” and at every blow we were ready to exclaim with glorious exultation, “ THE SWORD OF THE LORD AND OF WASHINGTON.”

* * * * *

Yet how did even America despair, when the protecting hand of her GREAT LEADER was one moment withheld ! Witness our veteran army retreating through the Jerseys ; an almost total withering to our hopes, while America trembled with expectation—trembled ! tho’ shielded and protected by the KING OF KINGS, and her beloved WASHINGTON.

But brilliant, rapid, and successive have our conquests been : while the gloomy “ *times that try men’s souls*,” were few, and of short duration. America, born to be independent, gathered strength amidst surmounting difficulties. She rose, like Antæus, vigorous from every fall. Her resentment was accompanied by the winged bolt of destruction. It flashed like lightning from heaven against her enemies, and blasted as it smote. Opposition like this, what mortals could withstand ? for it is written in the volumes of eternity, that even Britain, that hardy, that

gallant nation, was unequal to the conflict.

* * * * *

Yet, while we justly admire the valour and success of our veteran armies, let us shed one tear to the memory of those “ unfortunately brave,” who were martyrs in the common cause ; and, while we celebrate their actions—while we glory in their virtues—let us deplore the catastrophe, and lament their misfortunes.

What catastrophe ? what misfortunes ? Pardon me, my respected auditors. Let your indulgent bosom plead in my favour : and remember that the timid perturbation of a young orator, before so august an assembly, must lead him into frequent improprieties. I said we should lament their misfortunes. I beg leave to correct that too hasty expression : for surely it is NO MISFORTUNE to the brave man, that he has died for his country. Quite the reverse : it is the highest *acme* of military ambition and plays around the soldier’s character with a sun-beam of never ending glory.

“ *The gallant man tho’ slain in fight,*

“ *he be,*

“ *Yet leaves his country safe, his nation*

“ *on free ;*

“ *Entails a debt on all the grateful*

“ *state,*

“ *His own brave friends shall glory in*

“ *his fate,*

“ *His wife live honor’d, all his race*

“ *succeed ;*

“ *And late posterity enjoy the deed.*”

Pope’s Homer.

* * * * *

The fall of the brave man is by no means the death of the vulgar : it is the birth-day of his glory, and opens to a blessed immortality. There the hoary warrior, who has learned the rudiments of his profession under Washington or Wolf, Montcalm or the great Montgomery, shall then commence his soldier’ship ; then, en-

led in the armies of MICHAEL, the archangelic chieftain, he shall fight the battles of the Lord: nor shall his earthly fame be unremembered, but, when the historic leaf shall wither in the blaze—when all the human works, the great *Iliad* itself receive their finish from the fire, the soldier's memory *must* survive, for is registered in heaven.

Yes! ye shall live in fame, ye heroes of Warren, of Mercer, of Laurens, and the brave Montgomery! And when in remotest ages, posterity shall call forth every distinguishing characteristic of human excellence, the genius of your country shall bend its drooping head, and one tear, one grateful tear be shed to your remembrance. Then the young warrior, envious of your fates and your fame, shall feel his burning soul—and while he unsheaths the patriotic blade, he shall exclaim with transport—

How beautiful is death when earn'd by virtue."

But peace to your manes, ye dear departed brethren! ye have trodden the path of honour before us, and obtained the crown of glory. Brethren, it is all your own, for brave—did ye obtain it. May the green field lie light on your breasts, and sweet your slumbers be in the dark house appointed for all living.

*So sleep the brave, who sink to rest,
With all their country's wishes blest;
When spring, with dewy fingers cold,
Returns to deck their hallow'd mould,
She there shall dress a sweeter sod
Than fancy's feet have ever trod.
By fairy hands their knell is rung;
By forms unseen their dirge is sung;
There honour comes, a pilgrim grey,
To bless the turf that wraps their clay;
And freedom shall a while repair,
To dwell a weeping hermit there."*

COLLINS.

But we turn to take a view of those worthy authors of our independence, who have survived the contest.

—A *living patriot*! Where is the bosom that does not vibrate with pleasure at the sound? The *dead* can only receive the tribute of remembrance, and long shall they possess it; but the *living* are entitled to our warmest thanks, our united benedictions.—Here words must fail; for who can duly praise the living patriots of America? Alas! barely to recount their names, their merits and their honours, would exhaust the powers of language; to do them justice is above all Ciceronian rhetoric, and calls for the eloquence of angels.

You, and you, with a very respectable part of my audience, have fronted danger in the bloody field.—With a truly masonic fortitude have ye assisted in the structure of our independence; and ye will *tell the story to your children, and your children shall tell their children, and their children another generation*. Thus shall your honours succeed with undiminished lustre to posterity; and future writers shall praise the brave man, and crown their eulogium with—"his father was an American."

Allow me, my auditors, one claim on your attention to the beloved name of Washington; for how, upon a celebration like this, can the name of Washington be distant? he whose unbiassed virtue, firm patriotism, unequalled abilities, and steady perseverance, are written upon the hearts of his brethren.—Though retired from the theatre of action, in the full splendor of meridian glories, he can never be lost to his country—We see him in our liberties, and shall for ever see him, while that *OPUS MAGNUM*, the independence of America, remains in existence.

Where are those who admire the unexampled patriot, and "in whose ears the name of a soldier sounds like the name of a friend?"—O that upon this day ye would join your friendly voices with mine, to eter-

nize the name of Washington!—The august veteran of Prussia has himself led the way, and left it upon everlasting record, that “*Frederick was the oldest general in Europe, when Washington was the greatest general upon earth.*”†

But I proceed to pay that attention due to the memory of another distinguished character—For to what is America more indebted than to the gallant exertions of her beloved Greene? in whose amiable character the great soldier and the good citizen are so conspicuously blended—Long shall this country in particular retain his memory—long as the Palmetto, that emblematic tree, shall flourish in Carolina.

“*To thee, O Greene, each muse her tribute pays,*

“*Great chieftain! crown'd with never-fading bays;*

“*Thy worth thy country, ever grateful, owns,*

“*Her first of warriors and her best of sons.*

* * * *

But see the long list! upon which the names of Gates, Lincoln, the brave Starks, and the gallant Wayne are conspicuously lettered! Men, whose names shall descend to posterity with co-eternal honor; among them shall the brave Sullivan be often mentioned; and the name of St. Clair, though sullied by malign censure, will shine untarnished there; and there shall the venerable name of Putnam be found, that hoary chieftain, who,

“*The fame of battle spread,*

“*When fourscore years had blanch'd his laurell'd head.*”

NOTE.

† The doctor here recited some lines from the Prospect of America—a poem—for which see vol. I. page 477.

But there is no end of this! the list of deserving characters is swelling to my view; and I shall grow hoarse in repeating it; I will therefore quit the attempt, and hasten to conclude:

“*For should I strive to mention ev'ry name,*

“*With which my country swells the list of fame,*

“*Amidst the labour of the arduous tale,*

“*My time, my periods and my voice would fail.*”

Previous to my quitting this subject, permit me, gentlemen of South Carolina, to observe, that the veteran who fills the seat of your government for the present year, must long remain high in his country's honour—honours, which he has most bravely acquired.—The gallant defence of Fort-Moultrie will decorate the page of many a future history, and give once immortal fame to the heroic historian.

And now, my most respected auditors, having in some measure paid our debt of acknowledgment to the visible authors of our independence, let us lay our hands upon our hearts in humble adoration of that MIGHTY NARCH, who (in the place of George the third) was this day chosen to reign over us: let us venerate that great Generalissimo of our armies from whom all triumphs flow: let it be our glory, that not George the third, but JEHOVAH the first, at the last, is King of America—who dwelleth in the clouds, and whose palace is the heaven of heavens: For, independent as we are with respect to the political systems of the world, we are still a province of that great kingdom, and fellow subjects with the inhabitants of heaven.

oration in commemoration of major-general Nathaniel Greene, composed for a late commencement, and meeting of the Cincinnati, at New-haven, and pronounced in the college chapel.—By William Hillhouse, esq. attorney at law.

TO a candid audience, want of time, to reduce to system the present observations, and to commit them entirely to memory, is suggested merely as an excuse for the inaccuracy of composition, or any embarrassment which may appear in the delivery of a hasty performance.

Although the horrors of war are no longer familiar to us, and our ears are no longer dinned with the thunder of cannon, when their horrid but instant roar proclaims the approach of the black cloud of desolation, whose dreary track, like the pestilential blast, is marked with the death of thousands—although columns of smoke, rising to the eye, and mounting in circling majesty to the skies, no longer announce the ruin of defenceless towns, and the sack of cities, whose wretched inhabitants mark with trembling steps each avenue of escape, or weaver in their blood—yet while we enjoy the calm sunshine of peace, and every one sits in quiet under his own vine, and his own fig-tree, it may be useful and proper to revert to those scenes of distress, and enquire by what means we now participate the blessings of peace, freedom, and independence.

The quiet establishment of the peace, freedom, and independence of this country, has been the peculiar care of the all-wise superintending power; discovers the goodness of an over-ruling providence; is a work worthy the patronage of heaven; and has been effected by the united efforts of heroes and patriots, the most illustrious that ever adorned any age or country.

Most people are disposed to give a
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preference to antiquity, to extol the virtues of former times, and depreciate their own: but whoever considers the object of the late war, the virtue and ability displayed in the operation, and the event of the completion, must allow that the present period will not suffer by a comparison, with the most distinguished era of ancient or modern history,

Although I boast no greater share in those transactions than was consistent with the private walk of an individual, to which particular circumstances and accidents led—yet I think it a happiness, that I can claim, as my native soil, this continent, where, at a degenerate period, the rights and privileges of human nature have been asserted and maintained, against the encroachments of power.

From a survey of the abject condition of mankind, we shall discover that government is, in every part of the globe, a mere machine of oppression, and that daring spirit which first led the present opposition.

When virtue is held in esteem, she is readily embraced, but those who adhere to her rigid practice, when neglected and despised, discover a greater fortitude, a juster discrimination, a more sincere attachment. Happy the country that can boast of such sons. At a period when the dignity of human nature is sunk in a servile submission to the wills of a few—I speak it with exultation—numerous are the examples of those who (from a just estimate of this) have sacrificed every consideration, encountered every danger, and submitted to every hardship, in the prosecution and attainment of peace, freedom, and independence, which it is the glory of America to enjoy, and of her sons to secure.

And when I mention the officers and soldiers of the American army as foremost in the bright catalogue, no one can think the connection un-
D

just. Military achievements have always held a distinguished place in the page of history, and those who enlist under the banners of Bellona, have the fairest prospect of acquiring immortal fame.

That these have, however, been perverted to the most pernicious purposes, is, alas ! too true. Many have waded through seas of blood to the gratification of a lawless ambition, and arrived to the height of power over the ruins of their country ; and then, like savage monsters, surveyed the havoc which they spread. Such are the Alexanders, the Cæsars, the Tamerlanes, and Koulikhans of history, whose exertions may be compared to the commotions of the earthquake, the eruption of the volcano, and to mighty inundations, and are attended with like terrible effects. They strike with dread : but we turn from them with horror—to those who enter on the bright career, at the call of their country, and in defence of her rights : such are the heroes and patriots of this and every age.

The necessity and importance of military service, the difficulties and dangers with which it is attended, and the trifling recompence generally received, entitle the soldier of his country to receive the applause of a brave and disinterested conduct : and let him enjoy the dear-bought palm, and the fond hope of immortalizing his name, so grateful to the generous mind ; and, above all, let him anticipate the pleasure of a grateful recollection in the minds of his countrymen, when released from service, perhaps crippled, disabled by wounds, or broken by fatigues, in which he was exposed to the vicissitudes of seasons, to hunger and to thirst, and the labours of the day were closed by the alarms of the night : when the hard ground was his bed, his armour his covering, the sky his curtains, the drenching storm his bath, the bleak

wind his stove, and the din of arms and the groans of the distressed, music that lulled him to sleep.

These difficulties were, in the contest, greatly increased by the velocity of military operation, and by total destitution of every necessary to carry on a heavy and ruinous war. This will raise our admiration of that fortitude which taught both officers and soldiers of the American army to submit to such unparalleled hardships, and by determined perseverance, rise paramount to every obstacle ; nor can we sufficiently admire that virtue which patiently bore diminution of wages, by the depreciation of the currency, and which, at the close of the war, relinquished considerable part of that small stipend hardly earned by a severe and faithful service. And let the applause of a grateful country attend them in the retired walks of life, when they, as citizens, are still actuated by the same virtuous principle, and where, in imitation of the great American Cincinnatus, they set most laudable examples of industry, economy, and public spirit.

But while we speak in accents of merited applause of the living, let us not forget to pay a tribute of gratitude to the dead.

The recent death of the great, the good, the illustrious general Greene is a theme which demands a more particular attention.

Finis coronat opus. Death places his subjects beyond the reach of change ; it is a solemn pause. When the actions of life become the object of enquiry, then mortals are called to a severe scrutiny by the establishment of a tribunal before which, at this awful crisis when all distinction is levelled, even majesty itself is arraigned : happy are they whose lives and actions will bear the test.

It has been the invariable custom of the most renowned nations to c

rate the actions of illustrious men ;
and an eulogy on, and a recapitulation
of, their lives, not only express-
the public approbation, but excit-
others to emulate their virtues,
and rival their fame.

Such is the tribute, the grateful
tribute due to the memory of a
Greene : and most gladly would I
seize the present opportunity, and
assign the place to some one capable
of executing the melancholy office
in a manner suitable to the subject :
and such I see in this assembly—
those who were sharers with him in
the same dangers, sufferers in the
same cause, competitors for the same
prize ; brothers in the toils of war,
others of the Cincinnati—The abili-
ties of the head, and the feelings of
the heart would then conspire to fi-
sh and animate the draft, and the
virtues of a Greene form a most ami-
able portrait—the emblem of a cha-
racter which future ages shall admire
and imitate.

My attempts, however, will, I flat-
ter myself, meet with their indul-
gence, and the candour of an audi-
ence, who, amidst the amusements of
the season and the diversions of the
day, are willing to devote a few mo-
ments to the discharge of a melan-
choly duty.

I shall not crave the assistance of
heavenly mythology to grace the pe-
riphery of a Greene, respectable be-
fore. Nor shall I tell of cities which
contend for the honour of his birth.
It suffices it to say, that previous to the
late war, he was conversant in the re-
tired walks of life, occupied in the
improvement of considerable manu-
factures, and in the prosecution of
commerce, when he was selected, and
he obeyed with alacrity the call of
his country, to command the troops
raised by the colony (now the state)
of Rhode Island, to co-operate with
their countrymen in the siege of
Boston, then garrisoned by the Bri-
tish,

The former modes of life of many
of our American officers, not conver-
sant in the arts of war, led many of
the British to speak with contempt
of their skill and abilities : but the
event has turned disgrace on their
own heads, and shewn that military
talents are not confined to those who
make a trade of war.

Triptolemus was called from the
plough to the throne ; and the great
Cincinnatus from the same honoura-
ble employment to the supreme dic-
tatorship of the commonwealth, and
the command of the Roman armies ;
and having vanquished the enemies
of his country, and established her
peace, he again returned to the im-
provement of his little farm.

America, when attacked, called
forth her sons, who plucked laurels
from the brows of haughty veterans,
and having humbled the pride of
Britain, again returned to their former
occupations.

Great occasions call into exertion
great talents, which but for these
might have languished in obscurity.
The important crisis of the fate of
America, produced the most illustri-
ous actions, and ushered to view the
abilities of a Greene.

His first service was distinguished
by an attention to military disci-
pline, an object of the greatest impor-
tance, and particularly necessary on
the first institution of an army : and
the regiments under his command
were supposed to be the best disci-
plined and appointed in the Ameri-
can service.

His abilities soon attracted the no-
tice and esteem of his countrymen,
and of the commander in chief in
particular, who justly placed great
confidence in his talents and judg-
ment.

He soon rose to the rank of major
general, the highest in the service ;
and in the campaign of 1776, com-
manded a large detachment on Hud-
son's river, near New York, where

he, with other principal officers, narrowly escaped being taken at the reduction of Fort Washington.

He bore an important share in the actions of Trenton and Princeton, and in the celebrated manœuvre of passing the rear of the British army, by a night march.

At the battle of Brandywine, he distinguished himself by supporting the right wing of the American army, when it gave way, and judiciously covering the whole, when routed, and retreating in confusion : and their safety from utter ruin was generally ascribed to his skill and exertions, which were well seconded by the troops under his command.

At Germantown, he commanded the left wing of our army : and though the failure was at first imputed to him, as not seasonably co-operating, yet he was very justly and generously vindicated by the commander in chief.

After this, general Greene continued rising in reputation, when he was recommended by general Washington, and appointed by congress, quarter master-general ; in which new capacity he fully answered the expectations formed of his abilities, restored order, regularity, and effect to a department, which had been greatly deranged, and enabled the American army to move with a celerity and vigour never known before.

At the battle of Monmouth, the commander in chief, disgusted at the behaviour of general Lee, deposed him in the field of battle, and appointed general Greene to command the right wing, where he greatly contributed to retrieve the errors of his predecessor, and to the subsequent event of the day.

The French fleet and troops, under the count de Eſtaing, arrived soon after on the coast of America ; and, in concert with the Americans under general Sullivan, commenced their operations against New port,

garrisoned by a detachment from the British army. General Greene repaired to assist in person these operations, in which his native state was concerned. There was at first the fairest prospect of success : but the appearance of lord Howe, with a British fleet, drew the French admiral from his station to meet the enemy, when a violent storm ensuing, his fleet was dispersed. Some other disappointments took place, which frustrated the enterprize, and had like to have been attended with fatal consequences, by creating misunderstandings between the commanding officers of the American army and their allies. These were, however, obviated by the united efforts of general Greene, and of that amiable and celebrated nobleman, the marquis de la Fayette : and great was the merit of both on this occasion, as the effects of dissensions, at so early a period, must have been highly prejudicial to the American cause.

But we hasten to that period and scene of operation which gave the most brilliant display of the abilities of a Greene, and entitled him to the epithet of the SOUTHERN HERO.

The reduction of Charleston, and the capture of the army under general Lincoln, removed the only barrier against the encroachments of the enemy, whose successes were the most rapid in a country calculated to favour their designs, by its situation, climate, and the disposition of its inhabitants, consisting mostly of slaves, and the professed adherents and dependants of the British government.

The greatest pains were taken to encourage these, and to depress and discourage the friends of the country, who found themselves unable to make any effectual resistance, under such circumstances, against a body of ten thousand British troops, assisted by the renegade slaves and royal partisans.

Governor Rutledge, and other principal inhabitants, fled to the neighbouring states. By their exertions, however, and by a large detachment from the continental army, a body of men was again collected under general Gates, but their total overthrow at the battle of Camden, and the defeat of the troops under the brave colonel Sumpter, involved the sons of freedom in a darker gloom.

At no period of the war, did the loyalists entertain more sanguine expectations: and the total extinction of the rebellion, as it was then termed, was thought to be no distant event.

Three states were now in the power of the enemy, and the whole southern district at their mercy. The attack not only commenced from Charleston, but distinct bodies of troops, under general Phillips and Arnold, prosecuted their predatory operations from Portsmouth and James's river in Virginia.

The royal partisans not only considered themselves as conquerors, but conquerors of a rebel country, and committed the greatest outrages, under pretence of serving their master's cause. The savage Tarlton, the blood-thirsty Balfour, and the murderous Lawdon, increased the horrors of civil discord, and gave full scope to British cruelty. Under their sanction, deeds were perpetrated, not only inconsistent with the rules of war established among civilized nations, but such as would shock the hardest savage; and dreadful was the situation of the objects of their inhuman espotism. They were summoned to take arms against their country; and such as refused, or had borne arms in the other cause, were confined in loathsome jails, or executed in the most cruel manner. Many were hanged before their own doors, or deliberately butchered in the sight of their families; and happy were they, who, by a voluntary exile, escaped the

dreadful alternative; and the distresses of the country would be but faintly pictured by a recollection of similar scenes of distress which took place in this part of the continent.

At this time general Greene appeared to take the dangerous command, if that could be called a command, which placed him at the head of about 970 continentals and a few militia, without pay, without clothing, and in want of every necessary; yet with these he kept the field, till, by the most surprising exertions, he completed a respectable body of infantry, and an effective corps of cavalry.

Destitute of every resource, the procuring of supplies for these, without disgusting or distressing the inhabitants, was a matter also of the greatest difficulty. Yet this he effected, and, in the very act of taking from the people a part of their scanty subsistence, for the support of his troops, he gained their affection and esteem.

And the entire ascendant which he acquired under such circumstances, and the confidence with which he inspired not only the army, but the whole country, is matter of equal admiration. He animated the sons of freedom, confirmed the wavering, and detached many from the opposite interest, or at least prevented their taking an active part. For this purpose, he even formed the plan of separating his little army, and sent a detachment under general Morgan, to Ninety-six: and the defeat of colonel Tarlton, at the affair of the Cowpens, was not the only happy consequence of this bold and well concerted enterprize.

A rapid retreat over the river Dan secured the British prisoners, prevented a separate attack, and effected a junction with Morgan's detachments, and with some small reinforcements. With these general Greene did not hesitate to re-cross the same river, to watch the motions, and counteract the operations of a much superior enemy.

“ During three weeks,” says an elegant historian, “ there was a complete trial of military skill, in which native genius fairly carried the palm from the arts and discipline of regular military education.”

That our hero could fight as well as manœuvre, the British commander had a bloody proof in the action at Guilford court house, where the increasing numbers of the sons of freedom no longer avoided the conflict. Cornwallis, though obliged to retreat two days after, towards Wilmington, published a pompous proclamation, setting forth his prowess, threatening those who continued in arms, and even offering protection, pardon, &c. to those who would submit—like a wounded monster, who growls as he retires.

This retreat, in search of a distant enemy, when one ready to meet him was near at hand, discovered his apprehension of a second encounter. General Greene, after a short pursuit, as if divinely taught the event, left Cornwallis to pursue a route which ended in his capture at York town ; and, thinking it of more importance to recover the Carolinas and Georgia, turned his arms to the southward.

A particular detail of his various successful operations, would be at this time too tedious—I shall only observe, that the garrisons of the numerous posts, established by the earl, to secure his acquisitions, general Greene’s activity forbad to retreat, and his gallantry rendered unable to resist ; and the battle at the Eutaw Springs, the most bloody and best contested that America ever beheld, wrested from the British the remainder of their late imaginary conquest : and their retreat within their works at Charleston, left general Greene the undisputed master of the country.

His humanity alone prevented his retaliating, at this time, on those in his power, the cruelties exercised by the enemy, although the death of the

brave, the amiable colonel Hayne, executed with circumstances of the most shocking inhumanity, called aloud for the rigid exercise of the *lex talionis*. Many blamed his moderation, as a want of firmness—blessed weakness !—if humanity be such.

We might here forget the further effects of hostile rage in that quarter, had not the blood of an accomplished Laurens, and an amiable Wilmot, shed, in some subsequent encounters, still stained the bloody scroll.

Such were the scenes of operation, and series of exploits, by which our hero delivered an oppressed country, and gained immortal honour.

His signal services entitled him to the most distinguished marks of applause, and such he received by the united voice of his country, and from the honourable continental congress, as well as from other public bodies.

Nor need I mention the essential tokens of gratitude and esteem conferred, and the liberal grants of land made by the legislative bodies of those particular states which he had so eminently served. Their public transactions of that period, are expressive of the highest sense of obligation, and speak in the most honourable terms of those illustrious actions, which induced them with one consent to hail him as the SAVIOUR and DELIVERER of their country.

And when, at the close of the war he, with his brother officers and fellow soldiers retired to private life, he retired with the *Io Pæans !* of a grateful continent. There the same humanity and benevolence influenced, and the same principles actuated the patriot breast.

—But here we stop !—

That country, which was the theatre for the display of his most illustrious actions, was also the scene of his melancholy exit.

The name of Greene once inspired with hope, and desponding nations raised their dejected heads, at the

hearing sound, like drooping flowers at the approach of the sun. Alas ! the sun is withdrawn, and the flowers droop ! Greene is no more !

And could not his former fame, could not the views of public utility which laboured in his breast, could not the exercise of humanity, and could not the cares of a beloved family avail ? He felt, alas ! he felt the fatal shaft !

We, my countrymen, have often attended him in his victories and triumphs, but are now called to attend him in the last, the sad procession, where dust to dust concludes the solemn scene.

Such, ye sons of Mars, was he, whose side ye have often fought and bled ; and such, ye daughters of America, was your brave and generous protector ! but he is beyond the reach of your acknowledgments, and the tribute of sincere sorrow shed by a grateful continent to his memory.

Nor can he be affected by the distress of an amiable comfort, or hear the cries of anguish of his beloved offspring, who clasp with fond arms, and bedew with early tears a father's grave, and call in moving accents, call him by the tender name of parent, who was their future hope, but who, alas ! shall arise no more, to guide their helpless years, and be their protector and friend. May they never want a friend, whose father was a friend to all ! may the example of a parent influence the son, and the young Cincinnati, by an imitation of his virtues, as well as by a participation of his honours, rise a future Greene to adorn and bless the age !

And let us wipe the tear ; although we mourn the hero's exit, his glory is complete, and no adverse event shall dim the lustre of his fame. He is soon, too soon, alas ! completes his bright career, and arrives to the utmost goal : and see, he points to brighter worlds, and leads the way, where myriads of blessed spirits, on

the confines of space, from the regions of immensity, congratulate the arrival of a kindred spirit : and this is the blessed eulogy, which here dispels the gloom, and resounds his praise——

*“ How sleep the brave, who sink to rest,
“ With all their country's wishes blest !
“ When spring, with dewy fingers cold,
“ Returns to deck their hallow'd mould,
“ She there shall dress a sweeter sod
“ Than fancy's feet have ever trod.
“ By fairy hands their knell is rung ;
“ By forms unseen their dirge is sung ;
“ There honour comes, a pilgrim grey,
“ To bless the turf that wraps their clay ;
“ And freedom shall a while repair,
“ To dwell a weeping hermit there.”*

*The cypress there and bays shall form
A shelter from the driving storm :
There shall Columbia's sons be seen,
To mourn the virtues of a Greene :
And her fair daughters there shall lave
With annual tears the hero's grave.*

*A brief account of Dartmouth-college,
in New-England.*

THIS flourishing institution is situated on a beautiful plain, about half a mile east of Connecticut river, in the township of Hanover, in the western parts of the state of New-Hampshire. It was founded by the late rev. Eleazer Wheelock, D. D. who obtained a royal grant of the same from the crown of Great-Britain in 1769, with the most ample privileges and immunities, for the purpose of disseminating knowledge among the natives. Soon after it was obliged to conflict with the greatest difficulties, situated in an infant country and exposed to hostile invasions during the late war, which prevented its receiving that encouragement which might reasonably have been expected in favour of an institution of this nature.

Since the conclusion of the war, it has continued in a flourishing condition : it consists at present of about 130 students, under the direction of

a president, two professors, and two tutors. The distinguished character and real abilities of the president are too well established to require a particular description.

This institution is furnished with an elegant library, containing a large collection of the most valuable authors, and has a curious apparatus, consisting of a complete number of useful instruments for making mathematical and philosophical experiments.

There are two buildings for the use of the students at present, and some time in October 1786, a new edifice was erected—said to exceed for magnitude any building in New-England, being 150 feet in length, and 50 in breadth, three stories high, constructed in the most elegant manner, perfectly agreeable to the most refined taste of modern architecture. It is divided through the middle lengthways by a large space, which is intersected by three others, and is situated to the best advantage to command a beautiful prospect, on a piece of ground somewhat elevated. In front is a large green encircled with elegant houses: it will speedily be fitted for the reception of the students.

It is worthy remark, that the climate is so favourable, and the air so salubrious, that there has not happened an instance of mortality among the students since its first establishment.

It is situated in about 43d. 30 m. N. L.



Observations on agriculture—its advantages—and the causes that have in America prevented improvements in husbandry. By general Warren, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Printer,
Agriculture has long been a favourite object with me. In a philosophic view, it is great and extensive: in

a political view, it is important, and perhaps the only firm and stable foundation of greatness. As a profession, it strengthens the mind, without enervating the body. In morals, it tends to increase virtue, without introducing vice. In religion, it naturally inspires piety, devotion, and a dependence on providence, without a tincture of infidelity. It is a rational and agreeable amusement to the man of leisure, and a boundless source of contemplation and activity, to the industrious. With these sentiments, I made the following observations, and communicated them to the committee of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, for the special business of husbandry, as soon as I was informed that I had the honour of being a member. Many gentlemen have seen them, and expressed their opinion in such terms, as to induce me to hazard them to the eye of the public, in hopes that they may contain some hints which may lead gentlemen to enlarged abilities, to a particular contemplation of a subject so interesting to the country.

I am your's, &c.

J. WARREN.

THE great numbers of people that were supported in countries that had little or no connection with commerce—the numerous armies that were supplied with every necessary in long and distant marches—and the magnificence and profusion that prevailed in nations that had few other resources, are sufficient to justify the sentiment, that agriculture was probably carried to higher stages of improvement among some of the ancient, than it has been by any of the modern nations. The principle on which the agrarian law among the Romans was founded, and the small quantity of land allotted for the support of a family, at the same time that it proves the frugal simplicity

sometimes, proves also that their husbandry must be superior to ours, in order to acquire the necessaries of life. The Chinese seem to be the only nation that have steadily retained the knowledge and practice of husbandry in any perfection. The accounts we have of the culture of their lands, which are confirmed by the great number of people supported by it, are evidences of the truth of this observation. Perhaps the nature of their police, their necessities, and the ease with which the few revolutions, which have taken place in that vast empire, have been effected, may account for this circumstance. It is difficult to conceive how any very useful art could be lost in society; and more so with regard to husbandry than any other. But it is certain, that if it was not totally lost in the general wreck of the arts in Europe, it declined to a wretched situation, and remained so for several centuries. Many causes concurred to produce this event; among which the inundation of the northern barbarians into the fertile countries of the south, the nature of the governments, and the military arrangements they instituted, were not the least. When the dawn of knowledge and literature appeared, the arts revived, and many of them at this day far exceed their ancient state. But unfortunately for mankind, agriculture, for a long time, had not its share of attention. Whether it proceeded from the folly or pride of mankind, it is certain that even the frivolous arts were more regarded than this most useful one; a piece of music or painting has commanded the public admiration, while husbandry was neglected, if not despised. But in more modern times, the importance of agriculture is better understood; it is now admitted to its rank, and considered as the basis of happiness and opulence. As no country can subsist without it, so every country will rise, in proportion to their attention

to agriculture, and the improvements they make. If Holland is an exception, Holland is peculiarly situated; and, after all, the exact and profitable management of the little lands they have, is more advantageous than would be supposed on the first view of the subject; if they derive more opulence from their extensive commerce, they certainly receive more of the enjoyments of life from their lands, and a proportion of their riches. The greatest improvements have been made in England and France; all the great questions relative to the subject, have been enquired into and discussed; many very learned and ingenious treatises have been published, both for establishing the principles and encouraging the practice; societies have been instituted for the same purposes. We may easily conceive that in a country where the contemplation of agriculture is not below the dignity of the philosopher, and the practice not below the attention of the nobility and gentry, the progress must be great; facts verify the conclusion. The state of agriculture in those countries is very flourishing; it is conducted on a large and liberal scale, very advantageous to the public, and profitable to individuals. There is, perhaps, no country in the world, where the situations, nature, and circumstances of things, seem to point out husbandry as the most essential and proper business, more than our own; and yet, there is scarcely one where it is less attended to. Politics, commerce, and curiosity, have established a great intercourse between Europe and America. Men of science, and men of business, have visited Europe, and returned without advancing the agriculture of their own country. The inquisitive have read and admired the treatises on the subject, without making a single improvement in practice; we see many good theoretic farmers in America; but we never yet saw a good practical one; a fatality seems

to have attended it. Our farmers have all along followed the practice of their fathers, which might be adopted, at first, from necessity, and is pursued for want of spirit to adopt a better and more rational system by those who are convinced of the absurdity of it: Even the Europeans, who have settled in this country, have, instead of introducing their own improved practice, fallen into the errors of ours, and mixed, undistinguished, in the mass of farmers, they would have despised and ridiculed in their own country. This is a melancholy, but true, state of the agriculture of America. A conviction of the necessity of a reform is the first step towards effecting it; an investigation of the causes that have prevented it, is the next; such a conviction now seems to exist. One principal design of establishing the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, was for making improvements in husbandry; a society has been instituted for that sole purpose in Philadelphia, and a similar one is proposed here: the academy have taken up the business with a spirit that promises success.

The causes that have prevented improvements in husbandry, are,

1st. The habit of engrossing large tracts of land, instead of improving smaller.

2d. The rage for commerce, so prevalent in America.

3d. The opinion circulated in all companies, and generally believed, that no profit is to be made by farming.

4th. The employing little or no capital in the business by those who possess it.

5th. The relying upon hay for the support of stock, instead of introducing the turnep, cabbage, and carrot husbandry, with straw, from an extensive tillage.

6th. The neglect of providing farm-yards, and litter, for collecting and making manure.

The first has a fatal tendency to

prevent improvements, by diverting the surplusage of income into another channel; and while the present situation of the country remains, may be more difficult to remove than any other. The quantity and low price of lands to be purchased, are temptations to procure farms for their children, which may operate while men use themselves to estimate their fortunes, more by the quantity, than the quality of their lands.

The second has the same tendency, with this aggravating circumstance to society, that while they prefer a small trifling traffic to the cultivation of their lands, their attention from the last is wholly diverted, and at the same time their morals depraved, to the injury, if not destruction, of all industry and economy.

The third, ill-founded, and contrary to the experience of all other countries as it is, may be considered, in some measure, as the cause of most of the others, particularly of the 4th. The opinion that nothing is to be got by farming, prevents stock being employed in that business, and in return the want of stock confirms the opinion that occasioned it. Thus an opinion, founded in error, taken up at random, and propagated by ignorance or pride, has produced consequences very injurious to the interest of the country, and at the same time, by no means favourable to its manners.

The fourth cause, from whatever source it is derived, and however it so generally prevails against the nature and reason of things, is sufficient of itself totally to prevent all kinds of improvement. A farmer would not suppose a merchant could succeed, who sent his ships to sea half rigged, and half loaded; and yet his own conduct is the same, and the effects in both cases should be assigned to the same cause. A reform in both might make them equally profitable: the fact is, that the merchant in Ame-

ica gets more money than the farmer : not that the business, in itself, is more profitable, but because merchandize is better conducted than farming. The merchant equips his ships with great liberality, and estimates his prospects of success from the largeness of his stock ; for which reason, he constantly makes additions to it from all his profits. The farmer revolts at the very idea of expence on his farm. Neither tools, labour, or stock, in any proper proportion, are to be found ; if he has money, he will sooner let it to interest, than in his own laudable profession, acquire a greater profit than is made, even by the exorbitant usury by which so many, at this day, consign themselves to infamy and the sting of their own reproaches. A comparative view of the British and American husbandry will set this matter in a clear light ; a man in England that farms 150 acres, would think a stock of 500*l.* sterling necessary ; three teams would be employed ; four or five ploughs ; barrows, waggon, carts, &c. in proportion ; 70 or 80 acres tilled ; 8 or 10 labourers at work ; 800 or 1000 loads of manure annually collected ; and perhaps three times more cattle, sheep, and hogs kept, than are kept on a farm here that is naturally as good. A man in America, that farms 150 acres, would think a stock of 100*l.* sufficient. One miserable team ; a paltry plough, and every thing in the same proportion ; three acres of Indian corn, which require all the manure he has ; as many acres of half-starved English grain from a half cultivated soil, with a spot of potatoes, and a small yard of turneps, complete the round of his tillage, and the whole is conducted, perhaps, by a man and a boy, and performed in half their time ; no manure but the dung from the barn, which, if the heaps are not exposed to be washed away by the winter rains, may a-

mount to 15 or 20 loads ; and if they are so exposed, to much less, without any regret to the farmer. All the rest of the farm is allotted for feeding a small stock. A large space must be mowed for a little hay for winter ; and a large range for a little feed in summer. Pastures are never manured, and mowing lands seldom ; but nothing will give a clearer idea of the different management, than the following facts ; in England, rents are high and labour low ; in America, it is just the reverse, rents are low and the rate of labour high ; yet, in England, it would be difficult to find an instance where the labour did not amount to more, and in many instances, to perhaps three times as much as the rents ; and in America, as difficult to find an instance where the labour on a farm equalled the rent.

Hay is considered in England as an expensive fodder, and is accordingly used only for the most important purposes. All others are provided for by cabbages, turneps, &c. with straw, which is supplied by their extensive tillage ; and it is probable, if their stock was to be supported by hay and grain, as ours is, they could not supply one-half of their own consumption.

No husbandry can succeed without large quantities of manure ; and large quantities of manure cannot, in general, be obtained, without yarding and littering the stock of cattle, &c. The common practice, in this country, is, in winter, when they are turned out of the barn, to take no further care of them for the day ; they are suffered to range at large in summer ; it is not uncommon to bring them up in the evening, and let them lie till morning in the roads ; the first rains wash the roads clean for the traveller, without any injury to the farmer, who would not have taken the trouble to have cleaned them for any other purposes ;

thus the loss in both cases to the farmer, in itself and consequences, very often amounts to as much as his taxes.

There is a seventh cause, that operates against improvements in husbandry ; I mean the policy of the government, in choosing rather to discountenance than encourage the introduction of foreigners ; I leave the observations on this head to the politicians, who may calculate, how much more (independent of other considerations) the revenue in the course of a few years might be advanced in this way, than by stamp, impost, and excise acts, without disgracing the country, and without involving it in an inextricable debt, and finally the loss of its liberty. The investigation of other causes, and such as may be more efficacious, than those that have been mentioned, with the best and most expeditious remedies for the whole, are referred to other and more able hands.

Milton, March 1, 1786.

Letter on the various modes of sowing wheat. Addressed to, and published by, the Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture.

THE person at all disposed to improve his knowledge in agriculture, will find great satisfaction from experiments in various methods of sowing and cultivating wheat—of all others the most valuable staple, of the middle states especially.

Being previously ascertained of the superiority that three grains of wheat, in a tuft or clump, have over one grain, it became an object to try various other quantities to the clump ; having lately observed the result of the experiment, I send it to the society, with the hope that they will communicate it to the public before the approaching seed-time ; with the wish too that others will also make

the like, and such other trials, as their minds may suggest.

In September, 1784, I planted i clumps, distant from each other 6 b 8 inches, of the Washington or eg wheat, as follows :

Clumps.	No.	grs. each.	heads.	wt. of heads.	oz.	dwt.	grs.
A.	I.	3	—	—	1	13	—
	II.	5	71	69	2	7	15
	III.	7	92	92	2	6	6
	IV.	9	98	95	2	—	—
			261	256	6	6	21
B.	I.	3	57	57	1	8	21
	II.	5	82	78	2	2	0
	III.	7	88	82	2	8	16
	IV.	8	124	113	3	2	8
			294	330	9	1	21

They were all planted at the same time two inches deep, in ground rather weak and light ; and were neither hoed nor the ground stirred ; but A No. I, being next to where the ground was once well stirred in the spring, took such a start, from that circumstance, that I exclude it from the comparison with the other clumps, otherwise than that it may be argued, if, without the stirring it had only given 60 straws (as I No. I) the difference being 29 heads or one half more, shews the high value of stirring the ground in the spring.

It is seen, the more grains to a clump, the more wheat is yielded, generally, as far as 9 grains to the clump ; others say even to 12 or 14 grains. The heads being fewer than the stalks, is owing to the poultry

having eaten them. The numbers were but a continuation of clumps from A, the distance of 8 inches in the rows being preserved between them. B IV was an outside row (as well as A I) but it was not reaped; and besides broad-cast wheat grew to within 8 inches of the row. A I had 86 stalks, 73 heads, and weighed 2 oz. 8 dwt. 5 grs.

In viewing the wheat, before it was reaped, it always appeared thin, as did the stubble afterwards; and it struck me, the tillering (branching) was trifling, and that there was much of spare ground; or, in other words, the clumps might have been nearer, to advantage; yet the clumps tillered 10 stalks, on an average, light as the ground was; for it was not a proper wheat soil, although the most of my farm is good wheat ground.

At 6 by 8 inches are 130,000 clumps in an acre: 10 heads a clump are 1,300,000 heads per acre, and 6,000,000 grains at 20 per head (according to the *Museum Rusticum*) equal to 26 bushels an acre, at 1,000,000 grains of all sizes, per bushel; which seems too much for the soil on which it grew: but near one half may be tailings, or lost in various ways. From a former experiment in clumps, 6 inches by 6 inches, in good soil that tillered out the branches to 32 stalks average, it appeared that distance was not too near; yet I prefer, for a field of near 30 acres, to be sown this fall, 6 by 8 inches, that I may more safely stir the ground in April between the rows, and again immediately before the wheat heads break out, with a sort of harrow teeth (coltsfoot, or rather with little stirrers like Chateaux's) set in a square frame on 2 or 4 wheels, that just stride the ridge, which will give steadiness to the frame.

The medium weight of the above 86 heads, is 13 grains troy each head: when, in the *Museum Rusti-*

cum, the mean weight was 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ grains troy. Good merchantable wheat of Chesapeake peninsula, of two fine crops, had 805,000 and 847,000 grains per bushel. In England, their wheat is so cleaned and assorted, that 700,000 or less fill a bushel for market. Their inferior grain is consumed at home, and none else, as I am informed.

Wye-river, Maryland.



Mr. Printer,

I COULD wish that every discovery, which has any pretension to utility, was made as public as possible, that all might reap the advantages flowing from the successful labours of the happy few, who have either invented something new, or improved upon the labours of their predecessors. It is with this view I have sent you the following method of rearing turkies, which are so remarkably tender when young, that great numbers of them die, notwithstanding all the care taken to preserve their lives; it is translated from a Swedish book, entitled, "Rural Œconomy," and will, I hope, prove useful to many of your readers.

Swedish method of breeding turkies.

Many of our housewives, says this ingenious author, have long despaired of success in rearing turkies, and complained that the profit rarely indemnifies them for their trouble and loss of time; whereas, continues he, little more is necessary to be done than to plunge the chick into a vessel of cold water, the very hour, if possible, but at least the very day, it is hatched, and forcing it to swallow one whole pepper-corn; after which let it be returned to its mother. From that time it will become hardy, and fear the cold no more than a hen's chick.

But it must be remembered, that this useful species of fowls are also subject to one particular disorder while they are young, which often carries them off in a few days. When they begin to droop, examine carefully the feathers on their rump, and you will find two or three whose quill part is filled with blood. Upon drawing these the chick recovers, and after that, requires no other care than what is commonly bestowed on poultry that range the court-yard.

The truth of these assertions is too well known to be denied; and as a convincing proof of the success, it will be sufficient to mention, that three parishes in Sweden have, for many years, used this method, and gained several hundred pounds by scaring and selling turkies.



Letter on the culture of potatoes—Published by order of the committee of the American academy of arts and sciences.

OF all the roots produced in our fields and gardens, none appear to be of such consequence as the potatoes. As food for the poor, they are certainly preferable to turneps, and might be rendered equally useful for cattle. As a fallow crop, they tend greatly to meliorate the soil; being in this respect equal to turneps, and in general, pay the owner of the land much better.

Some persons have objected to the general cultivation of potatoes, from the apprehension of wanting a market; but while they are retailed out at two shillings and six pence, or even two shillings a bushel (and it is very rarely we can purchase them lower) this apprehension will be groundless. Add to this, that potatoes may be very profitably used as food for cattle and hogs. No food is better for rearing and fattening the latter. Cows and oxen will also

eat them freely, and they are more easily preserved from frost than turneps; hence they would prove an excellent succedaneum at the season when spring food is most wanted. If potatoes were introduced regularly in the farmer's course of crops, on light good soils, great advantages would ensue. He need not be at the trouble and expence of having them dug up clean. Let him only take up the best part, and then turn his swine in; they will gather and fatten on the rest, and repay their value in the manure they leave behind them.

Potatoes grow better in a soil that is loose and deep, where the swelling of the roots meets the least obstruction, and where they draw the greatest nourishment most easily. On this account, where the quantity intended to be raised is small, digging is preferable to ploughing; but if the land be ploughed deep and well pulverised success need not be doubted. They ought to be planted in lines twenty inches apart, and at fourteen inch distance in each line. This will give opportunity for earthing them up with the horse-hoe while young which will greatly promote their fertility. If the horse-hoe is not intended to be used, plant them four teen inches square, and earth them up with hand-hoes several times, which though more expensive, will repay the cost.

Care should be taken, in the latter hoeings especially, not to go too near the plants, lest you cut the roots. You need only, after they are weeded by hand, to draw up the earth from the centre round each plant. Vast quantities may be obtained by a little additional labour in keeping them clear, and the land will be left in excellent order for succeeding crops. It is necessary to observe, that the same kinds ought never to be planted together on the same land, nor the same land set with potatoes more than two years at the longest

When raised from the seed, great varieties, and some excellent new inds, will be obtained.



Remarks on roads—addressed to, and published by, the Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture.

THE facility of communication between the remote parts of a country, is, surely, of essential consequence to its inhabitants. Hence the goodness of its highways, and the preservation of them in constant repair, become interesting objects of the public care, and highly deserving the serious attention of its legislature, whether we consider them under the head of pleasure, or of public utility. Viewed under the first head, the ease and convenience of the traveller immediately strike the mind; and, under the second, the benefits accruing to agriculture and commerce. These consequences obtrude themselves so forcibly, that it does not seem necessary to use many arguments in support of them. On the facility of transportation much depends: the farmer, with equal profit, can carry his produce to market at a lower price; which will enable the merchant to export the same at so moderate a rate, as to gain a preference at foreign markets. The farmer, again, will receive all the foreign commodities he needs, at proportionately moderate prices.

The wretched, not to say shameful, state of the highways in Pennsylvania, which sometimes are almost impassable, is a public grievance. Even the entrances into this city, where so many roads unite, particularly that of the great western road on the other side of Schuylkill, which would naturally be expected to be kept in good repair, are in so bad condition, as to risque the safety of every traveller and carriage passing them in the dark: nor are the Germantown or Wissahiccon roads

much, if at all, better. Were the materials for their repair either scarce or difficult to be obtained, or the abilities of the public unequal to the expence, somewhat might be argued in favour of their present ruinous condition. But the last, it is notorious, is not the case, and the first are to be had in abundance.

A late respectable writer on agriculture *, proposes to lessen the expence of forming roads considerably by making use of the plough. His mode is as follows: "Suppose a new road is purposed, plough it up into a ridge, beginning in the middle; and plough it a second time in the same manner. Where the ground is soft, and requires to be raised high, a very deep furrow is necessary. Where the ground is firm, a shallow furrow is sufficient. After these two ploughings are finished, if the sides of the road be too steep, leave six feet in the middle, and go round the remainder in a third ploughing, gathering it towards the top. If the sides be still too steep, leave 12 feet in the middle, and gather up the remainder as in the former ploughings. If these operations be well conducted, the water-channels on each side of the road, will be two feet lower than the surface of the adjacent ground. Smooth the road with a drag-harrow; and correct with a spade, any remaining defects or inequalities, which is a very easy work. Thus the road is completely formed to receive a covering of gravel or stones beat small."

Though the above writer speaks of the formation of a new road, his method is equally applicable to reducing an old one to a proper degree of convexity. A strong plough and a team of horses constituting all the essential

NOTE.

* Gentleman Farmer, by Lord Kaims. 2d edition, pages 12 and 13.

difference between working in a light soil, and turning up one rendered compact by being long beaten and pressed by carriages and horses.

Upon the facility of carrying off what water may fall upon a road, its goodness in a great measure depends. Suppose, then, the middle part of the road should be raised fifteen or eighteen inches higher than the sides next the water courses, which, it is apprehended, would throw all the water into them; from these let it be discharged into the first or nearest natural water course. Suppose, further, that where a quick-sand occurs, the same should be dug out from the bottom, the hole filled up with brush-wood or faggots, and the earth returned in again; or, what may be cheaper, and probably as effectual and more durable, let small stones (such as are to be found in abundance in the neighbouring ploughed fields) be thrown into the quick-sand, until it becomes fixed.

Suppose, also, that swampy places should be covered to a good depth with well bound faggots or fascines placed close together, and that upon these a range of saplins should be laid touching each other, and the whole be covered with earth; the water will subside through the interstices of the wooden materials, and leave the road dry, while the floor of saplins will prevent any depth of ruts, or possibility of stalling. Upon roads thus far formed, gravel, or earth and stones, should be laid of a considerable thickness, which, it is apprehended, there can be no great difficulty in procuring, as one or the other of these materials are to be found in most places near to the highways. Where gravel cannot be procured, stones may be had for this purpose, at a small expence, by applying to the owners of the fields adjoining the highways, the majority of which abound with them: and this mode of repairing the roads may possibly be be-

neficial to the husbandman, by removing the impediments to agriculture—and œconomical to the community, by the small distance from which the materials, in general, are to be brought. These, when laid upon the surface and broken to pieces with heavy hammers, will form a very durable and excellent road, being, in a little time, pressed into a firm and uniform substance by the weight of the carriages passing over it.

But here it is to be remembered that notwithstanding the proper convexity may be given to the highways and the water courses for keeping them dry, carefully constructed and attended to, there is still one essential article for keeping them in good order yet behind; which is an alteration in the wheels of all carriages of burden. Were it possible so far to overcome prejudices as to introduce broad wheels in place of the present narrow ones, which cut the roads to pieces in wet weather; the difference in the goodness of the highways would be immense. Suppose that wheels with felloes of six inches breadth were introduced for waggons, and that on axletree should be made six inches shorter than the other, so as to cause the inner edge of one of the wheels to take exactly on the outer edge of the track made by the other wheel, it is evident that the two wheels would together roll a surface of twelve inches. Hence, of course, they would sink less in the earth than narrow wheels and would act as rollers in compressing the covering of gravel or stones and render the surface of the highways smooth in a short time. Perhaps, it may be objected to this, that the additional quantity of wood and iron necessary for broad wheels, would render the waggons too heavy; but will not the apparently greater ease with which a load is moved on a road so improved, than one full of ruts and sloughs, more than compensate this extraordinary weight of broad wheels?

but cattle labouring on a smooth road, besides performing their work with greater ease to themselves, will not longer than in bad roads; which are surely considerations of no small importance to the merciful or economical husbandman.

Turnpikes, where every carriage and traveller pay for passing, would, undoubtedly, be the most eligible mode of keeping the highways in perfect repair; but even supposing that turnpikes were established, the tolls arising from them would be inadequate to their maintenance, unless broad wheels were introduced; and it will be found necessary to lay a double toll on all narrow-wheeled carriages of burden, whenever the legislature shall think turnpikes expedient.

Though it may, perhaps, be thought that the period for establishing turnpikes is not yet arrived, it is certainly advisable to endeavour, as far as circumstances will permit, to remedy the evils we at present labour under, by improving our roads as far as we are able; and the conveniency arising from making them some degrees better at present, may perhaps lead to the making them as perfect as those of any country, at a future day. Turnpikes, alone, it is believed, will produce this effect: till these can be established, possibly the following hints may tend to correct some of the evils complained of:—

Instead of the present supervisors of the highways, it is proposed, that a board of trustees of the highways be constituted, which shall consist of

of the most substantial persons in each township, to be annually elected; which board shall meet once in each month, or oftener, to consult upon what repairs are necessary, and to agree upon the most effectual means to carry the same into execution. It is proposed, that the board shall appoint one of its members, or such other person as may judge proper, to carry its resolutions

into execution; which person so appointed shall keep a fair account of all receipts and expenditures, and lay the same before the board, at its stated meetings; and that the person so employed, shall receive per diem, for every day when he is in actual service.—Or, that the board of trustees shall have power to contract with any person or persons for repairing, and keeping in repair, the public highways by the year. In case of difference between the board and contractors, relative to the fulfilment of the contract, two magistrates, upon application from the trustees, may call a jury of twelve freeholders, whose judgment in the case shall be final.

It may be objected, that in a country where every officer is rewarded, no one will execute a duty where wages are not proposed; but this will be obviated by considering the immediate interest that landholders and farmers have in the excellence of their roads; and that in every neighbourhood, a sufficient number of persons may be found to execute the office of trustees without injury to their affairs; and also, that this mode is recommended by the practice of England, where the best roads in the world are found.

That the board of trustees, with the concurrence of two magistrates, shall have power to assess the requisite road taxes, which shall be collected by the collector of the county rates, and by him paid to the county treasurer, who shall pay the drafts of the board of trustees.

That no person be allowed to pay his taxes by personal labour, nor any superintendant (unless a contractor by the year) allowed to employ his own carts, teams, or servants.

That the board of trustees shall, annually, at going out of office, exhibit its accounts to the county court, who shall have power to examine and liquidate the same.

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That upon complaint of neglect of duty in the board of trustees, made by any person, to two magistrates, they shall have power to enquire into the same; and, if the complaint is well founded, to fine the board, or the contractor, where one is employed; and that two magistrates shall have the same powers upon their own view of any such neglect.



The following remarks on the culture and manufacture of silk, were written in Massachusetts, and intended for that and the other New England states. As the plan is equally practicable here, and as a spirit of encouraging domestic manufactures seems universally prevalent, the insertion of the essay may probably induce some patriotic persons to undertake a line of manufacture so likely to be of essential benefit to the country.

AMONG the numerous projections for the public good, hitherto not sufficiently attended to, few demand a greater encouragement than an extensive and systematical plan for the culture of silk. From the examples of Persia, Greece, and Italy, it may be easily demonstrated, that such a plan, being, by a voluntary silk company, carried into execution in New England only, this culture would, within ten or fifteen years, become a produce of the value of two millions sterling per annum, without interfering with husbandry, or any other kind of business. But in order to this, effectual care must be taken to set out about four or five million mulberry-trees, around fences, or inclosures for that purpose. This silk company should consist of patriotic and public-spirited persons, taken from every county in New England, and the adjacent states, so as to diffuse the mulberry-seed and nurseries in every county at least, and, if it could be, in every town. And when the trees should be fit for

transplanting, effectual care should be taken, either by selling or giving away the trees, to see that one hundred and fifty or two hundred thousand families be actually supplied with ten or twenty trees each, on condition of their being fenced and kept from cattle. The business of the company for the several succeeding years should be only superintending and taking an annual account of the number of trees actually growing, and not destroyed, and transmitting it to an annual meeting or standing committee. When it shall be found that the trees are well grown, and to the amount of two or three million, pretty equally diffused among the body of the people at large—then the silk worms eggs must be systematically diffused abroad through the whole; until at length the whole body of the people may strike out at once into the great work.

As the silk, when made, will command silver and gold, the merchant and others will readily set up filature all over the country, and buy the cocoons or silk-balls. So that the people at large will have nothing to do but each family to raise its little parcel of cocoons, and sell them to those who have filatures.

The labour from the eggs to the cocoons, may be done by old men, women, and children, the decrepit and invalids, in six weeks of June and July; only ten days of which will be hard work. In Italy, the nobility and ladies are all devoted to feed silk worms for the season. In China, the empress herself, and persons of the first distinction, as well as the body of the people, put their hands to the agreeable and useful employment. Were a body of the people heartily engaged in it, they could clothe themselves more easily in silk than in woollens. But it is proposed rather as a staple for exportation, or as a means to send abroad to Europe, and

ven the Levant and the East Indies, or making remittances in commerce. If the fishery becomes a remittance of 100,000l. per annum, and rice 100,000l. this of silk might be brought to that perfection in fifteen years, as to become an annual remittance of more than these two articles, with the tobacco joined to them. It is presumed, that no kind of business, culture, or manufacture can be adopted in New England, and indeed throughout America, which would yield so much for foreign commerce. It would be a certain basis for an immense trade. It is worthy the attention, therefore, of the husbandman and merchant, and indeed of the whole public, of every class, order, and description.

It is hoped such a plan may be adopted and carried into execution, that it might be done with little, or very little expence. Private persons ought to be encouraged in raising mulberry nurseries, of which there are already several in different parts, and particularly in the state of Connecticut.

Mr. Nathaniel Aspinwall, full of the spirit of the silk culture, has, for this end, planted a nursery of ten thousand trees in Newhaven, and another in Kensington, and is proceeding in this laudable work. He merits the encouragement of the public. And should he meet with stable encouragement, as well as others, who have, of their own accord, planted nurseries in different parts of Connecticut, it will tend, in time, to bring forward and ripen the affair, for a systematical establishment.



Premiums offered by the committee of the American academy of arts and sciences, appointed for promoting agriculture.

FOR the greatest quantity of good manure, not less than one hundred tons, collected on one

farm, in one year, from materials common to most farms—an account to be given of the yard or place where the same was collected, and the manner of collecting it—Twelve pounds.

2. For the second greatest quantity of good manure, not less than one hundred tons—Six pounds. Certificates of the quantity, with the account required, to be laid before the committee on or before the last Wednesday of April, 1788.

3. For the discovery, from actual experiments, of the best vegetable food, exclusive of all kinds of grain, for increasing the milk of cows and ewes, in March and April, which may be easily procured and preserved—A gold medal. The account to be laid before the committee by the last Wednesday in June, 1788.

4. For the best set of experiments, made of a course of crops, on not less than four acres of land; or of such a succession of crops, without the intervention of fallows or rest, as is best calculated for profit, and to preserve the fertility of the land—Twelve pounds.

5. For the second best—Six pounds. The account, with proper evidence, to be produced on or before the last Wednesday of December, 1791.

6. For a cheap and more easy method of destroying canker-worms, or preventing their injuring fruit-trees, than has hitherto been practised; or for an effectual method of preventing worms from injuring locust and other trees—A gold medal. The account, with proper evidence, to be produced by the last Wednesday of October, 1788.

7. For the greatest quantity of either cabbages, carrots, or turneps, or of all of them together, raised on one farm, in the year 1787, or 1788, designed for foddering cattle, and actually applied to that purpose—Twelve pounds.

8. For the greatest produce, per acre, of the same articles, designed and applied for the same use, on any quantity of land not less than two acres—Six pounds. Evidence to be produced on or before the last Wednesday of December, 1788.

9. For the best method of preserving salted beef or pork, in barrels, with satisfactory evidence, that any quantity, not less than three barrels, packed by the claimant, or under his direction, has been in a state of perfect preservation, after a voyage of not less than seven months, in which it has been carried to the West Indies and Europe, or across the Equinoctial Line—Eighteen pounds. The account and evidence to be produced on or before the last Wednesday of February, 1788.

10. For the best method of raising hogs, and making large quantities of pork, in pens or sties; or from natural or artificial grass, or other vegetables, in the field—Six pounds. The account, with proper evidence, to be produced on or before the last Wednesday of December, 1787.

WM. ERVING, Recording sec.



Mr. Printer,

THE following piece, which has been extracted from a late Londonderry paper, contains information so interesting to this country, that I trust you will readily give it a place in your Museum, which will oblige. A SUBSCRIBER.

*On the extraction of the essence of bark :
—from the Londonderry Journal of
September 19, 1786.*

WE are indebted to our kind correspondent for the communication of the transactions of the Dublin society, at their meeting extraordinary, on Wednesday, the sixth of September, to take into consideration a matter by

“ which the trade and leather-
“ manufacture of this country bid
“ fair to be essentially benefited :
“ and as it is still but in embryo, we
“ lay the detail before the public
“ in hopes that it may excite some
“ ingenious and public-spirited per-
“ sons to pursue the experiment, and
“ lay open the result, which can
“ be attempted on a small scale suffi-
“ ciently exact to ascertain the me-
“ rit of the process.

“ The society, in their last list of
“ premiums, offered the following :

“ The sum of one hundred pounds
“ will be given to provide bark and
“ proper utensils, and other charge
“ attendant on experiments for dis-
“ covering an effectual method of
“ extracting an essence of bark
“ wherein the tanning quality
“ thereof shall be concentrated : and
“ for applying said extract to the ac-
“ tual tanning a vat of leather, un-
“ der the inspection of a committee
“ of the Dublin society, by such
“ person or persons as the said socie-
“ ty shall employ for the purpose.
“ The process, and its result, to be
“ laid before the society on or before
“ the first Thursday in December
“ 1786. To be adjudged the third
“ Thursday in the said month.”

“ The list was sent by an eminent
“ merchant to a correspondent in
“ America : and in consequence, the
“ following letter, &c. was lately
“ delivered to the society.

“ State of Rhode Island.

“ Providence, June 30, 1786.

“ BY the brigantine Happy F
“ turn, captain Thomas Dring,
“ have sent the Dublin society
“ small sample of an extract from
“ tanners’ bark. I was induced
“ to try the experiment, on my seeing
“ a late publication of the society
“ wherein they expressed a wish
“ that some person would make
“ trial towards reducing that art
“ into a less compass, in order

lessen the expence of transportation.

" On examining into the matter, I find, that by boiling one hundred weight of good ground bark, eighteen pounds of essence may be extracted, nigh the consistency of thick tar: and consequently, one ton of bark will produce three hundred and sixty pounds, which may be exported in a forty gallon cask. This reduces the freight nigh seven eighths.

" If, on trial, it should appear that none of the strength is evaporated by the steam in boiling, but that it still retains the whole of the tanning qualities, there can be no doubt but three hundred and sixty pounds will answer the same purpose as a ton of bark. The quantity sent you is contained in a forty-two gallon cask, boiled to the state of melasses, and a small stone pot to the thickness of tar. The samples should have been larger, had I known sooner of this vessel's going to Dublin. If your tanners think with ours, that it will answer the purpose intended, your markets may hereafter be supplied with large quantities from hence, and at a more moderate price than at present.

" Our tanners prefer hemlock [the name of a particular species of oak], it being much stronger: and I believe a much greater proportion of essence may be extracted from the hemlock, than from the oak bark.

" The process is easy and very simple. It may be effected by those who cannot work at hard labour, and done back in the country, where bark and fuel are both plenty and cheap.

" The methods I took in the above experiment, were as follow:
" After weighing a sufficient quantity of ground bark, I put it into iron kettles; and after filling them

" with water, with moderate boiling, extracted the whole of the substance: then strained the liquor into a vessel of brass, and after boiled it away to the substance you have in the samples. A person with proper apparatus, might have saved five hundred weight in less time, and with less expence, than the little quantity cost.

" I am, sir, &c.

" In consequence of the foregoing letter, an extraordinary meeting was immediately summoned, at which several eminent tanners and experienced chymists attended. The extract of the bark was examined; and the master of the corporation of tanners cheerfully undertook to pursue such process as was most likely to ascertain its virtue: and several of the trade promised to attend the operation. Should the experiment induce an importation of essence from America, besides obviating the inconvenience frequently and severely felt, for want of bark, it will greatly tend to enlarge the exports of Ireland to America, as one of the greatest impediments to our exports, was the difficulty of procuring returns. Bark in substance, from the nature of its stowage, would scarce be admitted on freight at three guineas per ton, while the freight of a ton of essence, cost of cask included, will scarce amount to twelve shillings."



A letter on the retreat of house-fwallows in winter: from the hon. Samuel Dexter, esq. to the hon. James Bowdoin, esq. Pres. A. A.

Dedham, June 3, 1783.

Dear sir,

AMONG more important branches of natural history, with which you are conversant, ornithology cannot have escaped your notice.

I know it has been a problem among naturalists, whether certain species of birds emigrate in autumn to distant countries, and return in the spring, or remain with us during the winter, in a torpid state; and that the former opinion has generally prevailed. When, therefore, I acquaint you that I have adopted the latter, with respect to the house swallow, you will justly expect that I give you substantial reasons for differing from so many who have maintained the contrary.

The late judge Foster, of Brookfield, a year or two before his death, assured me, that he saw a certain pond drained, about the season of the year when swallows first appear. The business being effected, and the weather fair and warm, he, with several others, observed a rippling motion in many parts of the emptied hollow; which, on a near inspection, they found to be occasioned by a multitude of swallows, endeavouring to disengage themselves from the mud, which was scarcely covered by the shallow remains of the water.

I shall now mention some other facts, which render it probable, that this sort of swallows sink into ponds and rivers, in the fall of the year, and lie there, benumbed and motionless, until the return of spring.

You know, sir, that my house is near a large river. This river is, in many parts, shallow, and has a muddy bottom. A former neighbour of mine, a plain, honest, and sensible man, now deceased, who lived still nearer to the river, used frequently to say to me, as the warm weather came on in the spring, "it is almost time for the swallows to come out of the mud, where they have lain all winter." On my calling his philosophy, once and again, in question, and saying, as I formerly believed, that doubtless they were birds of passage, he has repeatedly assured me, he had, in the autumn of many years,

seen great numbers of them, on one day only in each year, and nearly about, but not always, on the same day of the month, sitting on the willow bushes, (which, by the way, they are not wont to roost upon at other times) on the borders of the river, a little after sunset:—That they seemed as if their torpidude had already begun, as they would not stir from the twigs; which by the weight of the swallows, were bent down almost to the water;—and that although he had never seen them sink into it, yet he had waited until it was so dark that he could not discern them at all; and doubted not of their immersion any more than if he had been a witness of it; for he had never observed any flying about afterwards, until the return of spring. He added, that if, as he wished, I would carefully look out for their resurrection, he believed it would not be in vain. He had, he said, often taken notice that only a few appeared at first, and the main body in about a week after.

Although I paid little regard to it for some years, yet I followed his advice at length, and watched for their appearance several seasons as carefully as I could. I have not indeed beheld them rising out of the water; yet I and my family have, in more years than one, seen, at a proper time in the spring, very large flocks of them, in my own, and in my neighbour's land, so near the margin of the river, that, from that circumstance, and the appearance of their feathers, and their being unable to use their wings as at other times, we concluded they were newly emerged from the water. When they attempted to fly, they could not reach above eight or ten yards before they settled to the ground, and then might be drove about like chickens. They appeared unwilling to be disturbed; and, if not frightened by some noise or motion, would cluster together,

seemingly to want to rest themselves, if feeble, or fatigued. They were not entirely recovered from their stupor—there was a viscous substance on and about their wings—or they were too weak to fly away. We had seen none in those years before; but in each of them, after a day or two, they were flying about as usual in summer.

In addition to the foregoing, I can assure you, on the most credible testimony, that there have been more instances than one of a pickerel's being caught in this river, at the season of the coming of swallows, with one of those birds in its belly.

I may possibly overrate those discoveries, yet, as I cannot overrate our candour, I hope to lose no credit by communicating them to an honest and faithful friend, who, though he should not be informed, may possibly be amused by them.

I am, &c. &c.

SAMUEL DEXTER.



Winter clothes.

ABSTINENCE from foreign manufactures, and the use of things made at home, seem to be the wish of all. It is therefore to be hoped, that the expensive article of foreign buttons will be omitted in making up our winter clothes. Cloth, flannel, cotton, and silk, may be fitted with a button covered with the same. Even a silver button will be more economical in the end, than a Birmingham button at ten pence, to fourteen pence. The former will last for life, and for the life of a son. Deduct from the first cost of twelve silver buttons, the first cost of twelve Birmingham buttons, and the remainder will not exceed the value of the silver: another year saves the cost of the silver, and it remains clear gain. The Birmingham button is the wear of a year; the other continues both a button and a valuable

metal, for years, and for lives. I acknowledge it a more expensive button than we have any occasion for, and than we ought to get, considering money matters only—but we must take in every consideration. They are made by tradesmen among ourselves; therefore it is only putting money out of our right pocket into our left. It is not giving money away to a stranger, i. e. a Birmingham manufacturer. In the second place, it would for a time stop the importation of costly foreign buttons, which is of great consequence. Breaking through bad habits is a great matter. The silver button, engraved with the continental, or federal eagle, would render it a sort of national button by agreement, and not by the improper force of law, which should not descend to, or encroach upon such things. As observed before, I do not urge this button; but only say it is beyond all comparison more frugal and more patriotic, than to import buttons of half the value, and a fifteenth part of the duration, from Birmingham. Instead of the silk twist button, called death head, a button covered with cloth, or a firm taffety of the colour, would be neat, modest, and genteel. On naps, frizes, and coatings a button covered with camblet appears exceedingly well. Besides these, we have buttons of brass, pewter, leather, wood, horn, and bone, made at home.

Deerskin, sheepskin, and lamb-skin, make very durable pockets for winter breeches; and will save linen for other purposes. When a garment is worn out, a leather pocket will still be good. It may be ripped out, and washed, after which it will be as good as new, for another garment. Deerskin and sheepskin breeches, for riding, for common wear, and for children and servants, are an excellent home-made article. The same may be said of gloves. Let us attend to these things. Our Indian traders and

farmers get nothing now for their deerskins and sheepskins. If every man and well-grown boy in Pennsylvania, should use two dollars worth of them annually, in breeches, jackets, gloves, pockets, &c. it would amount to 300,000 dollars a year, which is more than all our state land tax. We must not trifle with this scheme of manufactures. It is a fine wholesome æconomical business. It is a rich mine, better than a gold one, and will more surely give us wealth and independence.

Federal manufactures.



Address of the board of managers of the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of manufactures and the useful arts.

To the people of Pennsylvania,

Friends and fellow citizens,

AN association has been formed in Philadelphia, by a respectable number of its inhabitants, for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts in America.

The board, which now addresses you, is deputed to carry into effect the objects of this institution: in the fulfilment of which trust, they deem it a measure of essential importance to call upon you for your assistance and co-operation.

During our existence as a dependent people, the extension of manufactures in this country, was of less importance than at present. The various markets then open to its commerce, afforded a sure demand for its exportations: and the inhabitants of it found constant employment, in the production and transportation of its commodities. The wealth, then sent away to pay for our importations, either returned back to us through other channels, or contributed to enrich an empire, of which we were ourselves a part, and in whose losses or prosperity we bore a share.

We have now assumed a new political station: and experience demonstrates that we must adopt a correspondent alteration in our internal economy. The markets for our produce are reduced in number: and certainly our navigation is depressed. We feel an hourly diminution of our wealth: and the support of our artificers and labourers is becoming precarious and difficult.

Nature has done her part in our behalf, by giving us eminent advantages as to soil, climate, and situation. Let it be remembered, that no free country, to which she has been bountiful, can suffer lasting distress or difficulty, unless from neglect or abuse of her favours. Hence, our situation loudly proclaims to us, that the evils we suffer, originate only in ourselves; that our present system of manners and policy is destructive to our interests; and that if we continue to pursue it, our population will be diminished; our strength as a nation destroyed; and our country reduced to poverty, insignificance and contempt.

You have exhibited to the world a spectacle of magnanimity in war: suffer not yourselves to be pointed at for imbecility in peace. Let mankind be convinced, that you are no more disposed to remain the dupes of prejudice, than to become the victims of power. The legislators of America are performing their part in this alarming crisis. It is the duty of its citizens to support them by corresponding exertions. Let us then vigorously exert ourselves to remove those causes of our difficulties, which lie within our reach. Let us banish indolence and foreign luxuries from our habits of life; explore the resources which nature has bestowed on us; reject the use of all foreign manufactures which are superfluous and employ our own people as much as possible in making those which are necessary.

By steadily pursuing these measures, we shall not only cease to purchase more than we can pay for ; but shall turn the tide of commerce in our favour, and finally oblige the nations of Europe to refund the wealth they have lately drawn from us. It is by preserving a due proportion between their income and their expenses, that the affairs of individuals are found to succeed : nor do nations rise to wealth or importance, without closely attending to the same principles. By a strict adherence to this system, Holland, under many disadvantages, has obtained a place among the first powers of Europe : while other nations, from neglecting, sunk into impotence, though favoured with the choicest gifts of nature, and possessed of the richest mines in the world.

If there be any among you, who suppose that the interests of agriculture will be injured by an attention to manufactures, they should recollect, that a constant demand for the productions of our lands, cannot be secured, without manufacturing towns to consume them ; and that, notwithstanding the important advantages resulting from exportation, to rely on it alone, for the support of our agriculture, is a precarious dependence, in our present circumstances. Such a reliance must be subject to the fluctuating wants of other countries, the caprice of foreign princes, and the interruptions of war : while a consumption at home is regular and certain.

But this is not the only weighty objection to the exclusive pursuit of agriculture, in a nation whose protection depends on itself. A people, employed wholly in the cultivation of lands, must always be a weak one ; because its wealth and population must continue in a scattered state : and this inconvenience would be peculiarly felt in America, where the cheapness of its western

land will prevent our numbers from accumulating, if they be not induced to keep together, by towns and their neighbourhood.

There may be other persons, who think it vain to apply to manufactures, while our numbers continue so few. We reply to this objection, that, although we cannot fabricate all the manufactures we consume—yet experience proves, we succeed in making some of them. It may, therefore, be inferred, that, by more exertion, others, which are now untried, may be undertaken with success ; and that those which are established, may be carried to greater perfection and extent. The present moment is peculiarly proper for such enterprises, because the decline of our commerce and navigation deprives many of our citizens of their customary employment. The labour of the people, if employed in manufactures, will yet contribute to our welfare : whereas if driven by distress, beyond the limits of the state, little future benefit can be derived to us from their industry.

Under a belief, that the objects, to promote which our board was appointed, are of importance to every description of men, our zealous and unbiassed exertions shall not be wanting, to accomplish them. We call upon you to aid us, on your part, by pointing out those means which may occur to you, for promoting the manufactures which already exist here ; and for the establishment of such others, as may be suitable to the ability of our country. We call upon you, at the same time, to co-operate with us, by encouraging the productions of America ; by discarding from your houses, your tables, and your persons, the superfluous luxuries of foreign countries ; and by a strict observance of industry, frugality, and simplicity. Thus it will be evinced to the world, that you have no less virtue

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in the character of citizens, than firmness in asserting your rights as men; and that you are worthy, by your wisdom, of holding that station, as an independent people, which you have acquired by your courage.

By order of the board,
SAMUEL MILES, V. P.
Attest. G. FOX, Sec.
Philadelphia, Oct. 5, 1787.



*Address of the subscribers, members of
the late house of representatives of
the commonwealth of Pennsylvania,
to their constituents.*

Gentlemen,
WHEN, in consequence of your suffrages, at the last election, we were chosen to represent you in the general assembly of this commonwealth, we accepted of the important trust, with a determination to execute it in the best manner we were able: and we flatter ourselves, we have acted in such a manner, as to convince you, that your interests, with that of the good of the state have been the object of our measures.

During the fall and spring sessions of the legislature, on the recommendation of the congress of the united states, your representatives proceeded to the appointment of delegates, to attend a convention to be held in the city of Philadelphia, for the purpose of revising and amending the present articles of confederation; and to report their proceedings to congress, and, when adopted by them, and ratified by the several states to become binding on them, as a part of the confederation of the united states. We lamented, at the time that a majority of our legislature appointed men to represent this state, who were all citizens of Philadelphia, none of them calculated to represent the landed interest of Pennsylvania, and almost all of them of

one political party—men who have been uniformly opposed to that constitution for which you have, on every occasion, manifested your attachment. We were apprehensive, at the time, of the ill consequences of so partial a representation: but all opposition was in vain.

When the convention met, members from twelve states attended; and after deliberating upwards of four months on the subject, agreed on a plan of government, which was sent forward by them to congress, and which was reported to the house, by the delegates of Pennsylvania, as mere matter of information, and printed in the newspapers of the city of Philadelphia; but the house had not received it officially from congress: nor had we the least idea, that, as the annual election was so near, we should be called upon to deliberate, much less to act on so momentous a business—a business of the utmost importance to you and your posterity. We conceived it required the most minute examination, and mature consideration; and that it ought to be taken up by the next house. Judge, then, of our surprise, on finding, the last day but one in the sessions, a member of the house, who had been a delegate in the convention, without any previous notice or any intimation of his intentions to the house, offer a resolution, recommending the calling a convention to consider of the proposed constitution, and to direct the electing members for the same at so early a period as the day of your annual election: thus attempting to surprise you into a choice of members to approve or disapprove of a constitution which is to entail happiness or misery forever, without giving time to the greatest part of the state even to see, much less to examine, the plan of government.

Our duty to ourselves, and our regard for your dearest interests, induced us to oppose the measure by eve-

any possible argument that we could suggest at the time : but all our efforts were insufficient, even to produce a postponement until the afternoon. We urged, and urged in vain, the constant practice of the house, when any important business was to be brought on, of giving previous notice, and making it the order of the day, some time before hand ; that no bill, however trifling, was passed without three readings, and without this formality, which gave the members time and opportunity to think on the subject ; that the rules were adhered to so strictly, that even the building of a bridge, or the laying out a road, could not be determined on without this form ; but this, the most important of all matters, was to be done by surprise, and, as we conceived, with design to preclude you from having it in your power to deliberate on the subject. Our anxiety for your interests was great : but notwithstanding the firmest and most determined opposition, no respite could be obtained ; and the first resolution was adopted by a majority of the house, when they adjourned till the afternoon, to complete the business. In these circumstances, we had no alternative ; we were under a necessity of either returning to the house, and by our presence enabling them to call a convention, before our constituents could have the means of information or time to deliberate on the subject, or, by absenting ourselves from the house, prevent the measure taking place. Our regard for you induced us to prefer the latter : and we determined not to attend in the afternoon. We conceived, that, at the time we were chosen, you had no view to this business ; and we could see no inconvenience nor loss of time from determining a matter of such importance, and which would, in its consequences, tend, or, perhaps, annihilate our own constitution, as well as that of every state in the union, to a

house chosen after the people had some knowledge of the plan ; especially as the next house will meet at so early a period, and a convention could be called by them time enough to meet in a few months, which would be as early as any state in the union, and would be allowing you time to make up your minds on a matter which appeared to us to require so much deliberation. Thus circumstanced, and thus influenced we determined the next morning, again to absent ourselves from the house, when James M'Calmont, esq. a member from Franklin, and Jacob Miley, esq. a member from Dauphin, were seized by a number of citizens of Philadelphia, who had collected together for that purpose ; their lodgings were violently broken open ; their clothes torn ; and after much abuse and insult, they were forcibly dragged through the streets of Philadelphia to the state-house, and there detained by force, and in the presence of the majority, who had, the day before, voted for the first of the proposed resolutions, treated with the most insulting language ; while the house so formed, proceeded to finish their resolutions, which they mean to offer to you as the doings of the legislature of Pennsylvania. On this outrageous proceeding, we make no comment. The inhabitants of Franklin and Dauphin have been grossly insulted by the treatment of their members. We know the feelings of the people of these counties are sufficiently keen ; it becomes us not to add to them, by dwelling longer on the subject : but as our conduct may, and we have no doubt will, be misrepresented, we thought it our duty to lay before our constituents, to whom alone we are accountable, a real state of facts ; that they may judge for themselves. We need not tell you, that we could have no interested motive to influence our conduct. A sense of that duty which

we owed to you and to ourselves, could have alone induced us, to submit to the variety of abuse and insults, which many of us have experienced for not consenting to a measure that might probably have surprised you into a surrender of your dearest rights. Our conduct has, at least, had the good effect to lengthen out the time of election; and induced them to postpone the election for members of the convention, until the first Tuesday in November next; whereas the resolution first proposed, directed it to be holden for all the counties east of Bedford, on the day of the annual election, nine days from the time of proposing the measure.

We cannot conclude without requesting you to turn your serious attention to the government now offered to your consideration. "We are persuaded, that a free and candid discussion of any subject, tends greatly to the improvement of knowledge: and that a matter, in which the public are so deeply interested, cannot be too well understood. A good constitution and government is a blessing from heaven, and the right of posterity and mankind; suffer, then, we intreat you, no interested motive, sinister view, or improper influence, to direct your determinations, or bias your judgments." Provide yourselves with the new constitution, offered to you by the convention; look it over with attention, that you may be enabled to think for yourselves.

We confess when the legislature appointed delegates to attend the convention, our ideas extended no farther than a revision or amendment of the present confederation; nor were our delegates by the acts of assembly appointing them, authorised to do more, as will appear by referring to the said act, the second section of which describes their powers in the following words, viz,

2. "Be it enacted, and it is hereby enacted, by the representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in general assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Thomas Fitzsimons, James Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris, esquires, are hereby appointed deputies from this state to meet in the convention of the deputies of the respective states of North-America, to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the second day of the month of May next. And the said Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Thomas Fitzsimons, James Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris, esquires, or any four of them, are hereby constituted and appointed deputies from this state, with powers to meet such deputies as may be appointed and authorised by the other states, to assemble in the said convention, at the city aforesaid, and to join with them in devising, deliberating on, and discussing, all such alterations, and further provisions, as may be necessary, to render the federal constitution fully adequate to the exigencies of the union; and in reporting such act or acts for that purpose, to the united states in congress assembled, as, when agreed to by them, and duly confirmed by the several states, will effectually provide for the same."

You will therefore perceive, that they had no authority whatever from the legislature, to annihilate the present confederation, and form a constitution entirely new: and in doing which they have acted as mere individuals, not as the official deputies of this commonwealth. If, however, after mature deliberation, you are of opinion, that the plan of government, which they have offered

for your consideration, is best calculated to promote your political happiness, and preserve those invaluable privileges you at present enjoy, you will no doubt choose men to represent you in convention who will adopt it: if you think otherwise, you will, with your usual firmness, determine accordingly.

You have a right, and we have no doubt you will consider whether or not you are in a situation to support the expense of such a government as is now offered to you, as well as the expense of your state government? whether a legislature, consisting of three branches, neither of them chosen annually, and that the senate, the most powerful, the members of which are for six years, are likely to lessen your burdens or increase your taxes? or whether, in case your state government should be annihilated, which will probably be the case, or windle into a mere corporation, the continental government will be competent to attend to your local concerns? You can also best determine, whether the power of levying and imposing internal taxes, at pleasure, will be of real use to you or not? or whether a continental collector, assisted by a few faithful soldiers, will be more eligible than your present collectors of taxes? You will also, in your deliberations on this important business, judge, whether the liberty of the press may be considered as a blessing or a curse in a free government, and whether a declaration, for the preservation of it, is necessary? or whether, in a plan of government, any declaration of rights should be prefixed or inserted? You will be able, likewise, to determine, whether, in a free government, there ought or ought not to be any provision against a standing army in time of peace? or whether the trial by jury, in civil causes, is become dangerous, and ought to be abolished? and whether the judiciary of the

united states is not so constructed as to absorb and destroy the judiciaries of the several states? you will also be able to judge, whether such inconveniences have been experienced by the present mode of trial between citizen and citizen, of different states, as to render a continental court necessary for that purpose? or whether there can be any real use in the appellate jurisdiction, with respect to fact as well as law? We shall not dwell longer on this subject; one thing, however, it is proper you should be informed of; the convention were not unanimous with respect to men, though they were as states: several of those who have signed, did not fully approve of the plan of government; and three of the members, viz. governor Randolph, and colonel Geo. Mason, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, esq. of Massachusetts, whose characters are very respectable, had such strong objections, as to refuse signing. The confederation, no doubt, is defective, and requires amendment and revision: and had the convention extended their plan to the enabling the united states to regulate commerce—equalize the imposts—collect it throughout the united states—and have the entire jurisdiction over maritime affairs, leaving the exercise of internal taxation to the separate states, we apprehend there would have been no objection to the plan of government.

The matter will be before you, and you will be able to judge for yourselves. "Show that you seek not yourselves, but the good of your country: and may HE, who alone has dominion over the passions and understandings of men, enlighten and direct you aright, that posterity may bless God for the wisdom of their ancestors."

*James M'Calmont, John Gilchrist,
Robert Clark, Abraham Smith,
Jacob Miley, Robert Whitehill,
Alexander Wright, David Mitchell,*

John M^d Dowell, John Piper,
 John Flenniken, Samuel Dale,
 James Allison, William Findley
 Theophilus Philips, James Barr.
 Saturday, September 29, 1787.

Remarks on the preceding address.

MR. Findley, mr. Whitehill, and others, members of the late general assembly making a disorderly secession from the house, with intentions to put an end to its deliberations upon the subject of calling a state convention, for the purpose of considering the system offered for the general government of the united states, they have, in a public address, rested their justification on these two points :

1st. The irregularity of taking up the constitution framed by the convention, without the special permission of congress—the assembly having, in the appointment of deputies to the convention, proceeded but upon the recommendation of congress.

2d. The unsuitness of the deputies appointed—the addressers lamenting at the time, when the choice was made, that they were all citizens of Philadelphia, and none of them calculated to represent the landed interest of the state.

Having been also members of the house, and competent to judge with respect to these points of justification, we beg leave to state all the necessary facts concerning them, for the information of the public.

As to the first—on a communication of the proposition of Virginia, for holding a general convention, a bill for the appointment of deputies was reported by a committee, of which mr. Findley and mr. Whitehill were members, and passed into a law on the 30th of December last. The law, as set forth in the preamble, stood upon “*representations of congress heretofore made*,” and on the proposition of Virginia : but the special recommendation of congress, to send

the deputies to the proposed convention, made no part of the preamble—this recommendation not having passed congress until the 21st day of February following, when that body for the first time, recognized the convention. In the next session, on the 28th of March, a supplementary law passed the house ; but its only object was to add another deputy to the number already chosen, and its only reference was to the original act.

As the representations of congress spoken of in the preamble to the law, of the first session, were only such as had been frequently made of the weakness of the general government, and of the necessity that arose of endowing it with greater powers but gave no special licence to the states to send deputies to the convention proposed by the state of Virginia, it follows, that, in the appointment of the deputies, the assembly acted independently of congress, or of its recommendation. It is in vain, for the reasons above mentioned, that the addressers attempt by general reference to the transactions of both sessions, to cover their assertions upon this head—it is an artifice more unworthy than the most naked falsehood !

As little can be said in support of the second, their disapprobation of the deputies ; which a state of nominations and votes will evince. The original intention of the house was to send seven deputies, though afterwards that number was, by the supplementary law increased to eight. To supply the seven places, twelve persons stood in nomination : they, with the votes for each, were as follow :

* Jared Ingersoll,	61
Charles Pettit,	25
* Robert Morris,	63
* George Clymer,	63
* Thomas Mifflin,	63
Thomas M ^d Kean,	26
John Bayard,	25

Thomas Fitzsimons, 37
 James Wilson, 35
 Gouverneur Morris, 33
 Benjamin Franklin, 10
 William Findley 2
 Of whom those marked with a *,
 were elected.

As to four of these persons, there appears, from the votes, to have been a general agreement, 63 being the number composing the house; so that no real controversy took place, but as to the remaining three. Between these opposite three, then, must be lain the question with the house, with respect to the fitness to represent the landed interest; and for this they might all have been fit, except in the circumstance of city residence, (the candidates generally holding considerable landed property within the state) the whole body of candidates, Mr. Findley excepted, being inhabitants of Philadelphia; and as to the gentleman, the solitary nominee from the country, he seems, then, from the state of the votes, to have been out of the question, which is the more extraordinary, if, as the addressers must be understood, a country residence was indispensable to represent the landed interest of the state.

But the truth is, that at the time of election, no such lamentation was made by the sixteen, or by any others, that the candidates were citizens of Philadelphia, or otherwise unqualified to represent the landed interest: for it is well known, that on Mr. Findley and Mr. Whitehill we are of opinion, that the choice should be confined to the city of Philadelphia and its neighbourhood; as it could not be convenient for persons living at a distance, to attend a convention; the former declaring, that there would not suit him, which, perhaps, may account for the fewness of his votes.

This being the state of facts, relative to these points, can we suppose

a depravation of mind equal to such impositions and deceptions? or ought we not rather to suppose, in these instances, that the addressers were not at the pains to read what was prepared to their hands?

It is urged in argument against the house, that the deputies having exceeded the terms of their powers, the system they agreed to, ought not to be taken up. It is not easy to determine, to what the powers of the deputation from Pennsylvania, and from the other states (for they are in the same predicament), did really extend: but any argument brought from an excess in the exercise of the powers, against the object of them, cannot be that of good sense or integrity. A man of understanding, or a good patriot, will examine only whether or no the system actually offered, is calculated to better the condition of our country. Indeed, one would think (the system being no more than a proposition—which none are bound to yield to—though all ought to consider), that the convention have not really transgressed their powers. They certainly might make whatever propositions they pleased.

The addressers resent the harsh treatment of the house to two of their body, who were forced back to their seats, by some of the citizens from without. They suffered no such treatment. On the contrary, the house showed a wonderful good temper on so provoking an occasion, when a misdemeanor had been committed, of a kind, which, tho' it has hitherto escaped even the slightest punishment, is deserving of the highest—when the addressers had, by their conduct, violated the first condition of all political society, which obliges the few to yield to the many—when they had offended in the double capacity of citizens of the united states, and of Pennsylvania, in setting a dangerous example of riot and turbulence,

to the continent; and, as much as lay in their feeble means, attempting to dissolve the government under which they live.

William Will, J. Hiltzheimer,
Thos. Fitzsimons, Dan. Clymer.
G. Clymer, W. Robinson, jun.

N. B. Dr. Franklin's not having been chosen, at the first election, was owing to a misunderstanding among the members, with respect to his willingness to serve: but, on better information, in the next session, it was the unanimous desire of the house, that he should be added; which gave occasion to the supplementary law.

Philadelphia, Oct. 6, 1787.

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To the freemen of Pennsylvania.

A Publication has lately appeared in several of our papers, said to be signed by sixteen members of the late assembly of Pennsylvania, which challenges a few remarks.

The first remark, that occurs, is, that the paper was neither written by any one of them, nor signed by all of them. They are too illiterate to compose such an address: and it can be proved, that several of the persons, whose names are subscribed to it, left the city on Saturday, before there was time to collect the materials of the address, or to receive it from the person who is well known to have written it.

A second remark that occurs in this place, is, that there was a fixed resolution of the antifederal junto, to oppose the federal government, long before it made its appearance. In the month of July last, at a meeting of this junto, it was agreed, "that if the new constitution of congress interfered, in the least, with the constitution of Pennsylvania, it ought to be opposed and rejected, and that even the name of a Washington should not carry it down." Happily it requires a reduction of the enormous expenses, and some other al-

terations of our constitution. Hence the reason of their opposition. Had it been much more perfect, or had it like the Jewish theocracy, been framed by the hand of the SUPREME BEING himself, it would have been equally unpopular among them, since it interferes with their expensive hobby-horse, the constitution of Pennsylvania.

The address, and all the opposition to the new government, original from the officers of government, who are afraid of losing their salaries in places. This will not surprise those of us, who remember the opposition on which our independence received from a few officers of government in the years 1775 and 1776. Recall the "Friendly Addresses," and the "Catos," which appeared, those years, in all our newspapers. Remember, too, that these publications came from men of as great understandings, and of more extensive influence, than Randolph, Mason, or Gerry. Which of them is fit to be named with Hutchinson, Bernard Trvon, or Kemp?

The address begins with two palpable falsehoods. "We lamented," it says, "at the time, that a majority of the legislature appointed me to represent this state, who were citizens of Philadelphia, and none of them calculated to represent the landed interest of Pennsylvania."

It is a well-known fact, that a resolution in the convention was offered to William Findley, and that he objected to it, because no wages were to be connected with it. It became, therefore, a matter of economy, as well as convenience, to fill up the delegation with members from Philadelphia. If this was a crime, the sixteen concurred in it: for they ALL voted for five of the delegates, and for three other men who were at that time citizens of Philadelphia, viz. Thomas M'Kean, Charles Pettit, and John Bayard, esquires.

The story of the delegates from Pennsylvania having no interest in the landed property of the state, is equally groundless with the foregoing. They are all landholders: and one of them alone owns a greater landed estate, than the whole sixteen absconders; and has, for many years, punctually and justly paid more taxes on it, than are paid by the whole antifederal junto—and, unfortunately, for the support of the men who compose this junto.

The address confesses, that the sixteen absconded, to prevent the majority of the house from calling a convention, to consider the new form of government. Is this right, freemen of Pennsylvania? Is it agreeable to democratic principles, that the minority should govern the majority? Is not this aristocracy in good earnest? Is it not tyranny, that a few should govern the many? By absconding, and thereby obstructing the public business, they dissolved the constitution. They annihilated the first principles of government, and threw the commonwealth into a state of nature. Under these circumstances, the citizens of Philadelphia appealed to the first of nature's laws, *z.* self-preservation. They seized two of the sixteen absconders, and compelled them to form a house by their attendance. In this they acted wisely and justly—as much so as the man that seizes a highwayman, who is about to rob him. If they were wrong in this action, then the men, who drove Galloway, Skinner, De Lancey, and other miscreants, from our states, by force, in the year 1776, were wrong likewise. What justified all the outrages that were committed against the tories in the beginning of the war? Nothing but the dissolution of our governments. What was the foundation of the dissolution of those governments? Nothing but a resolution of congress.

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What determined us to establish new governments on the ruins of the old? Nothing but a recommendation of congress. Why, then, do these men fly in the faces of the convention and congress? It was from similar bodies, similarly constituted, that their present form of government derived its independence. It cannot exist without a congress: it is meet therefore, that it should harmonize with it.

The objections to the federal government, are weak, false, and absurd. The neglect of the convention to mention the liberty of the press, arose from a respect to the state constitutions, in each of which this palladium of liberty is secured, and which is guaranteed to them as an essential part of their republican forms of government. But supposing this had not been done, the liberty of the press would have been an inherent and political right, as long as nothing was said against it. The convention have said nothing to secure the privilege of eating and drinking: and yet no man supposes that right of nature to be endangered by their silence about it.

Considering the variety of interests to be consulted, and the diversity of human opinions upon all subjects, and especially the subject of government, it is a matter of astonishment, that the government, formed by the convention, has so few faults. With these faults, it is a phenomenon of human wisdom and virtue, such as the world never saw before. It unites in its different parts all the advantages, without any of the disadvantages, of the three well-known forms of government, and yet it preserves the attributes of a republic. And lastly, if it should be found faulty in any particular, it provides an easy and constitutional method of curing its faults.

I anticipate the praise with which this government will be viewed by the friends of liberty and mankind.

H

in Europe. The philosophers will no longer consider a republic as an impracticable form of government: and pious men, of all denominations, will thank God for having provided, in our federal constitution, an ark for the preservation of the remains of the justice and liberties of the world.

Freemen of Pennsylvania, consider the characters and services of the men who made this government. Behold the venerable FRANKLIN cooped up, in the seventieth year of his age, in the cabin of a small vessel, and exposing himself to the dangers of a passage on the ocean, crowded with British cruisers, in a winter month, in order to solicit, from the court of France, that aid, which finally enabled America to close the war with so much success and glory: and then say, is it possible, that this man would set his hand to a constitution that would endanger your liberties? From this aged servant of the public, turn your eyes to the illustrious American hero, whose name has ennobled human nature—I mean our beloved WASHINGTON. Behold him, in the year 1775, taking leave of his happy family and peaceful retreat, and flying to the relief of a distant, and, at that time, an unknown part of the American continent. See him uniting and cementing an army, composed of the citizens of thirteen states, into a band of brothers. Follow him into the field of battle, and behold him the first in danger, and the last out of it. Follow him into his winter quarters, and see him sharing in the hunger, cold, and fatigues of every soldier in his army. Behold his fortitude in adversity, his moderation in victory, and his tenderness and respect, upon all occasions, for the civil power of his country. But, above all, turn your eyes to that illustrious scene he exhibited at Annapolis, in 1782, when he resigned his commission,

and laid his sword at the feet of congress, and afterwards resumed the toils of an American farmer on the banks of Potowmack. Survey, my countrymen, these exploits of patriotism and virtue: and then say, is it possible that the DELIVERER OF OUR COUNTRY would have recommended an unsafe form of government for that liberty, in defence of which he had, for eight long years, contended with such unexampled firmness, constancy, and magnanimity?

Pardon me, if I here ask, where were the sixteen absconders, and their advisers, while these illustrious framers of our federal constitution were exposing their lives, and exerting their talents, for your safety and happiness? Some of them took sanctuary in offices, under the constitution of Pennsylvania, from the dangers of the year 1776: and the rest of them were either inactive, or known only on the muster-rolls of the militia during the war.

Look around you, my fellow citizens, and behold the confusion and distresses, which prevail in every part of our country. Behold, from the weakness of the government of Massachusetts, the leaders of the rebellion making laws to exempt *themselves* from punishment. See, in Rhode Island, the bonds of society and the obligations of morality, dissolved by paper-money and tender laws. See the flames of court-house in Virginia, kindled by debtors, to stop the course of justice. Hear the complaints of our farmers, whose unequal and oppressive taxes, in every part of the country, amount to nearly the rent of their farms. Hear, too, the complaints of every class of public creditors. Look at the records of bankruptcies, that fill every newspaper. Look at the melancholy countenances of our mechanics, who now wander up and down the streets of our cities, without employment. See

our ships rotting in our harbours, or excluded from nearly all the ports in the world. Listen to the insults that are offered to the American name and character, in every court of Europe. See Order and Honour every where prostrate in the dust, and Religion, with all her attending train of virtues, about to quit our continent forever. View these things, my fellow citizens: and then say, if you can, that we do not require a new, a rotating, and efficient federal government.

The picture I have given you, of the situation of our country, is not an exaggerated one. I challenge the oldest enemy of the federal constitution, to disprove any one part of it.

It is not to be wondered at, that some of the rulers and officers of the government of Pennsylvania are opposed to the new constitution of the united states. It will lessen their power, number, and influence: for it will necessarily reduce the expenses of our government from nearly 5,000l. to 10,000l. or, at most, 5,000l. a year. I am very happy in being able to except many worthy officers of our government from concurring in this opposition. Their names, their conduct, and their characters, are well known to their fellow citizens: and I hope they will be rewarded by a continuance and accumulation of public favour and confidence.

The design of this address is not to inflame the passions of my fellow citizens. I know the feelings of the people of Pennsylvania are sufficiently keen. It becomes me not, therefore, (to use the words of the sixteen scoundrels), to add to them, by dwelling longer "upon the distresses and dangers of our country. I have said a real state of facts before you. It comes you, therefore, to judge for yourselves."

The absconders have endeavoured

to sanctify their false and seditious publication, by a solemn address to the supreme being. I shall conclude the truths I have written, by adopting some of their own words, with a short addition to them:

"May HE, who, alone, has dominion over the passions and understandings of men, preserve you from the influence of rulers, who have upon many occasions, held fellowship with iniquity, and established mischief by law."

The author of this address is one of the four thousand citizens of Philadelphia, and its neighbourhood, who subscribed the petition to the late assembly, immediately to call a convention, in order to adopt the proposed

*Federal Constitution.
Philadelphia, October 10, 1787.*

To the freemen of Pennsylvania.

AT this important period, on which the existence of America, as a nation, depends, one of the people begs leave to lay before them, in a dispassionate and cool manner, some facts, which may tend to illustrate to them their true interest, and repel the poison which the late dissenters from the house of assembly, in their insidious and inflammatory address, have endeavoured to infect them with.

It is not now a question between those who have distracted the state, by the names of republican and constitutionalist, which calls for your attention. It is a subject of far greater magnitude, involving in it not the fate of this state alone, but of all America. A constitution is offered to the people of the united states, by their delegates in convention. On the awful fate of the people of America, does this constitution now depend. This convention, composed of the most celebrated characters, the collected wisdom of Ame-

rica, have appealed to you to judge of their proceedings. Suffer not yourselves, then, to be misled by the artful and deligning declaration of sixteen men, whose names are recorded for a disgraceful abandonment of you, their constituents.

The confederation was formed in a hasty manner, in a time of danger and distress. It was calculated for the moment, when a war raged in our country. It was not calculated for civil purposes, nor for times of peace; and these states were only kept together by a sense of common danger. But the moment peace was established, and that sense of common danger was extinct, it was found inadequate to the government of this extensive country. It wanted that energy, which, in all governments, has been found necessary for the well regulating the people. It exposed us to ruin, and distress at home, and disgrace abroad.

At the peace, the united states were esteemed, revered, and dreaded by foreign nations. America held a most elevated rank among the powers of the earth; but how are the mighty fallen! disgraced have we rendered ourselves abroad, and ruined at home. Bankrupt merchants, poor mechanics, and distressed farmers, are the effects of the weakness of the confederation. America saw it, and assembled those among her sons celebrated for wisdom and knowledge of government; and she has not been disappointed in her representatives. That assembly has produced a work which immortalizes its fame, which will, if Ambition and Envy suffer it to be adopted by us, raise us to that station which America should hold among the nations of the world.

The people of Pennsylvania, in general, are composed of men of three occupations, the farmer, the merchant, the mechanic. The interests of these three are intimately blended together. A government, then, which will be

conducive to their happiness, and best promote their interest, is the government which these people should adopt. The constitution now presented to them is such a one. Every person must long since have discovered the necessity of placing the exclusive power of regulating the commerce of America in the same body: without this, it is impossible to regulate their trade. The same imposts, duties, and customs, must equally prevail over the whole: for no one state can carry into effect its impost laws—a neighbouring state could always prevent it—no state could effectually encourage its manufactures—there can be no navigation act.

Whence comes it, that the trade of this state, which abounds with materials for ship-building, is carried on in foreign bottoms? whence come it that shoes, boots, made-up clothes, hats, nails, sheet iron, hinges, and other utensils of iron, are of British manufacture? whence comes it, that Spain can regulate our flour market? These evils proceed from a want of one supreme controuling power in these states. They will be all done away, by adopting the present form of government. It will have energy and power to regulate your trade and commerce, to enforce the collection of your imposts, duties, and customs.

Instead of the trade of this country being carried on in foreign bottoms, our ports will be crowded with our own ships, and we shall become the carriers of Europe. Heavy duties will be laid on all foreign articles, which can be manufactured in this country: and bounties will be granted on the exportation of our commodities—the manufactures of our country will flourish—our mechanics will lift up their heads, and rise to opulence and wealth. So convinced of this are the mechanics of Philadelphia, that they have petitioned

ed for calling a convention. The farmer is particularly interested in carrying into immediate execution his constitution. Flour, the staple commodity of the state, is become a drag. No brisk market offers for it; and the tiller of the earth is obliged frequently to sell the produce raised by the sweat of his brow, for less than its price of his labour. This is not owing to the want of demand abroad, or it is sufficient; but to the want of power at home to regulate our foreign trade. This power once granted, America would be able to regulate her own market, and not receive from any foreign power the small assistance they please to bestow for the staff of life—and America could starve them into a generous price.

Lands, under the present confederation, have fallen since the peace, at least one third, or one half. It surely is a melancholy consideration to the farmer, to think that the independence, which he shed his blood for, should reduce the value of his estate near one half. However melancholy it may be, experience evinces its truth. No foreigner, who has money, will venture it in a country, which has no fixed government. A stable, energetic, federal constitution will cause property again to rise to its real and true value; and will invite monied men from all the countries of Europe. Yet against such a constitution, so fraught with blessings to our distressed country, have our worthy representatives set themselves in battle array, and have come forth in a public address, armed with the weapons of hypocrisy and palpable falshood; and, fearing to trust the people with a candid enquiry and discussion, have endeavoured to strangle the infant in its birth, by opposing the calling of a convention, on pretexts the most idle and false that can be imagined. The assertion, as to the house not having received official accounts from congress, is

false; for an official account most assuredly had arrived, and was communicated to them, not at the time of the first debate, but after the adjournment of the house on that evening—that account too, under the hand of the secretary of congress to the speaker of the assembly. The house had not dissolved; and business of importance required their attendance. Several bills were lying on the table, which had been agreed to, and waited for the house to pass them into laws. Their duty, their oaths called on them to attend. They should, if they thought the calling of a convention improper, have stood in their places, and opposed it. They should have attended, and entered a protest against it. This was the mode pointed out by the constitution. Their absenting themselves, was a desertion of their trust, a betraying of their constituents, and of mischievous consequence to the state, as it directly tended to a dissolution of all government.

How absurd it is to say, that they had not received official information from congress? Where was such information to be attained? not in the house of major Boyd, nor from the major's hand—not in the public streets—but in the state-house, and from the speaker. They knew such information was in the house. They knew the speaker was in possession of it, for he had shown it to them. One here is at a loss what most to be surprised at, the impudence of the falsehood, or the insult offered the understanding of the people. The complaint of the shortness of the time, and the necessity of consulting the people, is idle. The house were not to determine whether Pennsylvania approved of the constitution or not. All the power the assembly were possessed of, was, to call a convention of the people, to consider of the constitution. In opposing this, they have attempted to take away from

the people the power of judging and determining for themselves. Their language amounts to this—we are better judges what suits the people than they are—we are acquainted with government—we think this a bad form, and will not even submit it to the people: and yet these are the men who talk of their great regard to your interest, their love of liberty and the constitution.

There is one good advice given you in the address, “read the federal constitution:” and, when it is read, I am convinced every dispassionate man will pronounce, that it is not liable to any of the objections its enemies have raised.

It is affirmed, that the deputies from this state had not power to recommend to the people, under their appointment, a new constitution. The deputies from this state were so empowered! They had power “to devise, discuss, and report such alterations, and further provisions, as may be necessary to render the federal government fully adequate to the exigencies of the union.” Had objections such as these prevailed, America never would have had a congress, nor had America been independent. Alterations in government are always made by the people.

It is said, that this constitution will annihilate the state government. On what section of the constitution do these men ground their assertion? It breathes nothing like it. It interferes not with the internal government of any state. It supports and adds a dignity to every government in the united states.

Complaints are made of the power granted to congress, of levying taxes. This is a power without which no government can exist. Finance is the very nerve of government: and unless congress have power to effect the collection of the taxes, the power of assessing and re-

commending their collection, is a shadow.

When congress, at the conclusion of the war, recommended a duty of five per cent. on our imports, the trifling state of Rhode Island, whose extent is not greater than one of our counties, refused its acquiescence and this prevented a measure most beneficial to these states, and by which great part of the federal debt would have been discharged.

It is most shameful to say, that this tax will be collected by soldiers. The power is not given to a foreign prince, but to a congress, chosen by the people. Pennsylvania, which has been always highly federal, has suffered by the want of this power. She has ever been most forward in complying with the requisitions of congress, while other states have been delinquent, preferring their own particular interest to that of the union.

The taxes fall heavy on the landmen of this state: A general impost throughout the states, will lighten their burden; and the greater part of our taxes will be paid by duties on foreign manufactures; and the luxuries of life.

This government will not be attended with greater expense than the present congress—for under this constitution they will not sit perpetually, as the congress now do.

The freedom of the press and trials by jury are not infringed on. The constitution is silent, and with propriety too, on these and every other subject, relative to the internal government of the states. These are secured by the different state constitutions. I repeat again, that the federal constitution does not interfere with these matters. Their power is defined and limited by the eighth section of the first article of the constitution: and they have not power to take away the freedom of the press: nor can they interfere in the smallest

ree with the judiciary of any one
he states.

It is essentially necessary that the
iciary of the united states should
e an appellate jurisdiction both in
and fact, in cases of dispute be-
een a state and citizens of another
e, and between citizens of dis-
t states. This could not have been
e under the old confederation,
by an application to congress for
ederal court, the expense of which
borne by the party who was cast,
amounted to 5000l. No man,
er these circumstances, would risk
appeal, though his property had
n unjustly taken away from him by
rejudice so natural to inhabitants of
l same state.

It is said that this constitution was
approved by three persons, and
t they refused signing it. How-
er respectable their names may be,
y cannot certainly be placed in
epetition with those of a Wash-
ton, a Livingston, a Franklin, a
ddison, a Rutledge, and a Rufus
ng: and one of those who refused
sign, has been notoriously ill-
posed to any federal government.
was unanimously approved and
ned by all the states present: and
only matter of surprise is, that,
so large a body, only three individ-
als dissented from it. Such an in-
fluence of unanimity, upon a great na-
tional object, can scarcely be parallel-
e in any country, and can only be
ribed to the influence of that
EING, in whose hands are the
lris and understandings of all men.
The government which is offered
you, is truly republican, and unites
mplete vigour and the most perfect
edom; for the people have the
ction of the representatives in con-
gss, the legislature, the appointment
e the senate, and the people the
oice of electors for electing a pre-
sent—and in the house of repre-
satives must all money bills origi-
re.

It is the privilege of every citizen
to deliver with freedom his senti-
ments, and the duty of every lover
of truth to detect falsehood. These
are the motives which have induced
me to endeavour to undeceive you,
to state the truth, and guard you
against designing ambition. And
should my feeble voice be heard
amidst the noise of party, and incline
my countrymen to judge with cool-
ness and impartiality—should it pre-
vail against the loud brawls of dissi-
mulation and untruth—it will af-
ford the most pleasing sensations the
human mind is capable of, as it will
preserve this country from the dread-
ful consequences of rejecting a con-
stitution, which alone can free it
from confusion, anarchy, distress, and
ruin. Let us accept with gratitude the
constitution offered to us, and make
a fair trial of it. It is not unchange-
able. If, upon experiment, it is
found not to answer the end of all
government (the happiness of the
people) it can be altered—for two-
thirds of the legislatures of the states
can effect this change.

ONE OF THE PEOPLE.



*To the impartial of all denominations
in the united states.*

PERMIT me, who has not only
the welfare of the united states
at heart, but the happiness and har-
mony of all mankind, to offer to
your serious consideration a few im-
partial remarks on some of the most
material articles of the constitution
proposed by the late honourable con-
vention, for the future government of
the united states.

The great and ultimate end of go-
vernment, is the happiness and prof-
perity of the people.

The natural and civil rights, pri-
vileges and substantial freedom of the
people are fully provided for and se-
cured by the second section of this con-
stitution.

The being well-born, or possessing great wealth, or pompous equipage, confers no distinct legal privileges or exclusive jurisdiction.

Whilever the spirit of this article is preserved, the wealthiest, the proudest, and the most ambitious man in the state, will find it absolutely necessary to cultivate the good opinion of the poorest and least noted—especially in Pennsylvania, where the meanest person is possessed of certain rights, which render him an object deserving the attention of the greatest. —Sensible of his political importance, and that he is accountable only to God, and the just and impartial laws of his country, for his actions, he fears neither injury nor insult from his superiors in fortune; and spurns at the degrading idea of being influenced by interested motives, or selfish expectations, in giving his vote.

We need, therefore, be under no apprehensions of encroachments upon our liberties from congress; because the principal branch of that august body, will always be chosen by free and independent electors.

As congress will have very few places of profit to bestow, their power of employing unfair or corrupt means will be exceedingly limited.

By this constitution, elections are amply guarded from undue influence of every kind—Merit is the qualification most likely to succeed.

There the interest of the representative will correspond with that of his constituents. Every measure that is prejudicial to the people, will be equally so to those whom they appoint to govern them—they cannot betray their electors without injuring themselves: their power, their official existence, depends upon the people: hence, instead of any danger of their adopting measures oppressive to the people, the only danger to be apprehended, will arise from their being too cautious of giving offence, and

thereby suffering the necessary operations of government to be conducted with too much remissness—Is it possible, that such a plan of government can be disapproved by any, except a few vain, conceited men, whose distorted and conceited imagination make them conceive themselves created of more refined materials than the common mass of mortals, and who think the being born to wealth, sufficient title to rank and distinction?

Every social and generous affection will concur with the interest of the representatives, in animating them to a honest and faithful discharge of the important trust.

Those men most esteemed for patriotism and knowledge, will always be elected: and those only will retain the esteem and affection of the people who act steadily and uniformly in support of their legal rights, and who endeavour to promote their prosperity and happiness.

The objections, which have been offered, respecting the senate, appear to be the result of misconstruction, or a design to mislead. There is not the most distant prospect of this body of men being able to usurp independent power, if they should be so inclined because neither the treasury nor army will be at their disposal, and because it will be contrary to the interest of the house of representatives. But the advantages to be expected from a house so constituted are too obvious to the meanest capacity, to require enumeration. Among other things, *they will restrain the large states from having improper advantages over the smaller ones.* And their time will be short enough for the members thereof to make themselves acquainted with the intricate business of government so as to guard against the embarrassments and inconveniencies of inexperience.

By the seventh section of the first

nicle, the people are preserved from danger of oppressive taxes: because "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives." It will be their interest to give the taxes as moderate as the exigencies of government will possibly admit, for their own sakes. This constitution provides against any law being enacted prematurely.

No grievance can arise from the powers granted to congress, by the 8th section, of the first article, equal to what exists at present. Every tax will continue to be levied as hereto. The mode of collection only, will be different: but that difference will consist in a more equal, and, I hope, impartial, collection, than has hitherto been practiced: so that every one may pay his quota, without exception, against a stated time; and the disadvantages arising from delinquency be thereby prevented. But if any illegal and unconstitutional methods should be employed, they cannot subsist long in a country, where the rights of men are well ascertained, and so generally known.

The only part of this constitution, that I have been able to discover, after repeated examination, which comes in "a questionable shape" is the latitude allowed congress, respecting the raising and supporting armies. I confess myself opposed to a standing army of every description, in the time of peace, however it may be regulated and restricted to be on place.

A standing army, in time of peace, is always unpopular and suspicious. They are a body of men distinct from the people at large—at least they consider themselves so. They are governed by different laws: blind obedience, and an entire submission to the orders of their commanding officer, is the rule of their conduct.

A standing army has been the main

engine of oppression, and the means of enslaving almost all the nations of the world. When we have had so many examples open to our view, have we not room for alarm? It is surely a subject, which claims and deserves our most dispassionate consideration. But it is the congress that will run the greatest risque; the briliest danger will be theirs. The army must subvert them, and destroy their very existence, before the people can be affected.

An idle, licentious army, headed by an arrogant, imperious leader, would have it in their power to overawe congress, and might refuse to submit to their directions. Congress, sensible of this, will always be cautious, and never keep one in pay, so numerous as to endanger their own safety, or that of the people.

To conclude: the whole of the constitution appears to be pretty well calculated and contrived, to promote the ultimate end of all government, the prosperity and happiness of the people. That all the states may embrace it with gratitude, and transmit it inviolate to posterity, is the constant wish of the devoted servant of the people,

IMPARTIAL.

Philadelphia, Oct. 12, 1787.



Substance of an address to a meeting of the citizens of Philadelphia: delivered, October 6, 1787, by James Wilson, esquire, one of the delegates from the state of Pennsylvania to the late continental convention.

Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens, **H**AVING received the honour of an appointment to represent you in the late convention, it is, perhaps, my duty to comply with the request of many gentlemen, whose characters and judgments I sincerely respect, and who have urged, that this would be a proper occasion to lay before you any in-

formation; which will serve to elucidate and explain the principles and arrangements of the constitution that has been submitted to the consideration of the united states. I confess that I am unprepared for so extensive and so important a disquisition: but the insidious attempts, which are clandestinely and industriously made, to pervert and destroy the new plan, induce me the more readily to engage in its defence: and the impressions of four months, constant attendance to the subject, have not been so easily effaced, as to leave me without an answer to the objections which have been raised.

It will be proper, however, before I enter into the refutation of the charges that are alleged, to mark the leading discrimination between the state constitutions, and the constitution of the united states. When the people established the powers of legislation under their separate governments, they invested their representatives with every right and authority which they did not in explicit terms reserve: and therefore upon every question, respecting the jurisdiction of the house of assembly, if the frame of government is silent, the jurisdiction is efficient and complete. But in delegating federal powers, another criterion was necessarily introduced: and the congressional authority is to be collected, not from tacit implication, but from the positive grant, expressed in the instrument of union. Hence, it is evident that in the former case, every thing which is not reserved, is given: but in the latter, the reverse of the proposition prevails, and every thing which is not given, is reserved. This distinction being recognized, will furnish an answer to those who think the omission of a bill of rights, a defect in the proposed constitution: for it would have been superfluous and absurd, to have stipulated with a federal body of our own creation,

that we should enjoy those privileges of which we are not divested either by the intention or the act that has brought that body into existence. For instance, the liberty of the press, which has been a copious subject of declamation and opposition: what controul can proceed from the federal government, to shackle or destroy that sacred palladium of national freedom? If, indeed, a power similar to that, which has been granted for the regulation of commerce, had been granted to regulate literary publications, it would have been as necessary to stipulate that the liberty of the press should be preserved inviolate, as that the impost should be general in its operation. With respect likewise, to the particular district ten miles, which is to be the seat of government, it will undoubtedly be proper to observe this salutary precaution, as there the legislative power will be vested in the president, senate, and house of representatives of the united states. But this could not be an object with the convention for it must naturally depend upon future compact, to which the citizens immediately interested, will be ought to be parties: and there is no reason to suspect, that so popular a privilege will in that case be neglected. In truth, then, the proposed instrument possesses no influence whatever upon the press: and it would have been merely nugatory, to have introduced a formal declaration upon this subject: nay, that very declaration might have been construed to imply that some degree of power was given, since we undertook to define its extent. Another objection, that has been fabricated against the new constitution, is expressed in this disingenuous form—"the trial by jury is abolished in civil cases." I must be excused, my fellow citizens, if, upon this point, I take advantage of my professional experience, to detect the fallacy of the assertion. Let it be

numbered, then, that the business of a federal convention was not local, but general—not limited to the laws and establishments of a single state, but co-extensive with the continent, and comprehending the views of all establishments of thirteen independent sovereignties. When, therefore, this subject was in discussion, we were involved in difficulties, which pressed on all sides; and no precedent could be discovered to direct our course. The cases, open to a view, differed in the different states: it was therefore impracticable, on that ground, to have made a general rule. The want of uniformity would have rendered any reference to the office of the states idle and useless; and it could not, with any propriety, be said, that “the trial by jury shall be as heretofore,” since there has never existed any federal system of jurisprudence, to which the declaration could relate. Besides it is not in all cases, that the trial by jury is adopted in civil questions: for causes depending in courts of admiralty, and as relate to maritime captures, and such as are agitated in the courts of equity, do not require the intervention of that tribunal. How, then, is the line of discrimination to be drawn? The convention found the task too difficult for them: and they left the business as it stands—in the best confidence, that no danger could possibly ensue: since the proceedings of the supreme court are to be regulated by the congress, which is a faithful representation of the people: and the oppression of government is effectually barred, by declaring, that in all criminal cases, the trial by jury shall be preserved. This constitution, it has been further urged, is of a pernicious tendency; because it tolerates a standing army in the time of peace. This has always been a popular topic of declamation: and yet I do not know a nation in the world, which has not

found it necessary and useful to maintain the appearance of strength, in a season of the most profound tranquility. Nor is it a novelty with us: for under the present articles of confederation, congress certainly possesses this reprobated power: and the exercise of it is proved at this moment by the cantonments along the banks of the Ohio. But what would be our national situation, were it otherwise? Every principle of policy must be subverted, and the government must declare war, before they be prepared to carry it on. Whatever may be the provocation—however important the object in view—and however necessary dispatch and secrecy may be—still the declaration must precede the preparation: and the enemy will be informed of your intention, not only before you are equipped for an attack, but even before you are fortified for a defence. The consequence is too obvious to require any further delineation: and no man, who regards the dignity and safety of his country, can deny the necessity of a military force, under the controul, and with the restrictions, which the new constitution provides.

Perhaps there never was a charge made with less reason than that which predicts the institution of a baneful aristocracy in the federal senate. This body branches into two characters—the one legislative, and the other executive. In its legislative character, it can effect no purpose without the co-operation of the house of representatives: and in its executive character, it can accomplish no object, without the concurrence of the president. Thus fettered, I do not know any act which the senate can of itself perform: and such dependence necessarily precludes every idea of influence and superiority. But I will confess, that in the organization of this body, a compromise between contending interests is discernible: and when we

reflect how various are the laws, commerce, habits, population, and extent of the confederated states, this evidence of mutual concession and accommodation ought rather to command a generous applause, than to excite jealousy and reproach. For my part, my admiration can only be equalled by my astonishment, in beholding so perfect a system formed from such heterogeneous materials.

The next accusation I shall consider, is that which represents the federal constitution, as not only calculated, but designedly framed, to reduce the state governments to mere corporations, and eventually to annihilate them. Those, who have employed the term corporation, upon this occasion, are not perhaps aware of its extent. In common parlance, indeed it is generally applied to petty associations for the ease and convenience of a few individuals: but in its enlarged sense, it will comprehend the government of Pennsylvania—the existing union of the states—and even this projected system is nothing more than a formal act of incorporation. But upon what pretence can it be alleged, that it was designed to annihilate the state governments? For, I will undertake to prove, that upon their existence depends the existence of the federal plan. For this purpose, permit me to call your attention to the manner in which the president, senate, and house of representatives, are proposed to be appointed. The president is to be chosen by electors, nominated in such manner as the legislature of each state may direct; so that, if there be no legislature, there can be no senate. The house of representatives is to be composed of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite to electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature—unless, therefore, there be a state legislature, that

qualification cannot be ascertained; and the popular branch of the federal constitution must likewise be extinct. From this view, then, it is evidently absurd to suppose, that the annihilation of the separate governments will result from their union; or that, having that intention, the authors of the new system would have bound their connexion with such indissoluble ties. Let me here advert to an arrangement highly advantageous; for you will perceive, that without prejudice to the powers of the legislature in the election of senators, the people at large will acquire an additional privilege in returning members to the house of representatives—whereas, by the present confederation, it is the legislature alone that appoints the delegates to congress.

The power of direct taxation has likewise been treated as an improper delegation to the federal government: but when we consider it as the duty of that body to provide for the national safety, to support the dignity of the union, and to discharge the debts contracted upon the collective faith of the states, for their common benefit, it must be acknowledged that those, upon whom such important obligations are imposed, ought in justice and in policy, to possess every means requisite for a faithful performance of their trust. But why should we be alarmed with visionary evils? I will venture to predict, that the great revenue of the united state must, and always will, be raised by impost: for, being at once less obnoxious, and more productive, the interest of the government will be best promoted by the accommodation of the people. Still, however, the object of direct taxation should be within reach in all cases of emergency; and there is no more reason to apprehend oppression in the mode of collecting a revenue from this resource, than in the form of an im-

off, which by universal assent is
 est to the authority of the federal
 government. In either case, the
 force of civil constitutions will be
 adequate to the purpose; and the
 dread of military violence, which has
 been assiduously disseminated, must
 eventually prove the mere effusion of
 wild imagination, or a factious spi-
 rit. But the salutary consequences,
 which must flow from thus enabling
 the government to relieve and sup-
 port the credit of the union, will af-
 ford another answer to the objections
 upon this ground. The state of
 Pennsylvania, particularly, which has
 encumbered itself with the assumption
 of a great proportion of the pub-
 lic debt, will derive considerable re-
 lief and advantage: for, as it was
 the imbecillity of the present confede-
 ration, which gave rise to the fund-
 ing law, that law must naturally ex-
 pire, when a complete and energetic
 federal system shall be substituted—
 the state will then be discharged from
 an extraordinary burden, and the na-
 tional creditor will find it to be his
 interest to return to his original secu-
 rity.

After all, my fellow citizens, it is
 neither extraordinary nor unexpect-
 ed, that the constitution, offered to
 your consideration, should meet with
 opposition. It is the nature of man
 to pursue his own interest, in prefer-
 ence to the public good: and I do
 not mean to make any personal re-
 flexion, when I add, that it is the in-
 terest of a very numerous, powerful,
 and respectable body, to counteract
 and destroy the excellent work, pro-
 duced by the late convention. All
 the offices of government, and all the
 appointments for the administration
 of justice, and the collection of the
 public revenue, which are transferred
 from the individual to the aggregate
 sovereignty of the states, will necessa-
 rily turn the stream of influence and
 molument into a new channel. Eve-
 ry person therefore, who either en-

joys, or expects to enjoy, a place of
 profit under the present establish-
 ment, will object to the proposed in-
 novation; not, in truth, because it is
 injurious to the liberties of his coun-
 try; but because it affects his schemes
 of wealth and consequence. I will
 confess, indeed, that I am not a blind
 admirer of this plan of government,
 and that there are some parts of it,
 which, if my wish had prevailed,
 would certainly have been altered.
 But, when I reflect, how widely men
 differ in their opinions, and that
 every man (and the observation ap-
 plies likewise to every state) has an
 equal pretension to assert his own, I
 am satisfied, that any thing nearer to
 perfection could not have been ac-
 complished. If there be errors, it
 should be remembered, that the seeds
 of reformation are sown in the work
 itself; and the concurrence of two-
 thirds of the congress may at any
 time introduce alterations and amend-
 ments. Regarding it, then, in every
 point of view, with a candid and
 disinterested mind, I am bold to as-
 sert, that it is the **BEST FORM
 OF GOVERNMENT WHICH
 HAS EVER BEEN OFFER-
 ED TO THE WORLD.**

*Address to all federalists.*

Friends and countrymen,

AN individual, who never has
 been, nor has any ambition at
 present, to be honoured by marks of
 public distinction, presumes to ad-
 dress you. When Common Sense de-
 clared it to be the time to try men's
 souls, he engaged in your service;
 nor left it till the court of Britain
 declared you independent. In com-
 mon with yourselves, he felt a noble
 enthusiasm warm his breast in the
 cause of freedom: and, he trusts, the
 generous flame is still unextinguish-
 ed. Animated by the hope of your
 prosperity, he beheld, without a
 sigh, the fair expectations of afflu-

ence, to which he was born, blasted by the wanton cruelty of an enemy, and by injustice and fraud, sanctified by law. Yet now, should you embrace the heaven-sent opportunity to secure to yourselves the invaluable blessings of liberty and independence, he shall still glory in every sacrifice.

The constitution of government, proposed to your acceptance, reflects the highest honour upon its compilers; and adds a lustre even to the names of Washington and Franklin! Whether it meet your approbation or not, it will excite the plaudits of the world: and your enlightened posterity will mark it as an exalted instance of American genius. Here we view the sources of energy, wisdom, and virtue, delicately combined. Here the legislative, executive, and judicial powers are completely separated, exactly defined, and accurately balanced. Here are instituted the wisest checks to ambition in the rulers, and to licentiousness in the ruled. Here we find the most admirable fetters to self interest, and the most indestructible securities of civil liberty. Here we behold the greatest concessions made by the strongest: and, if any partiality be shewn, it is in favour of the weak. Should it remind you of the government of Poland, you will reflect, that the mode and frequency of electing our executive head, completely evade the confusion of an elective monarchy. But, what is more probable, should it remind you of a government once justly dear to us—then let us enquire, where, among foreign nations, are the people, who may boast like Britons? In what country is justice more impartially administered, or the rights of the citizen more securely guarded? Had our situation been sufficiently contiguous—had we been justly represented in the parliament of Great-Britain—to this day we should have gloried in the peculiar, the distin-

guished blessings of our political constitution. But, even here, the federal government rises in the comparison. For in this we find the avenues to corruption and despotism completely closed. No lords strut here with supercilious haughtiness, or swell with emptiness: but virtue, good sense, and reputation, alone, ennoble the blood, and introduce the lowliest citizen to the highest offices of state. Our executive head is immediately dependent upon the people. He has no power to grant pensions, to purchase an undue influence, or to bribe in a fancied representation of the commons. All dignities flow from yourselves—those, indeed, of the judicial kind, not so immediately; which your own experience must have convinced you is proper. That the people of a free government mean right, when frequently, they think wrong, is a truth, which renders it indispensable, that certain of their servants should feel so independent, as to be unswayed by popular caprice and error. But, in forming this constitution, your delegates were not obliged to look abroad for assistance. Many approved models were to be found at home, the excellencies and deficiencies of which experience had already discovered.

Perhaps, to point out such obvious advantages some may deem affrontive to the good understanding of Americans, until attempts be made to deceive them. It is not moreover within the intention of this address—which was to exhort your most earnest attention to the present important crisis of public affairs. Never have you seen a period replete with more extensive consequences. Unbiassed and impartial, examine, then, for yourselves, how worthy that system of government is, which the collected wisdom of the nation has recommended to your acceptance—Study and scrutinize its various parts. Survey, with a jealous eye,

the profound intelligence and policy it discloses. And, when once your minds are persuaded of its propriety, determine with unanimity, and with decided resolution, to adopt, support, and perpetuate it.

Think not, that such an eventful revolution, so great and so promising, should meet with no opposition. Nothing great or good, of the kind, ever commenced, or ever existed, without it. Opposition will arise from various sources. A few will be actuated by a vain spirit of contention, or affectation of singularity. Some will prattle of chimerical dangers, to shew their superior discernment, or to obtrude themselves into notice. Even low wit and buffoonery shall raise their silly weapons. Perhaps you will be told, among anti-federalists, that when the new government is established, "money will grow upon the trees"—that "Washington has been duped"—that "Franklin has grown old"—and that "Pinckney and Hamilton are boys." Thus far, opposition merits your contempt. But the fears of the jealous, of the undiscerning, and of the ignorant, among each of which classes, there may be men of integrity and principle—the obstinacy of prepossession and party spirit—the secret intrigues of the ambitious—and the clamours of avarice and self-interest—these will be exerted, to undermine your prospects of national felicity; and of these you should be aware. To hear from them any thing like solid argument, or calm discussion, is scarcely to be expected. From popular rumour, I have not as yet been able to collect an attempt of this kind, that merits your slightest regard. The ground of controversy is now changed. Every objection, from the purse and the sword being entrusted to one body of men, is now removed, by the different organization of the federal head—objections, which had weight

with many of your real friends, and have had their full force granted in the construction of the present system. These objections were formerly answered by an appeal to necessity: for better was it, that the efficient powers of government should be lodged any where than no where—better in one delegated assembly, mutable in its members, and removable at your pleasure, than in no assembly at all. For, certainly, rigid order, in society, is preferable to licentious disorder—and an absolute monarchy to an absolute anarchy.

The people of Virginia, some time since, in instructions to their representatives, speaking of congress, declare, that, "the melioration of a
" constitution, founded upon such
" false and incompatible principles,
" seems in every view almost impos-
" sible. But expedients proposed,
" which require the unanimous con-
" currence of thirteen separate legis-
" latures, differing in interests, dis-
" tinct in habits, and opposite in
" prejudices, have so repeatedly
" failed, that they no longer furnish
" a ray of hope. We pray, therefore,
" for the day, when we shall see a
" NATIONAL CONVENTI-
" ON sit, composed of the best and a-
" blest men in the union, a majority of
" whom shall be invested with the
" power of altering it. It is now so
" bad, as TO DEFY THE MA-
" LICE AND INGENUITY
" OF FORTUNE TO MAKE
" IT WORSE.

If opposition be made in your public assemblies, (which I have hopes will not be the case, from the means of information, time will give all classes of people) you will find ignorance and artifice endeavouring to shroud themselves from public contempt, under an affected silence; and perhaps not the shadow of an argument produced in support of a dead vote. For shame, electors! let not the good sense of Americans be thus

represented: but if men do appear in your legislative bodies, in support of a bad cause, let them at least be able to gild its deformity.

But should you ratify the proceedings of your convention, the happy event will form an epocha, more peculiar in its nature, more felicitating in its consequences, and more interrelling to the philosophic mind, than ever the political history of man has displayed. Where is the country in which the principles of civil liberty and jurisprudence are so well understood as in this? and where has ever such an assembly of men been deputed for such a purpose?

To see an assemblage of characters, most of them illustrious for their integrity, patriotism, and abilities, representing many sovereign states—framing a system of government for the whole, in the midst of a profound peace—unembarrassed by any unfavourable circumstance abroad, uninfluenced by any selfish motive at home—but making the most generous concessions to each other for the common welfare, and directing their deliberations with the most perfect unanimity—to see a constitution of government thus formed, and fraught with wisdom, economy, and foresight, adapted to the political habits of their constituents, to the state of society and civilization, to the peculiar circumstances of their country, and to those enlightened sentiments of freedom and toleration, so dear to all good men—and finally, to see this constitution ratified and adopted by several millions of people, inhabiting an extensive country, not from any coercion, but from mere principles of propriety, wisdom and policy—these are objects too great and too glorious, to be viewed with common admiration and delight—the idea alone is animating to every bosom, susceptible of the emotions of patriotism or philanthropy

—the attempt alone reflects a dignity upon human nature: and the execution secures freedom and public happiness to remote posterity.

This great event will disclose the meaning of those many astonishing providences, which gave timely aid to the American arms, in the just struggle for independence. From this it will appear, that these were not intended to usher in, upon this recent theatre of cultivated humanity, the horrors of domestic jarring; but to establish, upon the firmest basis, union, freedom, and tranquility. The prerogative of the great guardian of nations, to educe good from evil, will become illustrious. Our reproach abroad, and our disarrangement at home, will but shew us, in contrast, the magnitude and propriety of our change. The light of prosperity will but shine the brighter, as just bursting from the dissipating clouds of injustice, avarice, and ambition.

Let us, then, be of one heart, and one mind. Let us seize the golden opportunity to secure a stable government, and to become a respectable nation. Let us be open, decided and resolute, in a good cause. Let us render our situation worthy the ashes of our slaughtered brethren and our own sufferings. Let us remember our emblem, the twisted serpent, and its emphatical motto **UNITE, OR DIE**. This was once written in blood: but it is as emphatical now as then. **A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CANNOT STAND**. Our national existence depends as much as ever upon our union: and **ITS CONSOLIDATION MOST ASSUREDLY INVOLVES OUR PROSPERITY, FELICITY AND SAFETY**.

CURTIUS

New York,

September 27, 1787.

Remarks on the late insinuations against general Washington.

WERE it possible to suppress the honest indignation of patriotism, or to stifle that resentment which arises against the foes of injured America, while we behold the boasted freedom of her press prostituted to the purposes of her bitterest enemies—yet would the soldier, who has fought and bled by the side of his beloved chief, while many of these miscreants mingled in the opposing ranks, have cause to reproach himself, did he silently suffer his respected name to be thus vilified by the base agents of Europe, or the baser parricides of America, who (under the cloke of concern lest the liberties of this land should be exposed to danger from the determinations of a Washington, a Franklin, a Livingston, a Rutledge, a Dickinson, a Maddison, a Morris, or a Hamilton) are allowed to act a part, for which the laws of Athens would consign them to the gibbet. No, mr. Printer, the honest American, who, in asserting the freedom of his country, wasted his youth, and impaired his fortunes, has a right to look for protection from the government in his old age: and he will rather rise in vengeance, than submit to be thus abused by the Briton, the Gaul, the Spaniard, the Turk*, or the turncoat American: and whether they act in their distinct capacities of agents for their respective countries, or are leagued with the placemen of our own country, in opposing the establishment of the federal constitution, that first production of political wisdom and integrity, they are alike the objects of a just resentment, from which neither the gold of Europe, nor the friendship of apostate Americans will be able to protect them.

NOTE.

* Signatures to newspaper essays.
Vol. II. No. IV.

To the freemen of Pennsylvania.

A Recollection of the following facts, whereof few persons are ignorant, will give us clearer ideas of our present situation, than all the speculative productions that have yet appeared, and which seem to have been calculated to perplex and distract the majority of the people.

It is universally acknowledged, that the confederation of the united states, which now exists, is very inadequate to the grand purposes for which it was instituted. Sensible of this, congress recommended to the several states, that they should enable them to regulate commerce, and raise a revenue for the discharge of the public debt, and other purposes. All the states, but one, adopted this recommendation: and one of those, which had complied, retracted from her engagement, whereby the whole became ineffectual.

Being thus circumstanced, a convention from the several states has been called: and men of the most respectable characters, shining abilities, and approved attachment to the liberties of their country, assembled for the purpose of framing a general constitution—who, with great assiduity and attention, have produced a plan, the most perfect that the local circumstances of the several states would admit.

This being premised, let every well-wisher to his country carefully consider the following questions, and answer them according to the feelings which his particular situation has excited, without having recourse to those abstract reasonings and jealousies, which are rather calculated to confound, than inform. Let him reflect, for a moment, whether the surmises of persons, whose personal interest and importance are likely to be affected, ought to be put in competition with the deliberate, cool, dispassionate determination of men selected by the several

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states, for the sole purpose of forming a federal constitution, whose interest, as men, and as citizens, is at least of equal consequence with those who wantonly carp at their productions. Let it then be asked—

1. Whether, in the present situation of public affairs, it is not absolutely necessary that some form of government should be established for the united states, distinct from that which is formed by the confederation?

2. Whether it is possible that any plan or form of government, devised by men, can be perfect, and entirely pleasing to every state in the union, and to all the inhabitants of each state?

3. Whether the constitution framed by the late convention, ought not to be adopted by the several states, as the only means of extricating the people from the distresses which they at present labour under, especially as it contains a provision for amending any defects which may be discovered therein?

4. Whether, if the constitution now offered, should be refused, there is any probability of obtaining another more generally acceptable?

5. What will be the consequence of a refusal of this constitution? What will become of our public creditors? How will our commerce be regulated, our people employed, and poverty and extreme distress be prevented? Will not anarchy take place, and the people, driven to despair, seize upon each other's property, and at length submit to some aspiring chief, who, by taking advantage of our situation, will become a king or a tyrant?

6. Will the distresses of the people be much longer submitted to, that men who are feeding upon the public property, and who do not partake of their sufferings, may amuse themselves in speculations about government, whilst they are indifferent to the calamities which they thereby occasion?

7. Are not the amazing numbers of writs and executions returnable to every court, and the trifling sums for which valuable real estates are sold by the sheriff, alarming proofs of our ruinous situation?

8. Does the proprietor of houses and lands, although his rents are reduced below what they were in the cheapest times, receive them regularly? and are not his tenants, from the general distress, frequently two and three quarters, and sometimes a whole year in arrear, and do they not afterwards often remove, without being able to pay any thing?

9. What are the profits arising from trade and commerce, and whence happens it, that so many of the respectable class of citizens who seek their living thereby, become bankrupts?

10. Upon what do the widows and orphans subsist, whose property is immersed in the public funds, and whose husbands and fathers gave up their all to save their country?

11. Ye tradesmen, who formerly by your diligence and industry were enabled to enjoy the comforts as well as the necessaries of life, say, how many of you do now find as much employment as will produce a bare subsistence for your apprentices—and even of this pittance, how many of your employers are able to pay you with punctuality?

12. Ye labourers, recount the many days which you spend in idleness, “because no man giveth you to work:” and that in the season of the year, when most is to be done, and from which you have been accustomed to lay up fuel and other necessaries for an approaching winter?

13. Where is the man, be his fortune what it may, unless he partakes of the public stock, who does not experience the effects of this general calamity?

*On the federal government.**(Continued from page 306).*

LETTER IV.

IN considering the respective powers of the president, the senate, and the house of representatives, under the federal constitution, we have seen a part of the wholesome precautions which are contained in the new system. Let us examine what further securities for the safety and happiness of the people, are contained in the general stipulations and provisions.

The united states guarantee to every state in the union, a separate republican form of government. From thence it follows, that any man, or body of men, however rich or powerful, who shall make an alteration in the form of government of any state, whereby the powers thereof shall be attempted to be taken out of the hands of the people at large, will stand guilty of high treason; or should a foreign power seduce or overawe the people of any state, so as to cause them to vest in the families of any ambitious citizens, or foreigners, the powers of hereditary governors, whether as kings or nobles, that such investment of powers would be void in itself, and every person attempting to execute them, would also be guilty of treason.

No religious test is ever to be required of any officer or servant of the united states. The people may employ any wise and good citizen, in the execution of the various duties of the government. In Italy, Spain, and Portugal, no protestant can hold a public trust. In England, every presbyterian, and other person not of their established church, is incapable of holding an office. No such impious deprivation of the rights of men can take place under the new constitution. The convention has the honour of proposing the first public act, by which any na-

tion has ever divested itself of a power, every exercise of which is a trespass on the majesty of heaven.

No qualification, in monied or landed property, is required by the proposed plan; nor does it admit any preference from the preposterous distinctions of birth and rank. The office of the president, a senator, and a representative, and every other place of power and profit, are therefore open to the whole body of the people. Any wise, informed, and upright man, be his property what it may, can exercise the trusts and powers of the state, provided he possesses the moral, religious, and political virtues, which are necessary to secure the confidence of his fellow citizens.

The importation of slaves from any foreign country, is, by a clear implication, held up to the world as equally inconsistent with the dispositions and the duties of the people of America. A solid foundation is laid for exploding the principles of negro slavery, in which many good men of all parties in Pennsylvania, and throughout the union, have already concurred. The temporary reservation of any particular matter, must ever be deemed an admission that it should be done away. This appears to have been well understood. In addition to the arguments drawn from liberty, justice, and religion, opinions against this practice, founded in sound policy, have no doubt been urged. Regard was necessarily paid to the peculiar situation of our southern fellow citizens; but they, on the other hand, have not been insensible of the delicate situation of our national character on this subject.

The people will remain, under the proposed constitution, the fountain of power and public honour. The president, the senate, and the house of representatives, will be the channels through which the stream will flow—but it will flow from the

people, and from them only. Every office, religious, civil, and military, will be either their immediate gift, or it will come from them, through the hands of their servants. And this, as observed before, will be guaranteed to them under the state constitutions, which they respectively approve; for they *cannot* be royal forms, *cannot* be aristocratical, but *must* be republican.

The people of those states which have faithfully discharged their duty to the union, will be no longer subjected *alone* to the weight of the public debts. Proper arrangements will call forth the *just* proportion of their sister states, and our national character will *again* be as unstained as it was *once exalted*. Elevation to independence, with the loss of our good name, is only to be *conspicuous in disgrace*. The liberties of a people involved in debt, are as uncertain as the liberty of an individual in the same situation. Their virtue is more precarious. The unfortunate citizen must yield to the operation of the laws, while a bankrupt nation too easily annihilates the sacred obligations of gratitude and honour, and becomes execrable and infamous. I cannot refrain from reminding my fellow citizens of our near approach to that deplorable situation, which must be our miserable condition, if the defects of the old confederation remain without amendment. The proposed constitution will cure the evil, and restore us to our rank among mankind.

Laws, made after the commission of the fact, have been a dreadful engine in the hands of tyrannical governors. Some of the most virtuous and shining characters in the world have been put to death, by laws *formed to render them punishable*, for parts of their conduct which innocence permitted, and to which patriotism impelled them. These have been called *ex post facto* laws, and

are exploded by the new system. If a time of public contention shall hereafter arrive, the firm and ardent friends to liberty may know the length to which they can push their noble opposition, on the foundation of the laws. Should their country's cause impel them further, they will be acquainted with the hazard, and using those arms which providence has put into their hands, will make a solemn appeal to the "power above."

The destruction of the ancient republics was occasioned, in every instance, by their being ignorant of a great political position, which was left for America to discover and establish. Self-evident as the truth appears, we find no friend to liberty in ancient Greece or Rome asserting that taxation and representation were inseparable. The Roman citizens proud of their own liberty, imposed in the freest times of the commonwealth, the most grievous burdens on their wretched provinces. At other times we find thousands of their citizens, though residing within the walls of Rome, deprived of legislative representatives. When America asserted the novel truth, Great Britain though boasting herself as alone free among the modern nations, deplored by her legislature, and endeavoured to refute it by her arms—the reasoning of tyrants. But the attempt was vain: for the voice of truth was heard above the thunders of the war, and reached the ears of all nations. Henceforth the people of the earth will consider this position as the only rock on which they can found the temple of liberty, that taxation and representation are inseparable. Our new constitution carries it into execution on the most enlarged and liberal scale: for a representative will be chosen by six thousand of his fellow citizens, a senator by half a sovereign state, a president by a whole nation.

The old federal constitution contained many of the same things, which from error or disingenuousness, are urged against the new one. NEITHER OF THEM HAVE A BILL OF RIGHTS, NOR DOES EITHER NOTICE THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS, because they are already provided for by the state constitutions; and relating only to personal rights, they could not be mentioned in a contract among sovereign states.

Both the old and new federal constitutions, and indeed the constitution of Pennsylvania, admit of courts in which no use is made of a jury. The board of property, the court of admiralty, and the high court of errors and appeals, in the state of Pennsylvania, as also the court of appeals, under the old confederation, exclude juries. Trial by jury will, therefore, be, in the express words of the Pennsylvania constitution, "AS HERETOFORE," almost always used, though sometimes omitted. Trials for lands lying in any state, between persons residing in such state, for bonds, notes, book debts, contracts, trespasses, assumptions, and all other matters between two or more citizens of any state, will be held in the state-courts, by juries, as at present. In all these cases, which form nineteen in twenty of our suits at law, the federal courts cannot interfere. But when a dispute arises between citizens of any state, about lands lying out of the bounds thereof, or when a trial is to be had between citizens of one state, and citizens of another, or the government of another, the private citizen will not be obliged to go into a court constituted by the state, with which, or with the citizens of which, his dispute is. He can appeal to a disinterested federal court. This is surely a great advantage, and promises a fair trial, and an impartial judgment. The trial by jury is not excluded in

these federal courts. In all criminal cases, where the property, liberty, or life of the citizen is at stake, he has the benefit of a jury. If convicted, on impeachment, which is never done by a jury in any country, he cannot be fined, imprisoned, or punished, but only may be disqualified from doing public mischief, by losing his office, and his capacity to hold another. If the nature of his offence, besides its danger to his country, should be criminal in itself—should involve a charge of fraud, murder, or treason—he may be tried for such crime, but *cannot be convicted without a jury*. In trials about property, in the federal courts, which can only be as above stated, there is nothing in the new constitution to prevent a trial by jury. No doubt, it will be the mode in every case, wherein it is practicable. This will be adjusted by law, and it could not be done otherwise. In short, the sphere of jurisdiction for the federal courts, is limited; and that sphere only is subject to the regulations of our federal government. The known principles of justice—the attachment to trial by jury, whenever it can be used—the instructions of the state legislatures—the instructions of the people at large—the operation of the federal regulations on the property of a president, a senator, a representative, a judge, as well as that of a private citizen, will certainly render those regulations as favourable as possible to property; *for life and liberty are put more than ever into the hands of the juries*. Under the present constitution of all the states, *a public officer may be condemned to imprisonment or death on impeachment, without a jury*; but the new federal constitution protects the accused, till he shall be convicted, from the hands of power, by rendering *a jury the indispensable judges of all crimes*.

The influence which foreign pow-

ers may attempt to exercise in our affairs was foreseen, and a wholesome provision has been made against it; for no person holding an office under the united states is permitted to enjoy any foreign honours, powers, or emoluments.

The apprehensions of the people have been excited, perhaps by persons with good intentions, about the powers of the new government to raise an army. Let us consider this point with moderation and candour. As enemies will sometimes insult us, invade our country, and capture our property, it is clear a power in our government to oppose, restrain, or destroy them, is necessary to our honour, safety, and existence. The military should, however, be regarded with a watchful eye; for it is a profession that is liable to dangerous perversion: but the powers vested in the federal government do not go the length which has been said. A standing army is not granted or intended, for there can be no provision for its continuing three years, much less for its *permanent establishment*. *Two years are the utmost time for which the money can be given.* It will be under all the restrictions which wisdom and jealousy can suggest: and the original grant of the supplies must be made by the house of representatives, the immediate delegates of the people. The senate and president, who also derive their power from the people, appoint the officers; and the heads of the departments, who must submit their accounts to the whole legislature, are to pay and provide them, as shall be directed by the laws that shall contain the conditions of the grant. The militia, who are in fact the effective part of the people at large, will render many troops quite unnecessary. They will form a powerful check upon the regular troops, and will generally be sufficient to overawe them—for our detached situation will seldom give

occasion to raise an army, though few scattered companies may often be necessary. But whenever, even on the most obvious reasons, an arm shall be raised, the several states will be called, by the nature of things, to attend to the condition of the militia. Republican jealousy, the guardian angel of these states, will watch the motions of our military citizens: even though they will be the soldiers of a free people. There is a wide difference between the troops of such a commonwealth as ours, founded on equal and unalterable principles, and those of a regal government, where ambition and oppression are the profession of the king. In the first case a military officer is the occasional servant of the people, employed for their defence; in the second, he is the ever ready instrument to execute the schemes of conquest or oppression with which the mind of his royal master may be disturbed.

Observations have been made on the power given to the federal government in regard to the elections of representatives and senators. The regulations of these elections are, by the first part of the clause, to be prescribed by the state legislatures, who are certainly the proper bodies, and they will always execute the duty. But in case the union or the public safety should be endangered by a omission of this duty, as in the case of Rhode Island, then the legislature of the united states can name for that people a convenient time, and do other matters necessary to insure the free exercise of their right of election. The exception, in regard to the places of choosing senators, was made from due respect to the sovereignty of the state legislatures, who are to elect the senators, and whose place of meeting ought not to be prescribed to them by any authority, except in deed, as we always must, by the authority of the people. This power given to the federal legislature, is not

re than what is possessed by the governments of all the states. The constitution of Pennsylvania permits two thirds of such cities and counties, to hail elect representatives, to exercise all the powers of the general assembly, "as fully and amply as if the whole were present," should any part of the state neglect or refuse to perform their duty in this particular. In short, it is a power necessary to preserve the social compact of each state and the confederation of the united states.

Besides the securities for the liberties of the people arising out of the federal government, they are secured by their state constitutions, by the nature of things in the separate states. The governor or president in each commonwealth, the councils, senates, assemblies, judges, sheriffs, grand and petit juries, officers of militia, clergy and officers of all churches, state county treasurers, prothonotaries, notaries, presidents and other officers of universities, colleges and academies, wardens of ports and cities, burgesses of towns, commissioners of counties, county lieutenants and many other officers of power and influence, will still be chosen within a state, *without any possible interference of the federal government.* The separate states will also choose all the members of the legislative and executive branches of the united states. The people at large in each state will elect their federal representatives, unless ordered otherwise by the state legislatures, may choose the electors of the president and vice president of the union. And lastly, the legislatures of the states will have the election of the senate, as they have before had of the members of congress. Let us, then, with a candour worthy of the subject, ask ourselves, whether it can be feared, that a majority of the representatives, of whom will be chosen by six

thousand enlightened freemen, can betray their country?—Whether a majority of the senate, each of whom will be chosen by the legislature of a free, sovereign, and independent state, without any stipulations in favour of wealth, or the contemptible distinctions of birth or rank, and who will be closely observed by the state legislatures, can destroy our liberties, controuled as they are, too, by the house of representatives?—or whether a temporary limited executive officer, watched by the federal representatives, by the senate, by the state legislatures, by his personal enemies among the people of his own state, by the jealousy of the people of rival states, and, by the whole of the people of the union, can ever endanger our freedom?

Permit me, my fellow-citizens, to close these observations by remarking, that there is no spirit of arrogance in the new federal constitution. It addresses you with becoming modesty, admitting that it may contain errors. Let us give it a trial; and when experience has taught its mistakes, *the people*, whom it preserves, absolutely all powerful, *can reform and amend them.* That I may be perfectly understood, I will acknowledge its acceptance by all the states, without delay, is the second wish of my heart. The first is, **THAT OUR COUNTRY MAY BE VIRTUOUS AND FREE.**

AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.



To the honourable the representatives of the freemen of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania in general assembly met.

The petition and declaration of the inhabitants of Philadelphia and of the districts of Southwark and the northern liberties,

Respectfully sheweth,

THAT your petitioners have seen, with great pleasure, the proposed constitution of the united

states; and as they conceive it to be wisely calculated to form a perfect union of the states, as well as to secure to themselves and posterity, the blessings of peace, liberty, and safety, they have taken this method of expressing their earnest desires, that the said constitution may be adopted as speedily as possible, by the state of Pennsylvania, in the manner recommended by the resolution of the late honourable convention.

To the honourable the legislature of the state of New Jersey.

The petition of the justices and freeholders of the county of Burlington,

Respectfully sheweth,

THAT they have read, and considered with attention, the constitution for the united states of America, as proposed by the late federal convention; that the same appears to them well calculated to amend the defects of the former constitution, and to promote the lasting welfare and happiness of the union.

They therefore humbly request, that your honourable body, in conformity to the opinion of the said convention, would recommend to the people of this state, immediately to chuse delegates for a state convention; in order to take into consideration the said federal constitution, and, if approved of, to ratify the same in behalf of the state of New-Jersey.

by order of the board,

JOSHUA M. WALLACE, chairman.

At a meeting of the inhabitants of the county of Burlington entitled to vote for representatives, in the council and general assembly, held at Burlington, on Tuesday the 9th day of October, 1787.

RESOLVED, That is the sense of this meeting, that our represen-

tatives should be instructed, and the are hereby instructed to move in the legislature, or to support the motion "That the legislature of this state recommend to the people, immediately to chuse delegates for a state convention, in order to take into consideration the constitution proposed by the late federal convention, and, if approved of, to ratify the same, in behalf of the state of New-Jersey."

By direction of the meeting,
JOSHUA M. WALLACE.

At a meeting of the freeholders of the town of Alexandria, on Friday the 28th of September 1787.

Robert Townshend Hooe was unanimously chosen President.

THE proposed federal constitution was read, and unanimously approved of—and it was

Resolved, That William Hunter, jun. Robert T. Hooe, William Harthorne, James Keith, William Brown, William Herbert, Charles Simms, David Arell, and John Fitzgerald Esquires, be appointed a committee to meet the freeholders of Fairfax county, at Price's Old Fields, on Tuesday, the second day of October next, for the purpose of instructing the delegates of this county, to use their utmost power and abilities to obtain in the next general assembly a recommendation from that honourable body, to the freeholders of the state at large, for the holding a convention as speedily as possible, for the purpose of adopting the aforesaid constitution.

Attest, OLIVER PRICE, clerk.

At a meeting of a number of the freeholders of Fairfax county at Price's Old Fields, on Tuesday, the second day of October, 1787.

THE proposed federal constitution was read, and unanimously approved of—and thereupon it was

unanimously resolved, that instructions be given to the delegates of the county, in the following words :

To George Mason, and David Stuart Esquires.

We, the freeholders of the county of Fairfax, conceiving that the peace, security, and prosperity of the state of Virginia, and the united states of America in general, do depend on the speedy adoption of the system of government recommended by the late general convention of the united states—and that this end will be advanced by an immediate recommendation from the legislature of this state, to subject the same to a convention of delegates, chosen by the freeholders thereof, for their assent and ratification, do therefore direct you, our representatives, to declare the opinion of your constituents, in the next general assembly of this state, to be for the immediate convocation of a convention of delegates from the several counties and boroughs of this state, for the said purpose.

The aforesaid instructions being prepared, and signed by all the freeholders present—it was

Resolved, that Charles Broadwater, George Gilpin, Charles Little, John Harper, Lund Washington, James Wren, John Moss, William Payne, Thomas Pollard, Elisha C. Dick, William Thompson, Roger West, William Deneal, Peter Wagner, Daniel M'Carty, George Minor, and Thomas West, esquires, the reverend David Griffith, Jeremiah Moore and William Waters, in the county, and William Hunter, jun. Robert T. Hooe, William Hartshorne, James Keith, William Brown, William Herbert, Charles Simms, David Arell, and John Fitzgerald, esquires, in the town of Alexandria, be a committee to wait on such of the freeholders in their respective neighbourhoods, as happened not to be present at this meeting, with copies of the

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aforesaid instructions, in order that they may sign them.



At a meeting of the inhabitants of the borough of Carlisle, in the county of Cumberland, convened at the court-house, Oct. 8, 1787.

Major general John Armstrong was unanimously chosen chairman.

THE business of the meeting was opened by colonel Magaw : and the constitution of the united states, formed by the late convention, was read ; and the following resolutions unanimously entered into :

Resolved, that the said constitution is most warmly approved of by this meeting : and that this meeting entertain the highest sense of the public virtue and patriotism of the majority of the house of assembly, in calling immediately a convention of this state, in pursuance of the recommendation of the federal convention.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the withdrawing or absenting of any member of assembly, in order to defeat any resolution or act of the legislature, is an offence most destructive to good government, and the happiness and true interest of the state : and that any member, who is guilty of such desertion and breach of trust, is unworthy of the confidence of the people, and unfit to represent them.

By the unanimous order of the meeting.

JOHN ARMSTRONG.



At a meeting of sundry respectable inhabitants of the county of Northampton, held at Bethlehem, to agree upon the nomination of persons to be returned to serve in the state-convention, Oct. 22, 1787 :

PETER RHOADS, esq. chairman.

THE business of the meeting was opened by the chairman : and the constitution of the united states

as formed by the late convention, being read, the following resolutions were unanimously entered into :

Resolved, that this meeting do most warmly and cordially approve of the said constitution; and that they esteem it the only salvation of this country, on which the existence of the united states of America, as a people, depends.

Resolved, that this meeting entertain the highest sense of the public virtue and patriotism of the majority of the house of assembly, in calling immediately a convention of this state, in pursuance of the recommendation of the federal convention.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the withdrawing or absenting of any member of assembly, who was sworn to serve his country to the best of his abilities, tends to subvert all order, and the fundamental principles of good government; and establishes precedents of aristocratic powers, for a minority to defeat the proceedings of a majority.

Resolved, that this meeting nominate four persons, proposed by a committee, appointed for that purpose, as candidates to serve in the said state-convention; and that each person present engages to support this ticket at the election, and, as much as in him lieth, to prevent all fraud and deceit at the said election.

Resolved, that each of the candidates, nominated as aforesaid, do make public declaration before this meeting, that, if it should be his lot to be elected a member of the said convention, he will use his utmost endeavours that the said constitution be ratified.

And the said four candidates accordingly made the said declaration before this meeting,

Resolved, that the chairman sign these resolves; and that the same be printed and published.

P. RHOADS, Chairman.

At a meeting of the freemen of the county of Somerset (New-Jersey, October 9, being the day of the annual election :

THOMAS BERRY, esq. chairman and judge of election.

THE constitution of the united states, as agreed upon by the federal convention at Philadelphia, was read; whereupon

Resolved unanimously, That the county do highly approve of the same: and that if the same be adopted by the confederated states, they will support it with their lives and fortunes.

Resolved unanimously, That the representatives of this county, in the general assembly, be, and they are hereby instructed to use their utmost endeavours to have a convention appointed for this state, without delay agreeably to the recommendations of congress, for the purpose of considering and ratifying said constitution.

By order of the freemen and voters present,

THOMAS BERRY,
judge and chairman

Extract of a circular letter from convention of the representatives the baptist churches of the middle states, lately held at New York.

WE congratulate you on the kind interposition of divine providence, visible in that happy unanimity which obtained among the members of the late federal convention, to agree upon, and report to the states in this union, a form of government, which promises, on adoption, to rescue our dear country from that national dishonour, injustice, anarchy, confusion, and bloodshed, which have already resulted from the weakness and inefficiency of the present form; and which, we have the greatest reason to fear, are but the beginning of sorrows, unless the people lay hold on this FA

FOURABLE OPPORTUNITY
ffered to ESTABLISH AN
FFICIENT GOVERNMENT
hich, we hope, may, under God,
ecure our invaluable rights, both
ivil and religious, and which it will
e in the power of the great body of
he people, if hereafter found necessa-
y, to controul and amend.



*Extract from the proceedings of the
general assembly of Connecticut, Sa-
turday, May 12, 1787.*

ON the question, whether dele-
gates should be sent by this state,
to the proposed convention, to be
held at Philadelphia, for the purpose
of revising and altering the articles of
confederation :

General *Huntington*.—Mr. Speaker,
the measure under consideration is re-
commended by congress, and has
been either anticipated or acceded to
by most of the states. I would, there-
fore, from the respect to congress,
and affection to our sister states, have
his state concur with them. I should
say here, mr. Speaker, if I had not
reason to think that there are some
gentlemen who are of opinion, that
the confederation is sufficient for its
purposes, and some who believe we
should do better without any. I beg,
therefore, to be indulged in some ob-
servations on the subject.

The confederation was framed
while this country was smarting under
the hand of arbitrary power. It
seems to have been the leading object
of the framers of it, to erect an au-
thority over this country, without
committing absolutely any power to
it. The compact between the sever-
al states has not any penalty annexed
to it for the breach of its conditions :
nor is it provided with any pow-
er coercing a compliance ; the ob-
servance of it depends entirely on
the good will and pleasure of each
state ; whenever, therefore, any state
refuses a compliance with a requi-

sition made agreeably to the confede-
ration, all obligation on the part of
the other states, is dissolved. If this
reasoning is just, we have no confede-
ration ; at any rate, it is an insuffi-
cient one. The importance of a ge-
neral government, a superintending
power, that shall extend to all parts
of our extensive territory, to secure
peace, and administer justice between
one state and another, and between
these states and foreign nations, must
be obvious to the least reflexion.—
All rational calculations must very
much fail us, if the diversity of sen-
timents, manners, and local circum-
stances, the unequal distribution of
the public debts, and the jealousies
of trade, do not create animosities
and contentions of the most serious
nature—where and when they will
terminate, Omniscience only knows,
Shall we trust the event to accident,
and leave government to arise
out of the distractions of the peo-
ple? or shall we, in a cool and dis-
passionate hour, consult with our
sister states, on the expediency of
making alterations in the confedera-
tion, in order to obtain the original
object of it? I know that a man,
removed in his apprehensions from
scenes of danger, with plenty, and a
kind neighbourhood about him, is
apt to hug himself in his ease and
security, and think that the inde-
pendent state of Connecticut is suf-
ficient for all things. Let us, then,
take a view of this sovereign state,
unconnected with the others. We
are without alliance or treaty with
any foreign nation, and without any
probability of making either ; as we
have no equivalent to give in ex-
change for the benefits which others
have bestowed on us. We are ex-
posed to the insults and depredations
of a single ship of war. But sup-
pose there were no fears from this
quarter, what security have we of
the peaceable disposition of our
neighbours? I remember a gentle-

man told us, last October, in a debate on another question, that the people of Poland were divided up in compassion to them. Who knows how long it will be before Massachusetts, New York, and perhaps Rhode Island, will combine, and, in the excess of their affection for this state, divide us among them? what can we promise ourselves from the turbulent spirit of one, the selfishness of another, or the righteousness of a third?

How long will it be before the relative rights of these states will come into question? Within twenty years, perhaps within ten, Massachusetts will discover that she has an exclusive right to the fisheries on her extensive coasts. Complaints will be brought to this assembly, that our fishermen are driven from Nantucket Shoals—we shall transmit these complaints to congress—they will recommend to Massachusetts to indemnify us for the loss and outrage—perhaps they will avail; but I don't believe they will. It is more probable that they will write a long letter of justification to congress, and close it with reminding them of old continental money, and the Penobscot expedition.

I am aware, mr. Speaker, that my fears may be considered by some to be visionary—that some may attribute my sentiments on government, to military habits of thinking, or resolve them into the baneful influence of the Cincinnati. These considerations, however, cannot dissuade me from speaking what I think to be the dictates of truth and duty. I am an advocate for an EFFICIENT GENERAL GOVERNMENT, and for a REVENUE ADEQUATE TO THE NATURE AND EXIGENCIES OF IT. This revenue must not depend on the will of any particular state. I am persuaded a sufficient revenue (except in case of an expensive war) may be drawn from

the sources which this state has already granted to congress, bating the limitations and restrictions under which they lie; I mean the regulation of trade for fifteen years, and the five per cent. impost. The introduction of our own shipping into the carrying trade, yields a certain profit, and is an object of great importance—as the variety of soil and climate, within the united states, is capable of producing every article which either the convenience or luxury of man requires. Should the impost be carried to excess, should foreigners resist impositions on their ships, and make reprisals by laying counter-duties on ours, the natural tendency of both will be, to *promote the growth and manufacture, among ourselves, of the articles affected by the impositions—and proportionably increase our wealth and independence.* Manufactures, more than any other employment, will increase our numbers—in that consist the strength and glory of a people.

Mr. Granger declared himself to be opposed to sending delegates to the convention: he conceived it would be disagreeable to his constituents; he thought the liberties of the people would be endangered by it; that the constitution of this state was already sufficient for every purpose, added to the articles of confederation, in which sufficient power was already delegated to congress, and concluded by saying, that he imagined these things would have a tendency to produce a regal government in this country.

Mr. Humphrey, on the same side with mr. Granger, observed, that he thought it would be best to oppose the measure in the first instance; that if Connecticut should send, and the convention should recommend to the states any alteration in the articles of confederation, and a majority of the states should comply with such recommendation, and adopt the mea-

res proposed by it, the majority would compel the minority to comply also, however opposed the latter might be to any change in the federal government: and he concluded by saying, that he approved of the wisdom and policy of Rhode Island in refusing to send delegates to the convention, and that the conduct of that state, in this particular, was a worthy imitation.

Colonel *Seymour* declared himself to be in favour of sending delegates to the convention. He was happy, he said, that a motion for a general convention of the states, had come from so respectable a quarter as the state of Virginia; that he was pleased that it had originated there—that that state conceived the affairs of the union had arrived to an alarming crisis—that he was fully of that opinion—that the state of Vermont was balancing between Canada and the United States—that the settlements on the Ohio were rapidly increasing, and the expense of the more settled parts of the eastern states, which were much drained by constant emigrations—that New York was too much attached to her local interests, and had become unfederal—that the affairs of Massachusetts were still unsettled, and that Rhode Island, by her iniquity, had justly become the reproach and scorn of her neighbours. That this was a melancholy picture, and gave just occasion for the remark of Virginia, that the affairs of the United States had arrived to an alarming crisis. He flattered himself, that the convention would find a remedy for all these evils, and that efficiency might be given to the federal government, that every part of the United States, however disjointed at present, might be brought to promote the great objects at first proposed by their union.

Mr. *Perkins* was opposed to the measure, and said, that the state would send men that had been deli-

cately bred, and who were in affluent circumstances, that could not feel for the people in this day of distress; if we send, we shall be under double obligation to adopt what the convention shall recommend; for if we say A, we must say B.

Colonel *Wadsworth*. It is allowed by every body that the present confederation does not answer the purposes of federal government; and notwithstanding the solemnity with which we have declared the articles of the confederation shall be inviolably preserved, we find they are entirely neglected; and there is no power in the federal government to enforce them.

One gentleman says, we should oppose any alteration, in the first instance, lest a majority of the states should recommend an alteration, and force us to a compliance: and he approves the conduct of Rhode Island, in refusing to send delegates to the convention. I presume the house will not copy Rhode Island in any of their vile acts of legislation; they have forfeited all claim to the confidence of the United States, and of the whole world: their acts are a disgrace to the human race. Mr. *Fitch* finds fault with us for censuring that state. I hope we shall always dare to tell them the truth; and while they make laws that are founded in injustice, I shall claim, and take the liberty to say what I please about those laws. Colonel *Seymour* well observes, it is alarming indeed, when there is no force in the federal government, and when there are not wanting men who boldly declare, that it would be better to go back to Great Britain. It is said, sir, there is not wanting, at least, one member of assembly, who wishes we had been conquered by the British, at any period of the war. Mr. *Perkins* objects to having any power to enforce the acts of the federal government. If there is to be no power of coercion, there is

to be no government. If his objections are serious, they go to the destroying all government; for without power to enforce obedience, there can be none. We are also told, our delegates will be men delicately bred, that do not know or feel for the people; are we so stupid as to send delegates, that are unacquainted with our situation and circumstances? have we been so? If we have, let us emerge from this stupidity, and send men that live in the country, have been hardly bred, and know what our wants are.

No state has more reason to wish for an alteration in the articles of confederation than Connecticut. Fertile and well cultivated, we have large exports from the produce of our land; and we consume much foreign produce. The profits of importation go entirely to our neighbour states. There is collected by them, at least one hundred thousand dollars import (annually,) which we pay.—The eighth article of the present confederation is universally reprobated—yet not altered: and if it remains as it is, this state will finally be ruined. Captain Granger fears arbitrary power, and the destruction of the poor; and says we shall all become slaves. This state may well be compared to a strong ass, couching down, not under two, but twenty burdens: and they will finally crush us out of existence.

Mr. *Fitch* declared himself to be against sending delegates to the convention. The privileges of the people, he was afraid, would be exposed to danger: he would not see them abridged, but would support them to the last degree.

Mr. *Davenport*. The determination of the present question may be important. It is certainly a serious time, as it respects government.—Much has already been said on the subject: yet I cannot refrain from offering my sentiments upon it. The

gentlemen opposed to sending delegates to the convention, say that the articles of confederation need no revision; that they are fully adequate to the purposes for which they were intended. This amounts to a declaration, that we want no continental government: for what power has congress now? They have, it is true the power of demanding money but have they power to collect it? The conduct of this house, in treating with neglect, if not with contempt, their requisitions, determine that they have not: besides, is this agreeable to the sentiments of this assembly? Have they not heretofore by their acts, given additional powers to congress, by granting them the import, and the right of regulating trade? and has not there been great clamour against the state of New York, for not granting the same additional authority to congress? and have not some gentlemen, in fact urged that measures ought to be taken to coerce it—when at the same time, the requirements of congress made in virtue of the confederation were refused to be complied with by us? But view us disconnected—what would have been the consequence of disunion in the late war? Was not all the strength of the united states necessary—and that, too when the resolutions of congress were most critically attended to, and observed—when they were of more force than law? And we may be in want of this united force, hereafter. But is not an efficient national government necessary to preserve peace between the states? Their interests are in some measure opposed: and contentions very easily arise, when this is the case, unless there is a controlling power.

Some gentlemen are afraid of the measures which the southern state may wish to adopt; and say, that the nature of their governments, and their feelings are more arbitrary

nd despotic than ours. Is this the
 ase? Have not they run into the
 extremes of democracy? Georgia,
 the most southern state, as much in-
 fluenced, we should suppose, by such
 principles as any, has, by her consti-
 tution, provided, that no person shall
 be governor for two years successive-
 ly; some of the other states have
 made provisions not very dissimilar.
 The gentlemen, who were in con-
 gress from those states, at the time of
 forming the confederation, and who
 assisted in that business, were purely
 republican.

I would ask, is it likely we shall
 ever be disturbed from abroad? Why
 are additional troops ordered
 out to Canada? Besides, we are offi-
 cially informed, there is a prospect
 of trouble from the western settlers;
 and the treaty, which is on foot with
 Spain, and which is disrelished by
 some of the states, may be a means
 of creating a necessity for union and
 united strength.

This convention was first proposed
 as a remedy the evils arising from the
 embarrassments of our trade; this is
 an object we have much at heart. I
 am glad the southern states are alarm-
 ed; that they wish to consolidate the
 union. They have been heretofore
 opposed to federal measures; their in-
 terests have been opposed to trade re-
 gulations. I hope something may be
 effected by the convention, and that
 we may send delegates.

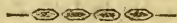
Mr. *Hopkins* said, he had very lit-
 tle to expect from the proposed con-
 vention, yet he concluded by saying,
 he should be for the measure, out of
 compliment to the sister states.

Mr. *Welton* was in favour of send-
 ing, because, according to present ap-
 pearances, and unless some alterations
 take place, the union will be entirely
 at an end.

Mr. *Chauncey*. I am for sending
 members to the convention; but an-
 ticipated by the gentlemen who
 spoke before me. They have left

little to be urged on the subject. I
 have not been, before this session, ho-
 noured with a seat in this house, but
 very often a spectator in the galleries.
 I have constantly heard complaints
 that congress had not power enough
 —that this state had large demands
 against the united states—that if con-
 gress had power to regulate our trade
 and establish a system of revenue, we
 might be paid, or at least know what
 was due to us. I have often heard it
 urged, that all the evils we feel, were
 for the want of a well regulated fed-
 eral government. We have something
 to hope and nothing to fear, from
 the convention: but I will not detain
 the house: the reasons for sending de-
 legates are too many and too obvious,
 to escape our notice.

Several other gentlemen spoke—
 after which the question for sending
 delegates to the convention, was put
 and carried in the affirmative.



On ingratitude to ancestors.

IT is unaccountable to me, and mat-
 ter of just surprise, that such ne-
 glect has been shown to the memo-
 ry of the first discoverers, adventu-
 rers, and patrons, as well as the first
 venerable and illustrious emigrants and
 settlers of our country. Let us take
 a concise view of this matter, particu-
 larly as it respects us, and see if
 we can decently exculpate ourselves
 from the charge of ingratitude to
 those worthies, who are distinguished
 by their noble attempts and success-
 ful exertions, not only to discover,
 but to people a new land, and to
 make “the wilderness to bud and
 blossom as the rose” in the garden of
 God.

If there be any such as have never
 thought of it, a few moments may
 not be unprofitably spent in consid-
 ering the characters of such of our an-
 cestors, as I shall endeavour to point
 out in this humble tribute to their me-
 mories, particularly those whose

names have not been conveyed down to posterity (except in history) by some memorial of their worth, or some public mark of honour and gratitude by authority :—and on the other hand, an Alexander, a Cesar, a Louis XIV. a Charles XII. a Frederic III. and many other royal butchers, whose wars of glory (falsely called) have generally had no better origin than ambition, lust, avarice, revenge, persecution, or some other diabolical motives. Perhaps “some, who delight in war,” may be ready with a contemptuous sneer—What ! do you pretend to compare your old precise quakers, or puritanical bigots, to the heroes of antiquity, or those of more modern date, an Alva, a Saxe, a Clive, a Howe, or a Hastings ? O ! no, by no means : my heroes would suffer by a comparison—I had rather draw the contrast. Has the age forgot, how great the good man is, how wide the difference between him who rears a state, and him who depopulates one—from him who increases the human kind, and him who destroys them—him who adds to the fund of social happiness, who strengthens the bonds of society, who “makes man kind and sociable to man,” and who teaches men to “love one another”—and him who would defeat these glorious and benevolent purposes, by compelling men to “bite and devour, that they may be destroyed one of another ?”

These reflexions were excited upon reading the history of our country.

A. D. 1492, Christopher Columbus discovered the fourth part of the world, the most original, intrepid, and generous navigator that ever travelled “the paths of the sea :”—and yet what is done to perpetuate his memory, or the glorious event ? Except the island of St. Christopher’s, there is not a single province, colony, or state that bears his name—nay, not so much as a town, creek,

bay, or even a small point of land :—and has not Americus Vesputius, second hand navigator, had his name given to all the discoveries of that matchless, the unrivalled COLUMBUS ?

In the succeeding century, we find the peers of Vesputius, the CABOT exploring the northern continent, hazarding their lives in unknown seas, and searching a new residence for liberty, for the benefit of posterity and mankind in general ; yet here we see the same neglect as in the former instance.

In the 16th century we find the enterprising, the philanthropic Raleigh, with a long list besides, Gorton, Smith, Argal, Popham, Gilbert, Pierce, Darmer, and many others, carrying their explorations still further, so as to find convenient allums and plantations for the needy and oppressed from every quarter of the globe.—The more we examine the more we shall find the catalog filled with names and characters that ought to be dear to every lover of morality, knowledge, freedom, and the equal happiness of mankind. Here we cease to wonder, nor expect to find their names perpetuated, their characters respected, while those of the two former centuries remain unnoticed, and no where to be found but in the sleeping tomes of the historian, or in the fugitive gazettes of day.

How vast the difference between the dignified butchers, before mentioned, and the first venerable fathers and settlers of these colonies—the pious and patriotic band, headed by the governor Carver and Hickley and other magistrates of the ancient colony of Plymouth ! and afterward like illustrious men, led by Endicott, Bradstreet, Haynes, and Vane, governors ; and Goffe, Humfries, Danforth, Willoughby, and Symonds, lieutenant-governors of Massachusetts, who left the comforts and de-

licacies of their native country, for coarser fare and greater toils, than perhaps were undergone by the mercenary machines of those tyrannical despots—and for what? To lay the foundations of a fair structure of civil and religious freedom, for their posterity to build upon, so that it now far excels any in the old world; to plant the tree of knowledge, under whose uncious and delightful branches every one might repose, and none dare to make him afraid.

In the appendix to governor Hutchinson's history of Massachusetts, is the following note in the history of Plymouth:

“ These were the founders of the colony of New Plymouth. The settlement of this colony, occasioned the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, which was the source of all the other colonies of New England. Virginia was in a dying state; and seemed to revive and flourish, from the example of New England. I am not preserving from oblivion the names of heroes, whose chief merit is the overthrow of cities, provinces, and empires; but the names of the founders of a flourishing town and colony, if not of the whole British empire in America.”

If he were so sensible of this, it seems he might have been a little more active in transmitting such names to future ages, by something monumental besides his history; and his station was peculiarly favourable for such a purpose: and the calling a town, or a county, by some of their names, would have been, surely, as cheap a monument as could well be devised.

Some thoughtless men suppose they shew their wit in throwing their pointless shafts at the mistakes of our first governors and magistrates, with respect to the quakers, witches, &c. It is freely confessed, that these were great and serious errors, which they saw themselves afterwards, and

were sincerely sorry for. But how many were executed? They neither did nor could make the impious boasts, that some of those crowned madmen did. Pliny tells us, that “ Cæsar used to say, his conquest in Gaul had cost about a million two hundred thousand lives. If the civil wars be added to the account, this ambitious monster must have made greater desolation in the world, than any tyrant, perhaps, that ever lived. Cæsar had waged war in Spain, Britain, Gaul, Egypt, Germany, Asia, Africa, and Greece. He overcame Pompey at Pharsalia; Ptolemy in Egypt; Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, in Pontus; Scipio and Juba, in Africa; and the sons of Pompey in Spain.”

But to return: the rigour of their laws, relating to worship, dress, &c. has been an ample field for some of the wise sons, to ridicule the fathers of America: but will it not admit of a quere, whether, with all their austerity, preciseness, and enthusiasm or severity of discipline, they had not more honesty, frugality, temperance, true patriotism, and many other virtues, than their posterity can pretend to? Let us endeavour to copy their excellencies, and not expose their foibles, but avoid them; “ and only wish, as dutious sons, our fathers were more wise.” Alas! it is for the want (in degree) of some such wholesome, restraining laws (or some of the spirit) of those renowned fathers, that their degenerate sons are now groaning under the weight of debts which might and ought to have been paid long ere this. I refer particularly to sumptuary laws against extravagant dress, &c. How dishonest, then, is it to be so inattentive to our foreign debts, contracted to insure our freedom, and to enlarge it, and to have sent, and to still send away, that money to our enemy, for toys and feathers, which we owe to our friends for substantial good!

M

It is an observation, not less true than common, that our luxuries would have paid our debts : and it is equally true, that we have imported very little or nothing, but what we might as well have done without, or which might have been produced among ourselves.

In taking leave of our subject, it is with peculiar pleasure that we observe, in the same century, (1680) the obstinately just Penn, with his benevolent society of friends, encountering the difficulties and hazards of a wilderness, to plant that choice, nectareous vine, TOLERATION, whereof he, who "drinks deepest," is the most rational christian, and sober commonwealthsman. This subject, pursued, would lead too far for the limits I have prescribed, although I should give no more than a catalogue of names and dates : but if it were, it must give heart-felt pleasure to every Columbian and Cabotian, as well as to every friend of democracy—and among them,

UNCAS YANKE.

Shawmut, January, 1787.



Mr. Printer,

I Happened to be present at a court of oyer and terminer, lately held at Burlington. The judge's charge to the grand jury was short, but so much to the purpose, that, when I left the court, I took down the substance of it. When the grand jury were going into court to be discharged, curiosity led me to attend. The foreman's address to the judge, in answer to his charge, pleased me as much as the charge itself. I think they ought not to be lost ; for which reason I send them to you for publication. May the same spirit which they breathe, pervade the world !

Judge's address.

Gentlemen of the grand jury,

LOVE thy neighbour as thyself, is the injunction of the all-wise and

benevolent Father of mankind, who, in all his commands, consults the good of his creatures, even in this world ; and so intimately connects the interest of the present and the future, that you secure the latter by duly attending to the duties of the first. Were the observance of this divine precept universal, we should in a great measure regain that paradise on earth, which our first parents lost for us—the millennium would immediately commence. It is not because mankind are fond of their own interest, but because they mistake it, that so much misery exists in the world. Could every individual be convinced, that his own happiness and security were so closely united with the prosperity of his neighbours—of the state in which he lives—in short, of the world at large—that they must fall or rise together, and that neither could long exist in a state of separation—and would act according to his conviction—we should soon cease to hear of deceits, thefts, robberies, and murders. A mistaken self-love, which seeks its own gratification, independently of, and in opposition to, the happiness of others, has filled the world with misery and violence from the beginning to the present day : and the experience of five thousand years has not cured mankind of their madness and folly, nor taught them this solemn truth, that self-love, rightly understood, and social, are the same.

The foreman's answer.

THE grand jury of the county of Burlington, direct me to present their thanks to your honour, for your excellent charge this morning.

With feelings congenial to your own, we have sought into the grievances of the county ; and are happy to find, that a principle of love to each other is so predominant among us, that we have but one bill to offer the court.

Report of a committee of the New York assembly, on the subject of copper coinage, March 5, 1787.

THE committee, who were directed to bring in a bill to regulate the copper coin in this state, being at a loss to determine the extent of the intended regulation—whether it was only to determine the value of the pieces now in circulation, or whether it was meant to extend to a new coinage—beg leave to lay before the house the result of their enquiries on this subject.

They find, that there are various sorts of copper coin circulating within this state; the principal whereof are:—First, a few genuine British half pence, of George the Second, and some of an earlier date, the impressions of which are generally decayed.

Secondly. A number of Irish half-pence, with a bust on the one side, and a harp on the other.

Thirdly. A very great number of pieces in imitation of British half pence, but much lighter, of inferior copper, and badly executed; these are generally called by the name of Birmingham coppers, as it is pretty well known they were made there, and imported in casks under the name of hardware or wrought copper.

Fourthly. There has lately been introduced into circulation, a very considerable number of coppers of the kind that are made in New Jersey. Many of these are below the proper weight of the Jersey coppers, and seem as if designed as a catch-penny for this market.

The following calculations will tend to shew the difference between the real and nominal value of the several kinds of coppers, that are in circulation among us.

The very best red copper in sheets may be bought, by the quantity, at the factories in England, for elevenpence sterling per pound; the expense of importation will be from

20 to 25 per cent.—this will bring the price to about two shillings York currency per pound. But copper in the mals, or old copper, which may be melted down into ingots, and manufactured in the plating-mills, so as to be fit for cutting into blanks, as coppers are called before they are milled, will not stand the purchaser more than twenty-pence per pound.

Forty-eight of the genuine British half-pence, when new, weigh one pound avoirdupois: the genuine Jersey coppers weigh each six penny weight six grains, which gives forty six and two fifths, to the pound avoirdupois. These all pass by consent without discrimination at fourteen to the shilling: Hence the following comparative values:

A lb. of copper may, as above stated, be reckoned at	£. 0 1 8
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A lb. of genuine British half-pence passes with us for	0 3 5
--	-------

The difference is	0 1 9
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Which is a little more than 51 per cent loss.	—
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A lb. of Birmingham coppers passes with us for	0 4 3
--	-------

The difference is	0 2 7
-------------------	-------

Which produces a loss of near 61 per cent.	—
--	---

A lb. of Jersey coppers passes with us for nearly	0 3 4
---	-------

The difference is	0 1 8
-------------------	-------

Which is exactly 50 per cent loss.	—
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If the expense of coinage be deducted from the losses respectively, as above stated, the difference will shew the net loss the state sustains by the influx of the several copper coins that are current among us. What the real expense of coinage may be, your committee have not been able to

ascertain with any degree of accuracy: the persons, who could give the best information on that subject, find it their interest to keep the secret to themselves. It may be presumed, however, that the expense of coinage, on a considerable sum, would not amount to more than 25, or, at the most, to 30 per cent. Taking it at the highest estimation, the net loss, on the three several kinds of coppers, specified in this statement, would be as follows:

On the British half-pence, 36 per cent.

On the Birmingham, 49 per cent.

On the Jersey coppers, 34 per cent.

The profits that will arise to the coiners on the foregoing principles, will be as follow:

On the British half-pence, 57 per cent.

On the Birmingham, 77 per cent.

On the Jersey coppers, 54 per cent.

From this view of the business, we may perceive pretty plainly, there are very great profits arising from this traffic, even if we admit, that the cost, both of copper and coinage, should be considerably higher than the committee have stated them.



Curfory reflexions on newspaper calumny. By a lady.

AMONG the evils of the present hour, there is not one which more loudly demands redress, or which is more difficult to be redressed, than the licentious malignity of the press, the liberty of which is at once the glory and the strength of our constitution.

Beauty, youth, genius—all that can distinguish one human being from another, are the destined mark, the helpless prey, of the literary slanderer.

He counteracts the bounty of the

benignant Creator, and turns the choicest blessings of heaven into curses.

His venal pen, tempted by a gain more shameful than that which pays the midnight robber, sacrifices the peace of families, the honour, the tranquility, nay, sometimes, the lives, of the most virtuous individuals, on the merciless altar of envy.

Yes, indignant reader: you feel the atrocity of his crime: you justly execrate the man, who scatters arrows and death; and says, “Is it not in sport?”

The murderer of reputation merits the severest punishment which human laws, framed for human happiness, can inflict.

He merits to be driven from society, the sweets of which he tinges with the deadliest poison; to be driven from human converse, to herd with the congenial monsters, with the merciless inhabitants of the howling wilderness.

The just object of abhorrence, what punishment does not his crime deserve!

The pangs of poverty, dishonour, exile—death, if you please—I will not plead his cause: death is perhaps too mild an expiation of his offence.

But let us pause a moment—You—What do you not deserve? You, who read his unhallowed works with approbation!

You, who tempt his distress to forge the savage tale?

You, who, unsolicited by hard necessity, his dreadful plea, cruelly wound the fame of your unsuspecting neighbour, to gratify a malignant temper, or the idle curiosity of a moment?

Do you not—unfeeling as you are—by encouraging such detestable publications, wantonly plant yourself the envenomed dagger in the bosom of innocence?

It is in your power alone to restrain the growing evil, to turn the

venomed dart from the worthy
leaff.

Cease to read ; and the evil dies of
itself : cease to purchase ; and the ve-
lacious calumniator will drop his useless
pen.

Think, while the cruel smile yet
glistens on your cheek, that your
broken heart may be the next that is
pierced by the malignant tale.

The amiable friend of your choice
—the sister, endeared to you by the
ties of blood—the blooming
daughter you educated with such
solicitous care—

Yourself—may be the next devoted
victim.

Reflect one moment, and you will
recreate the barbarous pleasure you
have felt, on reading these slanderous
chronicles of falsehood.

You wish to be amused. I par-
don, I commend your wish : but you
may be amused without wounding
the better feelings of your soul.

Believe me, the human mind is cu-
rious, not malignant.

It delights in well-painted pictures
of life and manners, but does not de-
mand, that they shall be drawn in
fidelity.

The lovely form of virtue—of vir-
tue, crowned by prosperity, or nobly
struggling with the tide of adverse
fortune—will amuse, will interest,
will charm, beyond the blackest
pictures, wrought by the baleful hand of
the literary assassin.



*Form of the constitution of the college of
physicians of Philadelphia.*

THE physicians of Philadelphia,
influenced by the conviction of
the many advantages that have arisen
in every country from literary
institutions, have associated them-
selves, under the name and title of the
college of physicians of Philadelphia.

The objects of this college are, to
advance the science of medicine, and

thereby to lessen human misery, by
investigating the diseases and reme-
dies which are peculiar to our coun-
try ; by observing the effects of the
different seasons, climates, and situa-
tions, upon the human body ; by re-
cording the changes, that are produ-
ced in diseases by the progress of
agriculture, arts, population, and
manners ; by searching for medicines
in our woods, waters, and the bowels
of the earth ; by enlarging our ave-
nues to knowledge, from the disco-
veries and publications of foreign
countries ; by appointing stated times
for literary intercourse and communi-
cations, and by cultivating order
and uniformity in the practice of
physic.

For the purpose of obtaining these
objects, the following rules have been
adopted :

1st. The college shall consist of
twelve senior fellows, and of an inde-
finite number of junior fellows and
associates.

2d. The senior and junior fellows
shall reside in the city, or district of
Southwark or Liberties of Philadel-
phia.

3d. The associates shall consist of
such persons of merit, in the professi-
on of medicine, who do not live
within the limits described for fel-
lows, without any regard to diversifi-
ty of nation or religion.

4th. The junior fellows shall con-
sist of such practitioners of physick, as
are of good capacity, of good moral
characters, and decent deportment,
and who are not under twenty-four
years of age.

5th. The senior fellows shall be
chosen from among the juniors, by
the seniors only, within one month
after a vacancy is declared. The ju-
nior fellows and associates shall be
chosen by the joint votes of all the
fellows. Three-fourths of the whole
number of senior fellows, shall con-
cur in the admission of seniors ; and
three-fourths of the fellows shall con-

cur in the admission of juniors and associates.

6th. All laws, regulations, and appointments to offices, shall be made by a majority of the joint votes of all the fellows.

7th. The officers of the college shall consist of a president, vice-president, four censors, a treasurer, and secretary, who shall be chosen annually, from amongst the senior fellows on the first Tuesday in July.

8th. The stated meetings of the college shall be on the first Tuesday in every month. Besides these meetings, the president, or, in his absence or indisposition, the vice president shall have power to call extraordinary meetings, whenever important or unexpected business shall require, of which he shall be the judge. It shall likewise be in the power of any six fellows of the college, who concur in their desires of a meeting, to authorise the president, or, in his absence or indisposition, the vice president to call it.

9th. The business of the censors shall be, to inspect the records and examine the accounts and expenditures of the college, and report thereon. And all communications made to the society, after being read at one of their stated meetings, shall be referred to the censors, and such other members of the college, as shall be nominated for the purpose, to examine and report thereon to the college, who shall determine, by a vote taken by ballot, on the propriety of publishing them in their transactions.

10th. The business of the secretary shall be to keep minutes of all the meetings and transactions of the society, and to record them in a book provided for that purpose; likewise to receive and preserve all books and papers belonging, and letters addressed to the college.

11th. The business of the treasurer shall be to receive all the monies of the college, and to pay them

to the order of the president, or vice-president only, which order shall be the voucher of his expenditure.

12th. Every member of the college shall have a certificate of his election, with the seal of the college affixed thereto, signed by the president and vice-president, and countersigned by the censors and secretary. The style of certificates, and all addresses from the college, shall be as follows: "The president (or vice-president) and college of physicians."

13th. No associate, who comes to reside within the limits mentioned in the second rule, shall be admitted to a fellowship in the college, without being elected in the manner prescribed for the admission of junior fellows. No new member shall be chosen, who has not been proposed at a previous stated meeting.

14th. No law or regulation shall be adopted, that has not been proposed at a previous stated meeting: nor shall any part of the constitution be altered without being proposed for consideration for three months. The president, or vice-president, when he takes the chair, shall have no vote, except in questions where there is an equal division of voices: two-fifths of the fellows shall be a quorum for all business, except the election of members, the expenditure of money, the making of laws, or the altering of the constitution: in the three last cases, a majority of the fellows shall be a quorum.

15th. Every fellow, upon his admission, shall subscribe to the above rules, as a testimony of his consenting to be bound by them. He shall, at the same time, pay into the hands of the treasurer the sum of eight dollars, towards the establishing a fund for the use of the college: he shall likewise pay two dollars annually, for the same purpose.

The following physicians are the present members of the college:

John Redman, Abraham Chovet,

John Jones,	John Morgan,
W. Shippen, jun.	Adam Kuhn,
Benjamin Rush,	G. Clarkson,
Samuel Duffield,	Thomas Parke,
J. Hutchinson,	G. Glentworth.

Junior fellows.

Robert Harris,	John Carson,
Benj. Duffield,	W. W. Smith,
John Foulke,	S. P. Griffiths,
James Hall,	John Morris,
Andrew Ross,	W. Clarkson,
William Currie,	Benjamin Say.
John Lynn,	

All communications, that are included in the objects of the college, specified in the preamble of the constitution, may be addressed to the secretary, (post paid, when they are sent by that conveyance) or to any other fellow of the college.

It is to be hoped, the friends of medical science in every part of the united states, will concur in promoting, by useful communications, the important designs of this institution.

Published by order of the college,
JAMES HUTCHINSON, sec.
 The present officers of the college are,

President.

John Redman,

Vice-president.

John Jones.

Censors.

William Shippen, jun.

Benjamin Rush,

John Morgan,

Adam Kuhn.

Treasurer.

Gerardus Clarkson.

Secretary.

James Hutchinson.

•••••

SIR,

IT is by order of the society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons, that I do myself the pleasure to enclose you the address lately framed by them to the friends of humanity, which being desirous of see-

ing generally diffused, they have directed me to request you will, for that purpose, insert in your Museum—By so doing, you will oblige the society, and your very humble servant,

J. SWANWICK,
Secretary to the society.

Mr. M. Carey.

To the friends of humanity.

THE society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons, beg leave to solicit the attention of the public, to the objects of their institution.

From the weakness and imperfection of all governments, there must necessarily exist, in every community, certain portions of distress, which lie beyond the reach of law to prevent or relieve. To supply this deficiency in Philadelphia, this society was instituted: and if a judgment be formed of its future usefulness, from the success that hath attended its first efforts, there is reason to believe, it will prove a blessing to our city, not only as the means of relieving distress, but likewise of preventing vice.

The funds of the society, at present, are confined to an annual subscription of ten shillings from each of its members, and a ground rent, of fourteen pounds, the donation of the hon. John Dickinson, esq. These sums are by no means equal to the numerous objects and extensive wishes of the society. They have, therefore, taken this method of soliciting further benefactions from their fellow citizens. To a people professing christianity, it will be sufficient only to mention, that acts of charity to the miserable tenants of prisons, are upon record among the first of christian duties. From the ladies therefore, whom heaven has blessed with affluence, and the still greater gift of sympathy—from gentlemen, who acknowledge the obligations to humanity—from the relation of our species to each other, in a common

and universal Father—and from the followers of the compassionate Saviour of mankind, of every rank and description—the society thus humbly solicit an addition to their funds.

Donations for the charitable and humane purposes of the society, will be received by Mr. Thomas Rodgers, in Elbow-lane.

Signed by order of the society,
WILLIAM WHITE, president.
Philadelphia, August 16, 1787.

On the doctrine of chance: containing remarks on Ethan Allen's Oracles of Reason—supposed to have been written by the rev. Mr. Dwight, author of the Conquest of Canaan.

Mr. Printer,

THE world has been long entertained by debates on the subject of chance. Most men, pursuing the plain dictates of common sense, have considered chance as referring solely to human apprehension; and have confidently averred, that events are contingent only because we discern not the connexion between them and the causes by which they are produced. In the eye of the Creator, they have supposed the idea of chance a nihility: and the connexion, between cause and effect, they have conceived to be indispensably necessary, and uniformly actual, in all things. The Epicurean or atomic philosophers, so called, I suppose, from the peculiar size of their understanding, have taught the doctrine of chance in a very different manner. These gentlemen have asserted, that the mighty frame, which we call creation, resulted from mere casualty, from the fortuitous concurrence of these atoms, which some men have mistakenly supposed to communicate their own name to this system of philosophy. Thus, while one class of men conceived of chance as one of those nothings,

which, in large herds, people the sick brain of a dreaming philosopher—another class have regarded her ladyship with such high respect as to think her the most proper person to fill the throne of the universe which they have conceived to be vacant of any other incumbent.

Perhaps in this case, as in many others, the direct road to truth lies between these very diverse opinions. I cannot but flatter myself, Mr. Printer, that in a train of very learned and laborious reflexions on this subject, I have discovered by these classes of disputants to have fallen into errors of an almost equal magnitude. I flatter myself, at least, that I have alighted upon a happy mode of reconciling these contending parties, and persuading them to greater degrees of mutual civility.

The doctrine of chance has never appeared to me of more significance than mankind have usually acknowledged. Yet I cannot persuade myself to attribute to it the universal importance taught by the Epicureans. For some time, indeed, I doubted its reality: as, I suppose, many of the readers of this essay have hitherto done. But several very nice and interesting reasons have convinced me, and will, I presume, convince them, that such doubts have no foundation.

Among these reasons, Mr. Printer, a very forcible one is found in the original existence of that species of worms, usually called earth-worms or angle-worms. These worms, it is now known, by ocular demonstration, and by testimonies innumerable, (I need not tell you of how high authority) derive their origin immediately from chance. In proof of this fact, it is made manifest, by the following convincing evidence, that multitudes of them descend in the various showers of rain, which fall, from time to time, during the summer season. They have been found, Mr. Printer,

not only in tubs and hogheads, set for the purpose of catching rain, under the eaves of houses, but also in large brass kettles, standing in the open air ; where it was alike impossible, that they should either have descended from any roof, or have crawled over the smooth sides of the vessel. But, mr. Printer, the merest child in philosophy, cannot need to be told, that so heavy a thing as an angle-worm, or as the egg of an angle-worm, could never be carried by any species of evaporation, into the region of the clouds ; nor, if once raised to that region, could the egg, by any possible natural means, be hatched in so cold a situation ; nor, if once hatched, could the worm, by any possible natural means, be fed and nourished to that full size, in which we first see it lodged in the brass kettle. Of course, it was impossible that these worms could have been produced in the common method of creation : they were therefore by unavoidable consequence, the productions of chance.

I hope, mr. Printer, the very sceptics will not doubt the justness of this reasoning, or the validity of this testimony, since both are designed to support their cause ; and that has been the only reason, so far as I can discern, why they ever admitted either reasoning or testimony.

Another proof of the reality, and activity of chance, is visible in the production of toads. These animals, in infinite multitudes, frequently overspread large tracts of ground, immediately after a thunder shower. From whence are they derived ? before the shower, not one could be found. A negro boy who stands with an assortment of ribands on his arm, upon a mercer's window shutter, is not stupid enough to suppose, they could so suddenly grow out of the solid earth. They must, therefore, have been rained from the regions of angle-worms ; and by a similar process of reasoning,

are discovered to be the products of chance.

Another equally surprising, and convincing proof of this doctrine, exists in the animal justly and emphatically called, by the farmers of this country, a chance-colt, or sometimes *come-by-chance*. The origin of this animal, as far as can be traced, is given to us in this manner. In the spring, the farmers who live in the neighbourhood of forests, send their horses abroad to forage for themselves, during the warmest season. In the succeeding spring, the female usually presents her matter with a foal, which is called by the above appellation ; to denote that there is no possible cause, to which their origin can be ascribed, but chance. *Homer* and *Virgil*, indeed, and other doting philosophers, among their metrical disciples, have endeavoured to account for the origin of these animals, by palming them upon the zephyrs, river-gods, and other deities, of like amorous memory. But in these days of light, and sound philosophy, I trust no person in his sober senses, will willingly disgrace so useful an animal as an horse, by ascribing to him so visionary and heathenish an original. Chance (according to the common apprehension) is undoubtedly the source from whence this animal is derived. It may be proper to remark, that a *come-by-chance* is distinguished from other colts by a peculiar length and shabbiness of hair, a general rusticity of appearance, a freakishness of disposition, a hobbling, unequal step, and a general coltishness of character, not found in horses, which are bred in the orderly line of civilization.

As these several classes of animals are thus undoubtedly, in many instances at least, the genuine effects of mere chance, we may learn from them the characteristics of every species of chance product. From a survey of them, it is evident, that the

shabbiness, awkwardness, hobbling, and coltishness, of the come-by-chance—the deformity, ill nature, and venom of the toad—with the reptility and insignificance of the angle worm—are the real characteristics of the children of chance.

From this laborious and happy collation of circumstances, mr. Printer, I am enabled to exhibit to the world a more illustrious and indubitable proof of the doctrine of chance, than was ever produced even by an atomic philosopher. To confess the truth to you, mr. Printer, it has wrought more conviction, in my own mind, than all the other articles united. I have lately seen a thing called the *Oracles of Reason*, which is completely invested with all the above characteristics of the products of chance. The reptility of the angle worm is conspicuous, in the contemptible plagiarism of every hackneyed, worn-out, half-rotten dogma of the English deistical writers, and in the meanness of denying the sources from whence they were so visibly borrowed: and the insignificance of that animal, in a long train of dreaming argumentation, in which nothing is premised and nothing concluded. The deformity, the venom, and the ill nature of the toad, are alike evident, in the sputterings universally diffused through the whole mass of it, against reason, truth, virtue, providence, and the creator. Equally conspicuous is the shabbiness, the awkwardness, the hobbling, and the coltishness of the *come-by-chance*, in the rusticity of the expressions, the jolting of the stile, the head-and-tail pomposity of the dogmatism, and general nagginess of character, af-

fectedly puffed from the beginning to the end. Indeed every thing belonging to this *being* or *event*, for I am at a loss by which title to call it, wears the same appearance of casualty. To this source it must undoubtedly be ascribed, that we find the word “reason,” constituting a part of its title. It is visible, that this part of the title has less connexion with the book, than the Dutchman’s picture had with the name which he inscribed under it. From that name, the bird, though in no other respect similar, was supposed to be really intended for a cock. But I presume, no person, in his right senses, ever supposed, notwithstanding the title, that this thing was intended as an exhibition of reason.

Had it not been for these indisputable marks of casualty, it might, perhaps, have been naturally enough concluded, that the other part of the title was the result of design. We might naturally enough have supposed, that the name “oracles” was annexed to it, from its resemblance to the ancient heathen oracles; the peculiar characteristics of which were, to sound with much pomposity, and to mean nothing.

Thus, mr. Printer, have I furnished you and your readers with a train of proofs, which, I presume, will be acknowledged indisputable, of the reality and agency of chance. Whether the last of them, which I esteem the most important and conclusive, was rained into existence, like the angle-worm, and the toad, or was generated, with the come-by-chance, in the wilds of Vermont, I shall leave to the ingenious reader to determine.

Z.

S E L E C T P O E T R Y.

The prayer of an American citizen.

BY MATHEW CAREY.

A LMIGHTY FATHER! ope thine ear!
 Crown with success my earnest pray'r!
EFFICIENT GOV'RNMENT may we see }
 Establish'd here, this land to free
 From threat'ning wars and anarchy!
MAY ADVERSE PARTIES CEASE TO WAGE
CONTENTION WITH SO DIRE A RAGE!
 Here, henceforth, may no strife arise,
 But who'll self-int'rest most despise!
 May all our judges humane be,
 From party, legislators free!
 May just and equal laws be form'd!
 May freedom's shrine be never storm'd!
 May **PRINTING PRESSES** still abound,
 To spread blest science all around!
 May lux'ry, noxious pest, expire!
 May temp'rance, honour, truth conspire
 To raise a hardy, virtuous race!
 Be this the reign of endless peace!
 May mis'ry—want—desert the land!
 May full employment at command
 Await mechanics when they please,
 As well as those who plough the seas!
 May pious pastors ever keep
 A watchful eye on all their sheep,
 Teach them to shun the roads that lead
 Unto the gloomy frightful shade;
 To gain the paths that lead to heav'n,
 Where "sure, though late, rewards" are giv'n:
 All groveling, low pursuits condemn,
 The torrent of the passions stem;
 Forbear to quarrel with each other,
 And live as brother should with brother.
 May this free country evermore
 Prove to th' oppress'd a friendly shore:
 An **ASYLUM** from **TYRANNY**,
 And **DIRE RELIGIOUS BIGOTRY**:
 May they from Hants * to Georgia find
 A welcome hearty, warm and kind!
 May servitude abolish'd be,
 As well as negro-slavery,
 To make *one* **LAND OF LIBERTY** }

NOTE.

* New Hampshire;

On paper.—Ascribed to dr. Franklin.

SOME wit of old—such wits of old there were—
Whose hints shew'd meaning, whose allusions care,
By one grave stroke to mark all human kind,
Call'd clear blank paper ev'ry infant mind;
When still, as op'ning sense her dictates wrote,
Fair virtue put a seal, or vice a blot.

The thought was nappy, pertinent, and true :
Methinks a genius might the plan pursue.
I (can you pardon my presumption?) I—
No w t—no genius, yet for once will try.

Various the papers various wants produce,
The wants of fashion, elegance, and use.
Men are as various; and, if right I scan,
Each sort of *paper* represents some *man*.

Pray note the fop—half powder and half lace—
Nice, as a band-box were his dwelling place :
He's the *gilt paper*, which apart you store,
And lock from vulgar hands in the 'scrutoir.

Mechanics, farmers, servants, and so forth,
Are *copy paper*, of inferior worth;
Less priz'd, more useful, for your desk decreed,
Free to all pens, and prompt at ev'ry need.

The wretch, whom av'rice bids to pinch and spare,
Starve, cheat and pilfer, to enrich an heir,
Is coarse *brown paper*, such as pedlars choose,
To wrap up wares, which better men will use.

Take next the miser's contrast, who destroys
Health, fame, and fortune, in a round of joys :
Will any paper match him? Yes, throughout,
He's a true *sinking paper*, past all doubt.

The retail politician's anxious thought
Deems *this* side always right, and *that* stark naught :
He foams with censure : with applause he raves—
A dupe to rumours, and a tool of knaves.
He'll want no type his weakness to proclaim,
While such a thing as *fool's cap* has a name.

The hasty gentleman, whose blood runs high,
Who picks a quarrel, if you step awry,
Who can't a jest, or hint, or look endure :
What is he? what? *touch paper*, to be sure.

What are our poets, take them as they fall,
Good, bad, rich, poor, much read, not read at all?
Them and their works in the same class you'll find,
They are the mere *waste paper* of mankind.

Observe the maiden, innocently sweet,
She's fair *white paper*, an unfully'd sheet;
On which the happy man, whom fate ordains,
May write his *name*, and take her for his pains.

One instance more, and only one, I'll bring,
'Tis the *great man* who scorns a little thing,

Whose thoughts, whose deeds, whose maxims are his own,
Form'd on the feelings of his heart alone :
True genuine *royal paper* is his breast,
Of all the kinds most precious, purest, best.



The Indian student: or the force of nature.—By P. Freneau.

FROM Susquehanna's utmost springs,
Where savage tribes pursue their game,
His blanket tied with yellow strings,
A shepherd of the forest came.

From long debate the council rose,
And viewing Shalum's tricks with joy.
To Harvard-hall *, o'er wastes of snows,
They sent the tawny-colour'd boy.

Awhile he wrote ; awhile he read ;
Awhile he learn'd their grammar-rules :
An Indian savage, so well bred,
Great credit promis'd to the schools.

Some thought he would in law excel :
Some said, in physic he would shine,
And one, who knew him passing well,
Beheld in him a sound divine.

But those of more discerning eye,
E'en then could other prospects shew ;
And saw him lay his Virgil by,
To wander with his dearer bow.

The tedious hour of study spent,
The heavy-moulded lecture done,
He to the woods a hunting went :
But sigh'd to see the setting sun.

The shady bank, the purling stream,
The woody wild his heart possess'd :
The dewy lawn his morning dream
In fancy's finest colours dress'd.

“ And why,” he cried, “ did I forsake
“ My native wood for gloomy walls ?
“ The silver stream, the limpid lake,
“ For musty books and college halls ?

NOTE.

* *Harvard college at Cambridge.*

- " A little could my wants supply :
 " Can wealth and honour give me more ?
 " Or will the sylvan god deny
 " The humble treat he gave before ?

 " Where nature's ancient forests grow,
 " And mingled laurel never fades,
 " My heart is fix'd : and I must go
 " To die among my native shades."

He spoke : and to the western springs,
 (His gown discharg'd—his money spent—
 His blanket tied with yellow strings)
 The shepherd of the forest went.

Returning to the rural reign,
 The Indians welcom'd him with joy :
 The council took him home again,
 And blest the tawny-colour'd boy.



The dying Indian.

THE dart of Izdabel prevails ! 'twas dipt
 In double poison. I shall soon arrive
 At the blest island, where no tigers spring
 On heedless hunters ; where ananas bloom
 Thrice in each moon ; where rivers smoothly glide,
 Nor thund'ring torrents whirl the light canoe
 Down to the sea ; where my forefathers feast
 Daily on hearts of Spaniards ! O my son,
 I feel the venom busy in my breast :
 Approach, and bring my crown, deck'd with the teeth
 Of that bold christian, who first dar'd deflour
 The virgins of the sun—and, dire to tell !
 Robb'd Vitzipultzi's statue of its gems !
 I mark'd the spot, where they interr'd this traitor,
 And once, at midnight, stole I to his tomb,
 And tore his carcase from the earth, and left it
 A prey to pois'nous flies. Preserve this crown
 With sacred secrecy. If e'er return
 Thy much-lov'd mother from the desert woods,
 Where, as I hunted late, I hapless lost her,
 Cherish her age. Tell her I ne'er have worshipp'd
 With those that eat their God. And when disease
 Preys on her languid limbs, then kindly stab her
 With thine own hands ; nor suffer her to linger,
 Like christian cowards, in a life of pain.
 I go !—great Copac beckons me !—farewel !

in CAROLUM NISBET, sacrosanctæ theologiæ doctorem, ex gravi morbo convalescentem,

QUALIS in sylvis dubius viator
 Semitas spectat varias—pedes quo
 Ventat incertus—pavidique insit—
 Omnia lustrans,
 Haud secus cives oculis inquirunt,
 Nesciunt—trilles animo et volutant—
 Quem vocent doctum teneræ excolendæ
 Arte juventæ.
 Venit et tandem—nitidem diem nunc
 Compita et sylvæ revocate læta—
 NISBET—O vivas, Deus atque fati
 Proroget horam!
 Heu! piget tempus memorare quo te
 Languidum, infirmum, patriæ penates
 Vidimus mœstum et cupere ut redires
 Per mare sævum,
 Coskrides frustra, medicæ peritus
 Artus, explorans aditus salutis
 Proximos tentat; via sed nec ulla
 Dirigit artem,
 Tristis it fama varias per oras,
 Quanta si sævus rueret per altas
 Hostis, armatusque domos cruentus
 Sterneret omnes.
 Nil valent artes medici periti;
 Nil valent herbæ penitus potentes—
 Nunc requisitæ—solutæque multis
 Ferre salutem.
 Sed Deus præsens inopi levamen
 Præstitit; clemens rapuitque fatis
 Mortis: et vivit monumentum amoris
 Numinis in nos.



On a young child smiling in its sleep.

MAY gazing angels ever keep
 Strict guard around thy bed;
 And o'er those eyes, now clos'd in sleep,
 Their shadowing pinions spread!

Sweet innocent, thy pleasing dreams
 With weary'd Israel's vie—
 Rivers of milk, and honey streams—
 The land of promise nigh.

But oh! when reason's light shall shine,
 And beauty's bud shall blow,
 Guide to thy steps, may faith divine
 The real Canaan shew.

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THE
AMERICAN MUSEUM,
OR
REPOSITORY
OF ANCIENT AND MODERN
FUGITIVE PIECES, &c.

PROSE AND POETICAL.

For NOVEMBER, 1787.



..... " *With sweetest flow'rs enrich'd,*
" *From various gardens cull'd with care.*"

* * * * *

..... " *Collecta revirescent.*"



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M.DCC.LXXXVII.



T H E

A M E R I C A N M U S E U M,

For N O V E M B E R, 1787

*An oration delivered at Petersburg,
Virginia, on the 4th of July, 1787,
in commemoration of the independence
of the united States of America.*

WE are here convened to welcome in the annual jubilee of our freedom:—Hail! glorious returning era!—Fairest in the annals of creation:—Birth-day of a nation—a world! It was on this ever memorable epoch that liberty and independence triumphed over tyrannic oppression and slavery, and, with our choicest blood, laid the foundation of a glorious temple of liberty, in the spacious plains of America.

Indulge me, my friends, a moment, and let the alluring charms of the idea apologize for the presumption, if I take you by the hand and lead you up to this sacred fane, and here attempt to display to your attentive minds, the various scenes which the celestial hand of fate has engraved on its consecrated walls.

Happy! thrice happy should we feel, if, without the painful sensations consequent upon a retrospect of sufferings and dangers undergone, calamities still impending, or the thousand ills we as a nation feel—we could now alone forestall those chosen blessings, there treasured up to gladden some future day: yet duty,

gratitude, and every sentiment of the soul, first demand the tributary tear to be freely consecrated on freedom's holy altar, to the illustrious manes of our slain brethren, who nobly struggled in the glorious cause of freedom, and struggling fell! yielding up their lives the generous and voluntary sacrifice to liberty and their country! But 'tis enough—

“The patriot's copious ears are shed—

“A sacred tribute that embalms the dead.”

Hail! ye illustrious shades of martyred heroes, that now hover round us. Behold our tears; and deign to smile on the only tribute we can pay; thus appeased, become the guardian angels of our peaceful blessings, and let succeeding heroes catch your falling mantles.

Having thus, in the elevation of our souls, welcomed in the joyful day of our emancipation, and paid the justly deserved tribute to the immortal memory of that virtue that triumphed over death, and at the expence of terrestrial existence, set the cope-stone on freedom's temple—let us now pause a moment, and leave to the unerring page of history to record, and to the sons of genius to celebrate, the matchless deeds achieved by the man who led our chosen band

of heroes through all the dubious scenes of war, till, victoriously triumphant, they opened the womb of fate, and gave birth to a nation—a world.

The consequences of that event now demand our most serious attention. “That it is yet to be determined whether that liberty and independence purchased at such immense danger and expence, will prove a blessing or a curse,” was a remarkable expression in that farewell legacy, left us by the illustrious father and protector of his country. Perhaps that favourite of heaven, at that moment, felt his benevolent mind expanding with something more than human: for certain it is, eleven years have rolled away since the declaration of our independence, and four since its final ratification by an honourable peace: yet Americans are not the happy people that might be expected. A general decay of public and private virtue—an almost total derangement of national system—a want of confidence in government, which ever produces violations of faith and honour—and a want of energy there—added to a rapid increase of luxury and dissipation—a strong passion for foreign frippery and foreign vices—a general neglect of education and religion, are principal among the long catalogue of evils, that have verged our country on to a crisis I now tremble to think of. Destitute of national virtues on the one hand, and encouraging national vices on the other, ruin alone can be expected; for even Moses might write: Solon, Solomon, Minos, or Lycurgus dictate the best constitution and most perfect code under heaven—yet in the hands of [the] faithless and dissipated, they would only become a sanction for perfidious villainy, and the very means to hasten destruction: for such is the deplorable state of the human mind, that when once it suffers those restraints, which a sense

of moral duty and obligation creates, to be removed, and gives a loose to the enjoyment of unwarrantable desires, the great barrier of integrity and honour is easily thrown down, and it launches forth and is swallowed up in the boundless ocean of licentiousness and corruption. Whenever democratical states degenerate from those noble republican virtues which constitute the chief excellency, spring, and even basis of their government, and instead of industry, frugality, and œconomy, encourage luxury, dissipation, and extravagance, we may justly conclude that ruin is near at hand. To illustrate this, the faithful page of history furnishes a variety of striking examples.

Shall I now call up the venerable shade of the Athenian orator, to thunder in your ears the downfall of his country; or Cato’s mournful ghost, to tell the affecting tale of the catastrophe of Roman liberty? Had Greece profited by the sad example of Assyrian and Persian luxury and effeminacy, she might still have gloriied in her strength, boasted her refinements, and held the rest of the world as barbarians; had Rome profited by the additional and more striking example of Greece, she might still have reigned mistress of the world without a rival. But alas those celebrated and once all-powerful states, are no more! When fraud, luxury, and dissipation, were once introduced and encouraged, religion slighted and neglected, public justice winged her flight to heaven, leaving faith and honour to be trampled under foot, or seek an asylum in a morgenial soil; while ruin and desolation stalked forth triumphant.

But it is not my intention now to trace the rise, progress, or catastrophe of former states. Every intelligent and informed mind has been acquainted with their fate. The great question now to be considered is, shall we with these instances

human grandeur and glory sinking under depravity and corruption, before our eyes, rush headlong to destruction?

Never was there a fairer opportunity for a nation to become great and happy than America possessed at the conclusion of the late war. She then found herself an infant nation, united in sentiments, customs, and language, yet spread over a vast continent, comprehending all the various climes from the torrid to the frozen zone, embosoming boundless forests, extensive fertile plains, luxuriant vales, golden mountains, whose lofty summits transcend the clouds, wide spread lakes, and a thousand extensive intersecting rivers, abounding with all the luxuriant dainties of the watry element: in a word, possessing every necessary that can render life desirable and happy, with amplest scope for mutual intercourse and exchange: While on the one hand rolled the wide Atlantic, a powerful barrier against the intrigues, the ambition, the avarice of the European world: On the other hand, the vast Pacific, that also might secure us from the corruption and luxuriant effeminacy of the Asiatic. In addition to these natural advantages, we acquired and possessed those of a nobler kind and more estimable value, than any other; those darling dear-bought privileges—the natural and indefeasible right of forming our own systems or constitutions of government, upon the most benevolent, unequivocal principles of reciprocity and freedom, and appointing whom we pleased to the offices of legislation—while each individual, in the enjoyment of equal and perfect freedom, might contentedly sit down under the friendly shade of his own orchard, and have none to molest or make him afraid.

Happy had it been for America, had she here been contented in the peaceful enjoyment of these blessed privileges and advantages, in the sa-

lubrious breathings of our native air, in the peaceful walks of our own fertile soil, and thus circumscribed her ideas and ambition to agriculture, frugality, æconomy, the arts and manufactures at home. Had this been our disposition, we should not now groan under the load of enormous taxes—we should not now individually feel the oppression of immense private debts due in foreign countries, without the means of discharging them—we should not now behold one part of our country weltering in blood and groaning under lawless sedition and rebellion, while anarchy and confusion pervade another part; nor should we now have had occasion to summon from the peaceful walks of domestic ease and retirement, the venerable sages of our country, to deliberate on the means of again rescuing us from the jaws of ruin. Yet melancholy as the tale may appear, such is our present unhappy situation. That fatal rage for a destructive foreign trade, to which we were totally inadequate; but which at the conclusion of the late war pervaded every part of the continent, and has so unsuccessfully been carried on ever since, may be reckoned the principal source from whence all these evils sprang. Foreign trade is in its very nature subversive of the spirit of pure liberty and independence, as it destroys that simplicity of manners, native manliness of soul, and equality of station, which is the spring and peculiar excellence of a free government: Yet, that we have been engaged in has done even more; the balance being totally against us, it has impoverished and drained us of what is justly deemed the great medium of trade, and the sinews of government. I doubt not but that the policy of our inveterate enemies has laid these snares for us, which have given them greater cause now to triumph over us, than they ever gained in an eight

years sanguinary struggle. To confirm this opinion, let us a moment attend to a state of incontrovertible facts: No sooner were we happily established in our peace, liberty, and independence, than appeared our inveterate foes,

“Who smooth their locks, and
“flatter whilst they hate,”

displaying the multitude and variety of merchandize, and inviting us to partake. We too easily consented—swallowed the delusive bait—a general unlimited credit was given—while every part of the continent abounded with inundations of their goods, not of the substantial and useful kind, but chiefly such as would gratify the vanity or pamper the luxury of the inhabitants—and here their policy appeared—no sooner were we involved in debts, than we were restricted in the means of discharging them, and no step left untried to clog and embarrass us—by which means our money was effectually drawn away, and multitudes of our honest industrious countrymen involved in a state of bankruptcy; upon whose ruin an army of foreign

factors have arisen, who have monopolized our trade, and fattened upon our spoils: British influence has prevailed—jealousies and dissensions among the states fomented and encouraged—and the flames of civil war kindled up in some, while calamities seem to overspread others.

In this situation, it is time for us to awake! It may not yet be too late to practise virtue and retrieve our errors; nor can it be deemed less than the kind interposition of that benevolent power who over-rules the affairs of nations, that we have now convened an extraordinary national council for the sole purpose of deliberating on the means of our safety and happiness; on their wise determinations, and our acquiescence, I may venture to predict that the fate of America depends. Let, then, my friends, the ardent love of our country animate all our actions, and while we quaff the flowing bowl or drink the sparkling glass, let us not forget that **TO BE FREE WE MUST BE VIRTUOUS.**

Peterburgh.



Objections to the new constitution.

To the citizens of Philadelphia.

*Friends, countrymen, brethren, and
fellow-citizens,*

THE proposed plan of continental government is now fully known to you. You have read it, I trust, with the attention it deserves—You have heard the objections that have been made to it—You have heard the answers to these objections.

If you have attended to the whole with candour and unbiassed minds, as becomes men that are possessed and deserving of freedom, you must have been alarmed at the result of your observations. Notwithstanding the

Answers to the objections to the new constitution.

From the Independent Gazetteer.

FRIEND OSWALD,

SEEING in thy paper of yesterday, twenty-three objections to the new plan of federal government I shall endeavour to answer them distinctly, and concisely. That this may be done with candour, as well as perspicuity, I request thee to reprint them as they are stated by “an officer of the late continental army,” and to place my answers in the same order.

I shall pass over every thing that is not in point, and leave the strictures on friend W——— to those

glendor of names which has attended the publication of the new constitution—notwithstanding the sophistry and vain reasonings that have been urged to support its principles—alas! you must at least have concluded that great men are not always infallible, and that patriotism itself may be led into essential errors.

The objections that have been made to the new constitution, are these :

1. It is not merely (as it ought to be) a confederation of states, but a government of individuals.

2. The powers of congress extend to the lives, the liberties, and the property of every citizen.

3. The sovereignty of the different states is, *ipso facto*, destroyed in its most essential parts.

4. What remains of it will only tend to create violent dissensions between the state governments and the congress, and terminate in the ruin of the one or the other,

who are acquainted with him : I will only observe that “ his lofty carriage,” is very likely to be the effect of habit ; for I know by experience that a man who wears spectacles, must keep his head erect to see through them with ease, and to prevent them from falling off his nose.

Answer 1. It is more a government of the people, than the present congress ever was ; because the members of congress have been hitherto chosen by the legislatures of the several states. The proposed representatives are to be chosen “ by the people.” If therefore it be not a confederation of the states, it is a popular compact, something more in favour of liberty. Art. 1. Sect. 2.

2. Is there a government on earth, where the life, liberty, and property of a citizen, may not be forfeited by a violation of the laws of God and man ? It is only when justified by such crimes, that the new government has such power ; and all crimes (except in cases of impeachment) are expressly to be tried by jury, in the state where they may be committed.

Art. 3. Sect. 2.

3. Can the sovereignty of each state in all its parts exist, if there be a sovereignty over the whole ? Is it not nonsense in terms, to suppose an united government of any kind, over thirteen co-existent sovereignties ? “ It is obviously impracticable in the “ federal government of these states, “ to secure all the rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet “ provide for the interest and safety “ of all.” President’s letter.

4. No such dissention can happen, unless some state oppose the interests of the whole collectively ; and it is to overcome such opposition by a majority of twelve to one, “ to insure domestic tranquility, to pro-

5. The consequence must therefore be, either that the union of the states will be destroyed by a violent struggle, or that their sovereignty will be swallowed up by silent encroachments into a universal aristocracy; because it is clear, that if two different sovereign powers have a co-equal command over the purses of the citizens, they will struggle for the spoils, and the weakest will be in the end obliged to yield to the efforts of the strongest.

6. Congress being possessed of these immense powers, the liberties of the states and of the people are not secured by a bill or declaration of rights.

7. The sovereignty of the states is not expressly reserved: the form only, and not the substance of their government, is guaranteed to them by express words.

“vide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty,” that the union is now, and has ever been thought indispensable. (Introduction to the new plan.)

5. The preceding objection being obviated, this consequence falls to the ground. It may be observed, however, that the revenue to be raised by congress, is not likely to interfere with the taxes of any state. Commerce is the source to which they will naturally apply, because that is one great and uniform object, and they cannot attend to detail. The burden, too, will in this way be scarcely felt by the people. All foreigners, who may sell merchandize at a loss (and that often has been, and often will be the case in an extensive degree) will pay the impost in addition to that loss: and the duties on articles that may be sold at a profit, will be eventually paid by the consumers. Thus the taxes will be insensibly included in the price, and every man will have the power of refusal, without consuming the taxed luxuries.

6. Notwithstanding all that has been written against it, I must recur to friend Wilson's definition on the subject. A state government is designed for all cases whatsoever, consequently what is not reserved, is tacitly given. A federal government is expressly only for federal purposes, and its power is consequently bounded by the terms of the compact. In the first case, a bill of rights is indispensable; in the second it would be at best useless, and if one right were to be omitted, it might injuriously grant by implication, what was intended to be reserved.

7. When man emerged from the state of nature, he surely did not reserve the natural right of being the judge of his wrongs, and the executor of the punishments he might think they deserved. A renunciation

of such rights, is the price he paid for the blessings of good government; and for the same reason, state sovereignty (as I have before observed) is as incompatible with the federal union, as the natural right of human vengeance is, with the peace of society.

“ The united states shall guarantee to every state, a republican form of government.” That is, they shall guarantee it against monarchical or aristocratical encroachments. Congress can go no further, for the states would justly think themselves insulted, if they should presume to interfere in other alterations which may be individually thought more consistent with the good of the people. A.4. S.4.

8. Trial by jury, that sacred bulwark of liberty, is abolished in civil cases: and mr. Wilson, one of the convention, has told you, that, not being able to agree as to the form of establishing this point, they have left you deprived of the substance. Here are his words—“ The subject was involved in difficulties. The convention found the task too difficult for them, and left the business as it stands.”

8. Trial by jury has been seen to be expressly preserved in criminal cases. In civil cases, the federal court is like a court of chancery, except that it has original jurisdiction only in state affairs; in all other matters it has “ appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as congress shall make.” Art. 3. Sect. 2. Nobody ever complained that trials in chancery were not by jury. A court of chancery “ may issue injunctions in various stages of a cause, saith Blackstone, and stay oppressive judgment.” Yet courts of chancery are every where extolled as the most equitable; the federal court has not such an extent of power, and what it has, is to be always under the exceptions and regulations of the united states in congress.

Friend Wilson has well observed that it was impossible to make one imitation of thirteen different models, and the matter seems now to stand, as well as human wisdom can permit.

9. The liberty of the press is not secured, and the powers of congress are fully adequate to its destruction, as they are to have the trial of libels, or pretended libels against the united
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9. The liberty of the press in each state, can only be in danger from the laws of that state, and it is every where well secured. Besides, as the new congress can only have the desired
B

states, and may, by a cursed abominable stamp act, (as the Bowdoin administration has done in Massachusetts) preclude you effectually from all means of information. Mr. Wilson has given you no answer to these arguments.

10. Congress have the power of keeping up a standing army in time of peace, and Mr. Wilson has told you that it was necessary.

11. The legislative and executive powers are not kept separate, as every one of the American constitutions declare they ought to be; but they are mixed in a manner entirely novel and unknown, even to the constitution of Great Britain; because,

12. In England, the king only

powers given, it was needless to say any thing about liberty of the press, liberty of conscience, or any other liberty that a freeman ought never to be deprived of. It is remarkable in this instance, that among all the cases to which the federal jurisdiction is to extend (art. 3) not a word is said of "libels or pretended libels." Indeed in this extensive continent, and among this enlightened people, no government whatever could controul the press: For after all that is said about "balance of power," there is one power which no tyranny on earth could subdue, if once roused by this great and general grievance, that is the people. This respectable power has preserved the press in Great Britain in spite of government; and none but a madman could ever think of controuling it in America.

10. The power here referred to is this, "to raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years."—Art. 1. sect. 8. Thus the representatives of the people have it in their power to disband this army every two years, by refusing supplies. Does not every American feel that no standing army in the power of congress to raise, could support despotism over this immense continent, where almost every citizen is a soldier? if such an apprehension came, in my opinion, within the bounds of possibility, it would not indeed become my principles to oppose this objection.

11. The first article of the constitution defines the legislative, the second, the executive, and the third the judicial powers; this does not seem like mixing them. It would be strange indeed if a professed democratist should object, that the president's power is made subject to "the advice and consent of two thirds of the senate." Art. 2. sect. 2.

12. Whoever will read the 7th

as a nominal negative over the proceedings of the legislature, which he has never dared to exercise since the days of king William, whereas, by the new constitution, both the president-general and the senate, two executive branches of government, have that negative, and are intended to support each other in the exercise of it.

13. The representation of the lower house is too small, consisting only of 65 members.

14. That of the senate is so small, that it renders its extensive powers extremely dangerous : it is to consist only of 26 members, two-thirds of whom must concur to conclude any treaty or alliance with foreign powers : Now, we will suppose that five of them are absent, sick, dead, or unable to attend, twenty one will remain, and eight of these (one third and one over) may prevent the conclusion of any treaty, even the most favourable to America. Here will be a fine field for the intrigues, and even the bribery and corruption of European powers.

15. The most important branches of the executive department are to be put into the hands of a single magistrate, who will be in fact an elective king. The military, the land and naval forces, are to be entirely at his disposal ; and therefore,

section of the 4th article, will see that the president has only a conditional negative, which is effectual or not as two-thirds of the senate and two-thirds of the representatives may on consideration determine. If the "two executive branches" (as they are here called) should agree in the negative, it would not be novel, as to the power of the senate ; for I believe every senate on the continent, and every upper house in the world, may refuse concurrence, and suppress a bill before it arrives at the executive department. The king of England has an unconditional negative, and has often exercised it in his former colonies.

13. The congress on the old plan had but 13 voices, and of these, some were frequently lost by equal divisions. If 65 voices be yet too few, it must follow that the new plan has made some progress towards perfection.

14. This, like the former objection, is mere matter of opinion. The instance, as to supposed vacancies, does not apply : for "if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies." Art. 1. sect. 3. This provision expressly implies that accidental vacancies shall be immediately filled.

15. It was mentioned as a grievance in the 12th objection that this supposed "elective king," had his powers clogged by the conjunction of another branch ; here he is called a "single magistrate." Yet the new constitution provides that he shall act "by and with the advice and consent of the senate." Art. 2, sect. 2. and can in no instance act alone, except in the cause of humanity by granting reprieves or pardons.

16. Should the senate, by the intrigues of foreign powers, become devoted to foreign influence, as was the case of late in Sweden, the people will be obliged, as the Swedes have been, to seek their refuge in the arms of the monarch or president general.

17. Rotation, that noble prerogative of liberty, is entirely excluded from the new system of government: and great men may, and probably will, be continued in office during their lives.

18. Annual elections are abolished: and the people are not to resume their rights until the expiration of two, four, and six years.

19. Congress are to have the power of fixing the time, place, and manner of holding elections, so as to keep them for ever subjected to their influence.

20. The importation of slaves is not to be prohibited until the year 1808: and slavery will probably resume its empire in Pennsylvania.

21. The militia is to be under the immediate command of congress; and men conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, may be compelled to perform military duty.

16. The comparison of a little kingdom to a great republic, cannot be just. The revolution in Sweden was the affair of a day, and the success of it was owing to its confined bounds. To suppose a similar event in this extensive country, 3000 mile distant from European intrigues, is in the nature of things, a gross absurdity.

17. How can this be the case when at stated periods the government reverts to the people, and to the representatives of the people, for a new choice in every part of it.

18. Annual changes in a federal government would beget confusion: it requires years to learn a trade, and men in this age are not legislators by inspiration. One third of the senate as well as all the representatives are to be elected every two years. Art. 1. sec. 3.

19. Congress are not to have power to fix the place of choosing senators; and the time, place, and manner of electing representatives, are to be fixed by each state itself. Congress indeed are to have controul to prevent undue influence in elections, which we all know but too often happens through party zeal. Art. 1. sect. 4.

20. Congress will have no power to meddle in the business till 1808. All that can be said against this offending clause, is, that we may have no alteration in this respect for 21 years to come; but 21 years are fixed as a period when we may be better and in the mean we cannot be worse than we are now. Art. 1. sect. 9.

21. Congress may "provide for calling forth the militia," and "may provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining it." But the states respectively can only raise it and they expressly reserve the right of "appointment of officers and of training it." Now we know that men conscientiously scrupulous, by sect or profession, are not forced to

bear arms in any of the states, a pecuniary compensation being accepted in lieu of it. Whatever may be my sentiments on the present state of this matter, is foreign to the point: but it is certain that whatever redress may be wished for, or expected, can only come from the state legislature, where, and where only, the dispensing power, or enforcing power, is in the first instance placed. Article, sect. 8.

22. This mighty expence would be paid by about one shilling a man throughout the states. The other part of this objection is not intelligible: nothing is said in the new constitution of a judicial department in "states and counties," other than what is already established.

23. The fifth article expressly provides against every danger, by pointing out a mode of amendment, when necessary. And liberty will thus be a name to adorn the long historic page of American virtue and happiness.

Thus I have answered all the objections, and supported my answers by fair quotations from the new constitution; and I particularly desire my readers to examine all the references with accurate attention. If I have mistaken any part, it will, I trust, be found to be an error of judgment, not of will, and I shall thankfully receive any candid instruction on the subject. One quotation more, and then I have done. "In all our deliberations on this subject (saith George Washington) we kept steadily in our view, that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the convention to be

22. The new government will be expensive beyond any we have ever experienced. The judicial department, alone, with its concomitant train of judges, justices, chancellors, clerks, sheriffs, coroners, escheators, state attornies, and solicitors, constables, &c. in every state, and in every county in each state, will be a burden beyond the utmost abilities of the people to bear. And upon the whole,

23. A government partaking of monarchy and aristocracy, will be fully and firmly established, and liberty will be but a name to adorn the short historic page of the halcyon days of America.

These, my countrymen, are the objections that have been made to the new proposed system of government; and if you read the system itself with attention, you will find them all to be founded in truth. But what have you been told in answer?

I pass over the sophistry of Mr. Wilson, in his equivocal speech at the state-house. His pretended arguments have been echoed and re-echoed by every retailer of politics, and victoriously refuted by several patriotic pens. Indeed if you read his famous speech in a cool dispassionate moment, you will find it to contain no more than a train of pitiful sophistry and evasions, unworthy of the man who spoke them. I have taken notice of some of them in stating the objections, and they must, I am sure, have excited your pity and indignation. Mr. Wilson is a map of

sense, learning and extensive information. Unfortunately for him he has never fought the more solid fame of patriotism. During the late war he narrowly escaped the effects of popular rage, and the people seldom arm themselves against a citizen in vain. The whole tenor of his political conduct has always been strongly tainted with the spirit of high aristocracy : he has never been known to join in a truly popular measure, and his talents have ever been devoted to the patrician interest. His lofty carriage indicates the lofty mind that animates him, a mind able to conceive and perform great things, but which unfortunately can see nothing great out of the pale of power and worldly grandeur ; despising what he calls the inferior order of the people, popular liberty and popular assemblies offer to his exalted imagination an idea of meanness and contemptibility which he hardly seeks to conceal !—He sees at a distance the pomp and pageantry of courts, he sighs after those stately palaces and that apparatus of human greatness which his vivid fancy has taught him to consider as the supreme good. Men of sublime minds, he conceives, were born a different race from the rest of the sons of men : to them, and them only, he imagines, high heaven intended to commit the reins of earthly government : the remaining part of mankind he sees below at an immense distance : they, he thinks, were born to serve, to administer food to the ambition of their superiors, and become the footstool of their power. Such is Mr. Wilson, and, fraught with these high ideas, it is no wonder that he should exert all his talents to support a form of government so admirably contrived to carry them into execution—But when the people, who possess collectively a mass of knowledge superior to his own, enquire into the principles of that government, on the establishment or rejection of which depend their dear-

less rigid on points of inferior magnitude, than might have been otherwise expected ; and thus the constitution, which we now present, is the result of a spirit of amity, and of the mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable.”

PLAIN TRUTH

Philadelphia, Nov. 7, 1787.

concerns, when he is called upon the voice of thousands to come and explain that favourite system which he holds forth as an object of their admiration, he comes—he attempts to support by reasoning what reason never dictated, and finding the attempt vain, his great mind, made for nobler purposes, is obliged to stoop to mean evasions and pitiful sophistry; himself not deceived, he strives to deceive the people, and the treacherable attempt delineates his true character, beyond the reach of the pencil of a West or a Peale, or the pen of a Valerius.

And yet that speech, weak and incoherent as it is, is the only attempt that has been made to support by argument that political monster, the proposed constitution. I have sought in vain amidst the immense heap of trash that has been published on the subject, for an argument worthy of refutation, and I have not been able to find it. You can bear the disgust which the reading of those pieces must naturally occasion, and which I have felt in the highest degree, read them, my fellow citizens, and say whether they contain at least shadow of logical reasoning; (laying your hands upon your hearts) whether there is any thing in them that can impress unfeigned conviction upon your unprejudiced minds. One of them only I shall take notice of, in which I find that argument is weakly attempted. This piece is signed “an American citizen,” and has appeared with great pomp in our succeeding numbers in several of our newspapers. But if you read attentively, you will find that it does not tell us what the new constitution is, but what it is not, and extols it on the sole ground that it does not contain all the principles of tyranny with which the European governments are disgraced.

But where argument entirely failed, nothing remained for the supporters of the new constitution but to endea-

vour to inflame your passions. The attempt has been made, and I am sorry to find not entirely without effect. The great names of Washington and Franklin, have been taken in vain, and shockingly prostituted to effect the most infamous purposes. What! because our august chieftain has subscribed his name in his capacity of president of the convention, to the plan offered by them to the states, and because the venerable sage of Pennsylvania has testified, by his signature, that the majority of the delegates of this state assented to the same plan, will any one infer from this that it has met with their entire approbation, and that they consider it as a master piece of human wisdom? I am apt to think the contrary, and I have good reasons to ground my opinion on.

In the first place, we have found by the publication of Charles Pinckney, esq. one of the signing members of the convention, who has expressed the most pointed disapprobation of many important parts of the new plan of government, that all the members whose names appear at the bottom of this instrument of tyranny, have not concurred in its adoption. Many of them might conceive themselves bound by the opinion of the majority of their state, and leaving the people to their own judgment upon the form of government offered to them, might have conceived it impolitic, by refusing to sign their names, to offer to the world the lamentable spectacle of the disunion of a body on the decisions of whom the people had rested all their hopes. We know, and the long sitting of the convention tells us, that, (as it is endeavoured to persuade us) concord and unanimity did not reign exclusively among them. The thick veil of secrecy with which their proceedings have been covered, has left us entirely in the dark, as to the debates that took place: and the unaccountable suppression of their journals, the highest

insult that could be offered to the majesty of the people, shews clearly that the whole of the new plan was entirely the work of an aristocratic majority.

But let us suppose for a moment that the proposed government was the unanimous result of the deliberations of the convention—must it on that account preclude an investigation of its merits? Are the people to be dictated to without appeal, by any set of men, however great, however dignified? Freedom spurns at the idea and rejects it with disdain. We appeal to the collective wisdom of a great nation, we appeal to their general sense which is easily to be obtained through the channel of a multitude of free presses—from the opinions of thirty-nine men, who, secluded from the rest of the world, without the possibility of conferring with the rest of their fellow-citizens, have had no opportunity of rectifying the errors into which they may have been led by the most designing among them. We have seen names not less illustrious than those of the members of the late convention, subscribed to the present reprobated articles of confederation, and if those patriots have erred, there is no reason to suppose that a succeeding set should be more free from error. Nay, the very men who advocate so strongly the new plan of government, and support it with the infallibility of dr. Franklin, affect to despise the present constitution of Pennsylvania, which was dictated and avowed by that venerable patriot—They are conscious that he does not entirely approve of the new plan, whose principles are so different from those he has established in our ever glorious constitution; and there is no doubt that it is the reason that induced them to leave his respected name out of the ticket for the election.

Now, then, my fellow citizens, my brethren, my friends, if the sacred

flame of liberty be not extinguished in your breasts, if you have any regard for the happiness of yourselves and your posterity—let me entreat you, earnestly entreat you, by all that is dear and sacred to freemen, to consider well before you take an awful step which may involve in its consequences the ruin of millions yet unborn—You are on the brink of a dreadful precipice;—in the name therefore, of holy liberty, for which we have all suffered, I call upon you to make a solemn pause before you proceed. One step more, and perhaps the scene of freedom is closed forever in America. Let not a set of aspiring despots, who “make us slaves and tell us ‘tis our charter,” wring from you those invaluable blessings for which the most illustrious sons of America have bled and died—but exert yourselves, like men, like freemen, and like Americans, to transmit unimpaired to your latest posterity those rights, those liberties, which have ever been so dear to you, and which it is yet in your power to preserve.

An officer of the late continental army
Philadelphia, Nov. 3, 1767.



Account of the late revolution in Sweden.

Mr. Printer,

TWO late writers, who in two or three articles attacked and defended the proposed federal constitution, have drawn an erroneous though different contrast between the senatorial branch and the senate of Sweden, before the late revolution. This senate had, indeed, almost the whole executive power of government; but it was appointed and dissolved at the pleasure of the state which held all the legislative power, and, by this controul over the king and senate, in fact the executive. A senator, who did not act in implicit obedience to the ruling party, was

inevitably superseded at the next diet, and often punished by severe fines. It is well known, that this country was distracted by two violent parties, from the death of Charles 12th, to the revolution in the year 1772. They were distinguished by the droll names of hats and caps, actuated by opposite political principles, and much influenced by foreign politics—the former, by the alliance and subsidies of France; and these by the more secret intrigues of Great Britain and Russia. These parties ruled by turns, as either prevailed in superior abilities, or the means of corruption—what the one had done, was immediately overturned by the other—the public interest was generally sacrificed to avarice, ambition, animosity—To be a strong partizan was the best recommendation to the highest civil and military offices—A great part of the national revenue was dissipated in bribes, pensions, and sinecures—The first characters were sometimes ruined by confiscations, only for having acted under the obnoxious party: and, at last, even the senatorial office was declined by men of prudence and independent fortunes. Among the leaders of these parties were men of great abilities and superior wealth; but turbulent, ignorant, and indigent demagogues had frequently an amazing influence. This must always be the case in republics, where representation is general. The Swedish parliament has four equal orders: the nobility, clergy, burghers, and yeomanry—in each of these were many delegates, chosen merely for being submissive underlings, active tools, or daring defenders of the reigning party.

When the nation was, by the corruption and rage of these parties, brought into woful distress, and danger of a civil war, the present king, by his admirable conduct, and the assistance of those who were real patriots, effected the surprising but

really happy revolution. The government is now a well limited monarchy—the king cannot make peace or war, enact or abrogate laws, nor levy taxes without consent of the states; but he has the whole military command, and the appointment to all considerable employments—The people have as much liberty as they can bear. Sweden was, from the year 1756 till 1772, in fact a republic, with a nominal king, that had far less real power than the federal president will have: but the abuse of republican liberty changed it into a real kingdom. Without this, the other co-operating causes had been ineffectual. Predilection for monarchy was in a great measure worn away in the space of 50 years, under the impotent reign of foreign princes, and the continual increase of the republican branch. The leading men, in both parties, liked better to enjoy the royal power, than give it to the king; among the first nobility and military officers, many were, from this reason, violent republicans—Though the nobles are numerous, and not wanting in the usual ambition—yet as the title and estate devolve on all the sons, the greater part want that wealth, without which no order of citizens can maintain a superior interest—The standing army being in its regulation similar to a militia, has naturally much of the national character, and was in no small degree republican—The clergy, though well established, have no advantages inconsistent with a moderate republic; especially where the whole nation has the same mode of worship. The prelates, though invested with great ecclesiastical authority, have, at the diet, only simple votes like any inferior clergyman—The extent of territory being nearly triple of Great Britain was less favourable but not repugnant to a republican constitution.

Party, that pest of republics, was
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therefore the effective cause of the revolution—And though the well disposed Swedes naturally fled to the throne of an excellent king from the miseries of anarchy—the same situation would probably change any republic into a monarchy, perhaps one nearly absolute.

Gentlemen who mean to corroborate political reasoning, by historical facts, ought to have a full knowledge of them: otherwise they will draw very wrong inferences. In the proposed American constitution the powers granted to the senate or the congress collectively, can never be dangerous, while the people in general have proper republican dispositions. The only danger will arise from parties—When these are nearly equal, the public interest is torn between them like a sheep between two ravenous wolves—If one has a decided superiority, the other will in many respects be oppressed, and a great part of the nation become less happy—Foreign powers never fail to intrigue in either case, and will probably be called in by an exasperated minority. Parties would in this country infallibly produce monarchy, or a dissolution in the union, perhaps a foreign conquest of the frontier states.

A BYSTANDER.

Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1787.



Letter from the hon. Roger Sherman and the hon. Oliver Ellsworth, esquires, delegates from the state of Connecticut, in the late federal convention, to his excellency the governor of said state.

New London, Sept. 26.

SIR,

WE have the honour to transmit to your excellency a printed copy of the constitution formed by the federal convention, to be laid before the legislature of the state.

The general principles, which go-

verned the convention in their deliberations on the subject, are stated in their address to congress.

We think it may be of use to make some further observations on particular parts of the constitution.

The congress is differently organized: yet the whole number of members, and this state's proportion of suffrage, remain the same as before.

The equal representation of the states in the senate, and the voice of that branch in the appointment to offices, will secure the rights of the lesser, as well as of the greater states.

Some additional powers are vested in congress, which was a principal object that the states had in view in appointing the convention. Those powers extend only to matters respecting the common interests of the union, and are specially defined, so that the particular states retain their sovereignty in all other matters.

The objects, for which congress may apply monies, are the same mentioned in the eighth article of the confederation, viz. for the common defence and general welfare, and for payment of the debts incurred for those purposes. It is probable that the principal branch of revenue will be duties on imports; what may be necessary to be raised by direct taxation is to be apportioned on the several states, according to the numbers of their inhabitants, and although congress may raise the money by their own authority, if necessary, yet that authority need not be exercised, if each state will furnish its quota.

The restraint on the legislatures of the several states respecting emitting bills of credit, making any thing but money a tender in payment of debts, or impairing the obligation of contracts by *ex post facto* laws, was thought necessary as a security to commerce, in which the interest of

foreigners, as well as of the citizens of different states, may be affected.

The convention endeavoured to provide for the energy of government on the one hand, and suitable checks on the other hand, to secure the rights of the particular states, and the liberties and properties of the citizens. We wish it may meet the approbation of the several states, and be a mean of securing their rights, and lengthening out their tranquility.

With great respect, we are,

Sir, your excellency's

Obedient humble servants,

ROGER SHERMAN,

OLIVER ELSWORTH,

His excellency gov. Huntington.

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Letter, containing the reasons of the hon. Elbridge Gerry, esq. for not signing the federal constitution.

New York, Oct. 18, 1787.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE the honour to inclose, pursuant to my commission, the constitution proposed by the federal convention.

To this system I gave my dissent, and shall submit my objections to the honourable legislature.

It was painful for me, on a subject of such national importance, to differ from the respectable members who signed the constitution: But conceiving as I did, that the liberties of America were not secured by the system, it was my duty to oppose it.

My principal objections to the plan, are, that there is no adequate provision for a representation of the people—that they have no security for the right of election—that some of the powers of the legislature are ambiguous, and others indefinite and dangerous—that the executive is blended with, and will have an undue influence over, the legislature—that the judicial department will be oppressive—that treaties of the highest importance may be formed by the

president with the advice of two-thirds of a quorum of the senate—and that the system is without the security of a bill of rights. These are objections which are not local, but apply equally to all the states.

As the convention was called for “the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to congress, and the several legislatures, such alterations and provisions as shall render the federal constitution adequate to the exigencies of government, and the preservation of the union,”

I did not conceive that these powers extend to the formation of the plan proposed: but the convention being of a different opinion, I acquiesced in it, being fully convinced that to preserve the union, an efficient government was indispensably necessary; and that it would be difficult to make proper amendments to the articles of confederation.

The constitution proposed has few, if any federal features; but is rather a system of national government. Nevertheless, in many respects, I think it has great merit, and, by proper amendments, may be adapted to the “exigencies of government, and preservation of liberty.”

The question on this plan involves others of the highest importance—1st. Whether there shall be a dissolution of the federal government? 2dly. Whether the several state governments shall be so altered, as in effect to be dissolved? 3dly. Whether in lieu of the federal and state governments, the national constitution now proposed, shall be substituted without amendment? Never, perhaps, were a people called on to decide a question of greater magnitude. Should the citizens of America adopt the plan as it now stands, their liberties may be lost: or should they reject it altogether, anarchy may ensue. It is evident, therefore,

that they should not be precipitate in their decisions ; that the subject should be well understood, lest they should refuse to support the government, after having hastily accepted it.

If those, who are in favour of the constitution, as well as those who are against it, should preserve moderation, their discussions may afford much information, and finally direct to an happy issue.

It may be urged by some, that an implicit confidence should be placed in the convention ; but, however respectable the members may be, who signed the constitution, it must be admitted, that a free people are the proper guardians of their rights and liberties—that the greatest men may err—and that their errors are sometimes of the greatest magnitude.

Others may suppose, that the constitution may be safely adopted, because therein provision is made to amend it. But cannot this object be better attained before a ratification than after it ? And should a free people adopt a form of government, under conviction that it wants amendment ?

And some may conceive, that if the plan is not accepted by the people, they will not unite in another : but surely while they have the power to amend, they are not under the necessity of rejecting it.

I have been detained here longer than I expected, but shall leave this place in a day or two for Massachusetts, and on my arrival shall submit the reasons (if required by the legislature) on which my objections are grounded.

I shall only add, that as the welfare of the union requires a better constitution than the confederation, I shall think it my duty, as a citizen of Massachusetts, to support that which shall be finally adopted, sincerely hoping it will secure the liberty and happiness of America.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen, with the highest respect for the honourable legislature and yourselves, your most obedient and very humble servant,

E. GERRY.

To the hon. Samuel Adams, esq. president of the senate, and the hon. James Warren, esq. speaker of the house of representatives of Massachusetts.



Address to the citizens of New Jersey, on the new constitution.

IN the history of the American revolution, we shall find the present period more important to the citizens of this great republic than the awful and critical time of its declaration of independence. The latter opened the door by which our entrance into national importance was first made—it set us on an eminence in the view of the world—it put us on the list of competition with one of the most powerful nations of Europe, but it gave us only a chance for the establishment of our freedom, as the issue of the contest was very uncertain. This now being gained, the most difficult and important task we have still to go through. It remains for us to convince our enemies that the liberty and independence which we had enterprise and bravery enough to acquire, we have wisdom and perseverance to secure. If this be effectually done, we shall reap the benefit of our labours, while we live ; and posterity will have cause to bless the memory of those who raised and completed so noble and magnificent a structure : but if the reverse of this picture should be forced upon the view of our citizens, how many and heavy would be the curses of all good men upon our heads ! Our recollection will immediately furnish us with the history of a few facts—Our present governments were formed in the times of imminent danger

and distress—The enemy was hovering round us, ready to attack us on whatever side there should appear an opening—our legislatures were sometimes, during the very act of framing our constitutions, driven from their places of deliberating : but as we had been forced to that point, where we must throw from our shoulders the oppressive government of a tyrant, it became absolutely necessary, that we should immediately substitute another in its stead. Our pressing necessities, if we expected to make a successful opposition, pointed out to us, the aid of foreign powers—this could not be obtained, while we called ourselves subjects of Great Britain ; it was therefore indispensibly necessary to declare ourselves an independent nation. This was wisely done, although we were not all aware of the great difficulties we had to encounter. Our national ship was launched into a wide ocean in the midst of storms, before she was well equipped, or had collected sufficient materials for her voyage—she has been tossed and buffeted about for several years, and often times in the extreme danger ; but at length, by her own strength, and the aid of those who came to her relief, she has been conducted safely into port. However, on the inspection and examination of our master builders, the timbers are found so disjointed and decayed, that it is believed she cannot, without great risk, bear a second voyage, unless she undergoes the most thorough repairs.

It is not my intention now to consider minutely either the defects of our present confederation, or particularly to observe upon that plan which has been lately offered to us by those distinguished patriots and saviours of our country. My daily occupations allow me not much time for the study of politics. I shall, therefore, throw together, in haste, only a few general observations.

I take it for granted, that scarce

any thing new can be said on this subject by way of investigation, but I cannot keep still the pulsations of my heart, nor restrain the desire I feel of endeavouring to forward our speedy progress to a government which promises fair, from its excellent ingredients, to compose a most valuable and durable cement to the different states of the union—to establish a steady system of justice and good faith among ourselves, and to give us respectability and credit among the nations of the earth.

The great advantages which would be the result of the adoption of the proposed constitution, are almost innumerable. I will mention a few among the many. In the first place, the proper regulation of our commerce would be insured—the imposts on all foreign merchandize, imported into America, would still effectually aid our continental treasury. This power has been heretofore held back by some states on narrow and mistaken principles ; the amount of the duties since the peace, would probably by this time have nearly paid our national debt. By the proper regulation of our commerce, our own manufactures would be also much promoted and encouraged ; heavy duties would discourage the consumption of articles of foreign growth ; this would induce us more to work up our raw materials, and prevent European manufacturers from dragging them from us, in order to bestow upon them their own labour, and a high price before they are returned into our hands. Agriculture and population will also find improvement and increase—agriculture is natural to America, and will always serve as an increasing source of commerce, while the produce of our farms furnishes so considerable a portion of it. Induced by the goodly prospects of a happy and durable government, by which life, religion, freedom, and property would be well

secured, America will teem with those who will fly from the slavery, persecution, tyranny, and wars of Europe. The civil commotions of Holland will soon open a wide door to let her citizens and those of Germany into America. The trumpet of war has already sounded in their ears, and we shall soon behold the industrious labourers of those countries pouring into our ports and crowding our cities.

Another good consequence of the new constitution, will be the power given to congress solely of coining money. By this means there will be one general currency throughout the united states. The citizens of each state will be well acquainted with the money of the others, which will give great facility and convenience to trade and all negotiations in business. The creditor and debtor, though in different states, will equally know the value of what each receives or pays—the stranger and the traveller will have no difficulty or embarrassment on account of the difference of coins. However slender this tie may appear to some, I have no doubt but the sameness of money in every state, will have a powerful influence on our union.

Needless alarms and fears have been endeavoured to be excited, as well, no doubt, by our enemies and those among us disaffected to our cause, as by some who act from better principles. Let us take a very short and summary view of the plan. The power of congress to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, has been objected to. By whom are those taxes to be laid? by the representatives of the several states in congress. This is then in perfect conformity to that just maxim in free governments, “that taxation and representation should go hand in hand.” To what purpose are these taxes to be applied? It is expressly prescribed by the constitution, “to

pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the united states.” What, would you saddle congress with the burden and expence of providing for the common safety, and not give them the power of raising any money? This would be requiring impossibilities indeed. Congress will also have the power to raise and support armies. What evil can result from this? Even supposing, altho’ it is scarcely supposable, that the representatives of the people should form designs of enslaving their constituents, how is it possible they could effect their scheme? It is provided by the constitution, “That no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years.” An army sufficient for such a purpose could not be raised two years, much less could they complete the business in that time. Every two years the people may change their representatives if they please—and they certainly would please to change those who should act with much baseness and treachery. If the president should have such designs without the concurrence of congress he might have the honour of commanding an army as long as they would stay with him, but it is not common for an army to remain long in the field without the prospect of any pay. The power of the president of the united states will not be so great as many have represented. His consent is not necessary in passing any law,—if he disapproves, he has only a right to state his objections: but if two thirds of both houses do not join with him, it will be law notwithstanding. He is the commander in chief, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed. It will be readily agreed that it would be highly ridiculous to send representatives, and be at the expence of maintaining them, to make laws for us, if we did not give power to some person or persons to see that

ly executed : The wisdom and clemency is to be shewn in the framing laws : the complete execution of them ought to follow of course.

The president, together with the senate, may appoint the officers of the united states. We find, in practice, that, generally speaking, persons so qualified are appointed to offices, where the number who appoint, are few. They feel their responsibility to the public to be more immediate and certain : for if the appointment is wrong, and the object of it unworthy, the censure can be easily directed ; the consequence will be, a greater care and circumspection in the choice. This we clearly saw, at a time, during the late war, when the new modelling of our army having become absolutely necessary, the appointment of our officers was given solely to our worthy general. He became responsible : the consequences were important and happy to America.

The power of the president is still guarded further by the oath which he is bound to take, before he enters on the execution of his office, where he swears that he will, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the united states.

It is said by some of the opposers of the new plan of government, that in the person of the president, it verges to a monarchy—by others it is said, that it approaches to an aristocracy through the senate. The senators are to be also bound by an oath or affirmation to support the constitution : and though their appointments will be for six years, yet the rotation of the new choice of one third of them every second year not only provides for experience and business by those who remain, but also against any evil schemes which require time and extensive connexions. As to the danger of our state governments being annihilated, the

fourth section of the fourth article declares that “ the united states shall guarantee to every state in the union a republican form of government.”

Thus every guard, which can be reasonably required, seems to be made against improper encroachments. Now let me ask what will be the probable consequences of not adopting the proposed constitution ?—with respect to ourselves in the first place, scenes of injustice between man and man may disclose themselves, contracts may be broken, and the means of redress possibly not in the power of our legislatures, notwithstanding their best intentions : besides, there are greater difficulties than many people imagine in procuring national movements ; and the probability is, that all the states would not be forward again in coming speedily into such a measure as forming another federal convention—The fatigue and disgust of our celebrated statesmen, who have lately gone through a four months labour of investigation, would also tend to prevent the attempt—These were men of acknowledged abilities and disinterested patriotism—If the result of their deliberations is not attended to, who will undertake again the arduous task ? The same difference of interests, in different states, will remain : but the same friendliness and wish for compromise and accommodation will not exist, after repeated vexatious trials and disappointments.

Let us also recollect our situation with respect to foreign powers. Some of them have lent congress money during the late war. Can congress insure the payment of either principal or interest ? They may require, but not enforce—they may ask : but, if denied or neglected, there is no effectual remedy. Can this be called an efficient government ? No,—this part of it is laughed at by all Europe. But will these powers only

laugh at our folly? They will in a short time do something more disagreeable to us—they will do justice to themselves by seizing our merchants' ships and making reprisals on our property. Well but, say those who are more successful in alarming and raising objections than in proposing better constitutions—would you have us adopt this without making alterations, when there are several things in it which had better be mended? Yes, I would—and for the following reasons.

Which state convention will undertake to mend it? Is it probable that any one state would sooner hit upon what should be for the general good of the union, than the late federal convention, which was composed of representatives from every state? And if it was not for the benefit of the united states in general, but only of the individual state who proposed it, would it not in the first place immediately open a wide door for each state to propose many amendments which might be calculated only for the advancement of local interest? and in the next place, is it probable that a future convention (which at this rate would be necessary) would agree on better ground for the whole, than the late one? No: it would be idle to suppose it. It would serve but to procrastinate a delivery from our present distresses, and tend very much, by exciting dissensions and quarrels, to our total dissolution as a nation. Although I drew my first breath in New Jersey, and have continued in it during my life, firmly attached to its local interest, yet, when I consider the impossibility of its existence at present, as a sovereign state, without a union with others, I wish to feel myself more a citizen of the united states than of New Jersey alone. Our advancement and prosperity, nay, our very existence as

a nation, depends on our union, and that union must have for its foundation the good of the whole collectively considered. This, I think is effectually done in the new constitution. In portraying this plan the collective interest is so mixed and blended in the general picture of the union, that happily the individual states are only distinguished as branches of that general family without the whole of which, the painting would be incomplete.

In many publications against the proposed system, the writers argue on a presumption that congress will set themselves up against the liberties of their country. Their proceedings will not be secret—their journals are ordered in this very constitution, to be published, from time to time, for the inspection of all: of whom will that body be composed? Of a senate who are to be appointed by the legislatures, who will be chosen by the people, and of a house of representatives also chosen by the people: either act wrong, they would doubtless be left out in their next choice.

While virtue and patriotism remain in the people, it will always, with due care, be found in the representatives: when the fountain is pure, the streams that issue from it must be clear.

It is high time to shake off unmanly fears and sneaking jealousies you have, my countrymen, long been sensible of the insufficiency of our present government. You have sent your best and ablest friends to form another—after four months close application, they have completed the plan which they now offer. Make a fair experiment. Further alterations are provided for, when necessary. This seriously and act like men.

A JERSEYMAN.

November 5, 1787.

The federalist.—Letter I.

To the people of the state of New York.

AFTER an unequivocal experience of the inefficacy of the subsisting federal government, you are called upon to deliberate on a new constitution for the united states of America. The subject speaks its own importance; comprehending in its consequences, nothing less than the existence of the union, the safety and welfare of the parts of which it is composed, the fate of an empire, in many respects, the most interesting in the world. It has been frequently remarked, that it seems to have been reserved to the people of this country, by their conduct and example, to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not, of establishing good government, from reflection and choice, or whether they are for ever destined to depend, on their political constitutions, on accident and force. If there be any truth in the remark, the crisis, at which we are arrived, may with propriety be regarded as the era in which that decision is to be made; and a wrong election of the part we shall act, may, in this view, deserve to be considered as the general misfortune of mankind.

This idea will add the inducements of philanthropy to those of patriotism, to heighten the solicitude, which all considerate and good men must feel for the event. Happy will it be if our choice should be decided by a judicious estimate of our true interests, unperplexed and unbiassed by considerations not connected with the public good. But this is a thing more ardently to be wished, than feverishly to be expected. The plan offered to our deliberations, affects so many particular interests, innuendoes upon too many local institutions, not to involve in its discussion a variety of objects foreign to its merits, and of views, passions, Vol. II. No. V.

and prejudices little favourable to the discovery of truth.

Among the most formidable of the obstacles which the new constitution will have to encounter, may readily be distinguished the obvious interest of a certain class of men in every state, to resist all changes which may hazard a diminution of the power, emolument, and consequence of the offices they hold under the state establishments; and the perverted ambition of another class of men, who will either hope to aggrandize themselves by the confusions of their country, or will flatter themselves with fairer prospects of elevation from the subdivision of the empire into several partial confederacies, than from its union under one government.

It is not, however, my design to dwell upon observations of this nature. I am well aware that it would be disingenuous to resolve indiscriminately the opposition of any set of men (merely because their situations might subject them to suspicion) into interested or ambitious views. Candour will oblige us to admit, that even such men may be actuated by upright intentions; and it cannot be doubted, that much of the opposition which has made its appearance, or may hereafter make its appearance, will spring from sources, blameless at least, if not respectable—the honest errors of minds led astray by preconceived jealousies and fears. So numerous, indeed, and so powerful are the causes which serve to give a false bias to the judgment, that we upon many occasions, see wise and good men on the wrong as well as on the right side of questions of the first magnitude to society. This circumstance, if duly attended to, would furnish a lesson of moderation to those who are ever so much persuaded of their being in the right in any controversy. And a further reason for caution, in this respect, might be

drawn from the reflection that we are not always sure that those who advocate the truth are influenced by purer principles than their antagonists. Ambition, avarice, personal animosity, party opposition, and many other motives, not more laudable than these, are apt to operate as well upon those who support, as upon those who oppose, the right side of a question. Were there not even these inducements to moderation, nothing could be more ill-judged than that intolerant spirit which has, at all times, characterised political parties. For, in politics as in religion, it is equally absurd to aim at making proselytes by fire and sword. Heresies in either can rarely be cured by persecution.

And yet, however just these sentiments will be allowed to be, we have already sufficient indications, that it will happen in this as in all former cases of great national discussion. A torrent of angry and malignant passions will be let loose. To judge from the conduct of the opposite parties, we shall be led to conclude, that they will mutually hope to evince the justness of their opinions, and to increase the number of their converts by the loudness of their declamations, and by the bitterness of their invectives. An enlightened zeal for the energy and efficiency of government will be stigmatized as the offspring of a temper fond of despotic power, and hostile to the principles of liberty. An over-scrupulous jealousy of danger to the rights of the people, which is more commonly the fault of the head than of the heart, will be represented as mere pretence and artifice—the bait for popularity at the expence of public good. It will be forgotten, on the one hand, that jealousy is the usual concomitant of violent love, and that the noble enthusiasm of liberty is too apt to be infected with a spirit of narrow and illiberal distrust. On the other hand,

it will be equally forgotten, that the vigour of government is essential to the security of liberty; that, in the contemplation of a sound and well-informed judgment, their interest can never be separated; and that a dangerous ambition more often lurks behind the specious mask of zeal for the rights of the people, than under the forbidding appearance of zeal for the firmness and efficiency of government. History will teach us that the former has been found a much more certain road to the introduction of despotism than the latter, and that of those men who have overturned the liberties of republics the greatest number have begun their career by paying an obsequious court to the people, commencing demagogues, and ending tyrants.

In the course of the preceding observations, I have had an eye, my fellow citizens, to putting you upon your guard against all attempts, from whatever quarter, to influence your decision in a matter of the utmost moment to your welfare, by any impressions other than those which may result from the evidence of truth. You will, no doubt, at the same time have collected from the general scope of them, that they proceed from a source not unfriendly to the new constitution. Yes, my countrymen, I own to you, that, after having given it an attentive consideration, I am clearly of opinion it is your interest to adopt it. I am convinced, that this is the safe course for your liberty, your dignity, and your happiness. I affect not reserves which I do not feel. I will not amuse you with an appearance of deliberation when I have decided. I frankly acknowledge to you my convictions, and I will fully lay before you the reasons which they are founded. The consciousness of good intentions disdains ambiguity. I shall not, however, multiply professions on t

ead. My motives must remain in the depository of my own breast: my arguments will be open to all, and may be judged of by all. They shall at least be offered in a spirit which will not disgrace the cause of truth.

I propose in a series of papers to discuss the following interesting particulars—the utility of the union to our political prosperity—the inefficiency of the present confederation to preserve that union—the necessity of a government at least equally energetic with the one proposed, to the attainment of this object—the conformity of the proposed constitution to the true principles of republican government—its analogy to your own state constitution—and lastly, the additional security, which its adoption will afford to the preservation of that species of government, to liberty and to property.

In the progress of this discussion shall endeavour to give a satisfactory answer to all the objections which shall have made their appearance, that may seem to have any claim to your attention.

It may perhaps be thought superfluous to offer arguments to prove the utility of the union, a point, no doubt, deeply engrained on the hearts of the great body of the people in every state, and one, which it may be imagined has no adversaries. But the fact is, that we already hear it whispered in the private circles of those who oppose the new constitution, that the thirteen states are of too great extent for any general system, and that we must of necessity resort to separate confederacies of distinct portions of the whole*. This doctrine will, in all probability, be gradually propa-

NOTE.

* The same idea, tracing the arguments to their consequences, is held out in several of the late publications against the new constitution.

gated till it has votaries enough to countenance an open avowal of it. For nothing can be more evident to those who are able to take an enlarged view of the subject, than the alternative of an adoption of the new constitution, or a dismemberment of the union. It will, therefore, be of use to begin by examining the advantages of that union, the certain evils and the probable dangers to which every state will be exposed from its dissolution. This shall accordingly constitute the subject of my next address.

PUBLIUS.

New York, Oct. 30, 1787.



The federalist.—Letter II.

To the people of the state of New York.

WHEN the people of America reflect that they are now called upon to decide a question, which, in its consequences, must prove one of the most important that ever engaged their attention, the propriety of their taking a very comprehensive, as well as a very serious view of it, will be evident.

Nothing is more certain than the indispensable necessity of government: and it is equally undeniable, that whenever and however it is instituted, the people must cede to it some of their natural rights, in order to vest it with requisite powers. It is well worthy of consideration, therefore, whether it would conduce more to the interest of the people of America, that they should, to all general purposes, be one nation, under one federal government, or that they should divide themselves into separate confederacies, and give to the head of each the same kind of powers which they are advised to place in one national government.

It has, until lately, been a received and uncontradicted opinion, that the prosperity of the people of America

depended on their continuing firmly united : and the wishes, prayers, and efforts of our best and wisest citizens have been constantly directed to that object. But politicians now appear, who insist that this opinion is erroneous, and that instead of looking for safety and happiness in union, we ought to seek it in a division of the states into distinct confederacies or sovereignties—however extraordinary this new doctrine may appear, it, nevertheless, has its advocates : and certain characters, who were much opposed to it formerly, are at present of the number. Whatever may be the arguments or inducements, which have wrought this change in the sentiments and declarations of these gentlemen, it certainly would not be wise in the people at large to adopt these new political tenets, without being fully convinced that they are founded in truth and sound policy.

It has often given me pleasure to observe, that independent America was not composed of detached and distant territories, but that one connected, fertile, wide spreading country was the portion of our western sons of liberty. Providence has in a particular manner blessed it with a variety of soils and productions, and watered it with innumerable streams, for the delight and accommodation of its inhabitants—A succession of navigable waters forms a kind of chain round its borders, as if to bind it together ; while the most noble rivers in the world, running at convenient distances, present them with highways for the easy communication of friendly aids, and the mutual transportation and exchange of their various commodities.

With equal pleasure I have as often taken notice, that providence has been pleased to give this one connected country, to one united people, a people descended from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the

same principles of government, very similar in their manners and customs, and who, by their joint counsels, arms and efforts, fighting side by side throughout a long and bloody war, have nobly established their general liberty and independence.

This country and this people seem to have been made for each other, and it appears as if it was the design of providence, that an inheritance so proper and convenient for a band of brethren, united to each other by the strongest ties, should never be split into a number of unsocial, jealous, and alien sovereignties.

Similar sentiments have hitherto prevailed among all orders and denominations of men among us—That all general purposes we have uniformly been one people—each individual citizen every where enjoying the same national rights, privileges, and protection—As a nation we have made peace and war—as a nation we have vanquished our common enemies—as a nation we have formed alliances and made treaties, and entered into various compacts and conventions with foreign states.

A strong sense of the value and blessings of union induced the people, at a very early period, to institute a federal government to preserve and perpetuate it—They formed almost as soon as they had a political existence ; nay at a time, when the habitations were in flames, when many of their citizens were bleeding, and when the progress of hostility and dissolution left little room for thought, calm and mature enquiries and reflections, which must ever precede the formation of a wise and well balanced government for a free people—is not to be wondered at that a government instituted in times so inauspicious, should, on experiment, be found greatly deficient and inadequate to the purpose it was intended to answer.

This intelligent people perceive

and regretted these defects. Still continuing no less attached to union, than enamoured of liberty, they observed the danger, which immediately threatened the former and more remotely the latter; and being persuaded that ample security for both, could only be found in a national government more wisely framed, they, as with one voice, convened the late convention at Philadelphia, to take that important subject under consideration.

This convention, composed of men who possessed the confidence of the people, and many of whom had become highly distinguished by their patriotism, virtue, and wisdom, in times which tried the minds and hearts of men, undertook the arduous task. In the mild season of peace, with minds unoccupied by other subjects, they passed many months in cool, uninterrupted, and daily consultations: and finally, without having been awed by power, or influenced by any passions, except love for their country, they presented and recommended to the people the plan produced by their joint and very unanimous counsels.

Admit, for so is the fact, that this plan is only recommended, not imposed, yet let it be remembered, that it is neither recommended to blind approbation, nor to blind reprobation; but to that sedate and candid consideration, which the magnitude and importance of the subject demand, and which it certainly ought to receive. But (as was remarked in the foregoing number of this paper,) it is more to be wished than expected, that it may be so considered and examined. Experience, on a former occasion, teaches us not to be too sanguine in such hopes. It is not yet forgotten, that well grounded apprehensions of imminent danger induced the people of America to form the memorable congress of 1774—That body recommended cer-

tain measures to their constituents, and the event proved their wisdom; yet it is fresh in our memories, how soon the press began to teem with pamphlets and weekly papers against those very measures. Not only many of the officers of government, who obeyed the dictates of personal interest, but others, from a mistaken estimate of consequences, or the undue influence of former attachments, or whose ambition aimed at objects which did not correspond with the public good, were indefatigable in their endeavours to persuade the people to reject the advice of that patriotic congress—Many indeed were deceived and deluded; but the great majority of the people reasoned and decided judiciously; and happy they are in reflecting that they did so.

They considered, that the congress was composed of many wise and experienced men; that being convened from different parts of the country, they brought with them, and communicated to each other, a variety of useful information; that in the course of the time they passed together, in enquiring into and discussing the true interests of their country, they must have acquired very accurate knowledge on that head; that they were individually interested in the public liberty and prosperity; and therefore that it was not less their inclination, than their duty, to recommend only such measures, as, after the most mature deliberation, they really thought prudent and adviseable.

These, and similar considerations, then induced the people to rely greatly on the judgment and integrity of the congress; and they took their advice, notwithstanding the various arts and endeavours used to deter and dissuade them from it. But if the people at large had reason to confide in the men of that congress, few of whom had then been fully tried or generally known, still greater reason

have they now to respect the judgment and advice of the convention : for it is well known, that some of the most distinguished members of that congress, who have been since tried and justly approved for patriotism and abilities, and who have grown old in acquiring political information, were also members of this convention, and carried into it their accumulated knowledge and experience.

It is worthy of remark, that not only the first, but every succeeding congress, as well as the late convention, have invariably joined with the people in thinking that the prosperity of America depended on its union. To preserve and perpetuate it, was the great object of the people in forming that convention ; and it is also the great object of the plan which the convention has advised them to adopt. With what propriety, therefore, or for what good purposes, are attempts, at this particular period, made by some men, to depreciate the importance of the union ? or why is it suggested that three or four confederacies would be better than one ? I am persuaded, in my own mind, that the people have always thought right on this subject, and that their universal and uniform attachment to the cause of the union, rests on great and weighty reasons, which I shall endeavour to develop and explain in some ensuing papers — They who promote the idea of substituting a number of distinct confederacies in the room of the plan of the convention, seem clearly to foresee that the rejection of it would put the continuance of the union in the utmost jeopardy. That certainly would be the case ! and I sincerely wish that it may be as clearly foreseen by every good citizen, that whenever the dissolution of the union arrives, America will have reason to exclaim in the words of the poet,

“ FAREWELL, A LONG FAREWELL
TO ALL MY GREATNESS.”

PUBLIUS.

New York, Oct. 31, 1787.

[To be continued].

...◆◆◆◆◆...

Address from the Philadelphia Society for promoting agriculture.

He that maketh two ears of corn grow where only one grew before, ranks as a benefactor to society before all the heroes that ever existed.

SWIFT.

THE very imperfect state of American husbandry in general, compared with that of some countries in Europe, is too well known to be controverted.

It was a conviction of our great inferiority, in this respect, which gave rise to the present society, formed after the example of institutions in Europe, whose laudable endeavours to promote the agriculture of their several countries, have been rewarded with the happiest effects. And here it may be observed, that the difficulties those societies had originally to overcome, were much greater than what we shall have to contend with they found husbandry generally in a rude and unprofitable state ; and had to recommend improvements from single instances of more skilful and fortunate management, until the whole from the force of imitation, gradually became more perfect. But we, instead of solitary examples of extraordinary and successful conduct amongst ourselves, may have the established practice of entire nations to hold up as an encouragement, which we purpose to lay before the public from time to time.

The husbandry of this country, and of England, were, fifty years ago, both imperfect, and perhaps nearly alike ; here it has ever since remained nearly stationary : there it has been continually advancing : a

port parallel, drawn between them, in their present state, will shew how far they are now apart.

American method. Unproductive lands precede crops; after crops, the land is generally given up for a number of years to weeds and poor natural grasses, until it shall come into heart again; the husbandman, in the mean while, employing his labours upon his other fields in succession.

English method, with variations arising from soils and circumstances: A field, when broken up, is manured with all the husbandman's force, and what is called a fallow crop taken off; that is, such a crop as requires the frequent use of the plough or the hoe, as turnips, potatoes, beans, &c. The land is then laid down in some kind of grain and clover, the last continuing some times two or three years, which is succeeded by wheat upon a single ploughing. This course, or rotation of crops, is then renewed in the same order, the land never being idle, or resting, as it is called.

This new practice is allowed to possess many advantages over the old, which is almost entirely renounced in England, but retained in America.

The manures, used in the first instances, are applied to produce the best possible effect; they go to benefit the whole course, be it for four or five years.

The land is made perfectly mellow and clean, before it is laid down to grass, or sowed with grain; it being an established maxim, never to do either, until the earth is well pulverised, and its natural weeds, and those arising from the dung, fully extirpated by repeated ploughings.

The land is neither hardened by rest, nor exhausted by rank weeds, which impoverish as much as a crop.

A greater abundance of grass, and other food for cattle, is obtained;

more stock maintained; more dung made; and the whole products much greater.

The labour, in such a course or rotation, though it requires considerable accuracy, does not follow so close, is not so hurried, and upon the whole not so great as in the former management.

And lastly; less land may be employed in culture.—

In this system, we shall remark, that wheat, for instance, is produced on the same field but once during the whole course; but, skilful farmers so distribute their business, as to have one of their fields every year in wheat, and so of the other articles of crop—and of clover, which is supposed to last two years, of consequence two fields.

As more of art and contrivance, suggested by necessity and long experience, is manifested in the rural affairs of that country, than in our own,—it should not surprise us that the management of their farm-yards is orderly and systematic; to which are owing such prodigious accumulations of manures, as will enable the farmer in England to prosecute, to much greater extent and effect, his mode of husbandry, than what can be attempted in America, until his œconomy in this important article shall, by degrees, be introduced amongst us.

It may not be amiss to lay down in a few words, the general principles of this management, which will be found as widely different from ours, as is the system of cropping.

The barn, cattle houses, sheds, stacks, &c. are so disposed round the farm-yard, as to afford the best winter shelter for live stock.

No cattle are suffered to run out between November and May, but are all shut up and fed in the farm-yard—foddering in the fields occasioning great waste; and dung not lying there in sufficient heaps to produce ferment-

tation, being thought of little account in manuring.

To the farm-yard is brought the whole straw of the farm, sometimes leaves, fern, &c.—to be trampled on and converted into manure.

The yard is often bottomed with a layer of the richest earths that can be found, which is thrown up in the spring, and mixed with the dung.

Societies abroad have proceeded by occasional communications of improved methods, and by honorary premiums given for experiments made. It is the design of this society to tread in their steps; and they hope, they address themselves to a people sufficiently liberal to reject no practice they shall recommend, merely because it is new, or runs counter to former habits and prejudices. They freely invite communications, upon all subjects comprehended within their extensive plan; and hope, from their example, to promote lesser institutions, of a similar nature, in different parts of the country amongst neighbours, each one exciting a spirit of improvement within its proper sphere.



Chinese manner of curing ginseng.

THEY gather the root sound and good (not in the season when the plant is in flower); and gently wash it from the earth, being careful not to break the skin. Then they take an iron torch (that is, a very flat kind of stew-pan, used in China over a charcoal fire) boil therein water; put in the root, and let it lie three or four minutes, but not so long as to injure or break off the skin, when, on cutting the root, the inside will appear of a light straw colour. They then take a clean linen cloth, and having wiped the ginseng clean and dry, place the torch over the gentlest fire, and lay in it a row of ginseng. Here they let it dry gradually, turning it leisurely, till it is something elastic, but

not too dry; afterwards they take a damp clean cloth, in which they roll up the longest pieces in parallel lines, and wrap them up very tight, binding them hard round with thread; after being dried a day or two by a very slow fire, they unpack the same, and repeat the packages of the inside and moist part, until it is all like the outside, and the whole dry enough to sound like a piece of wood, when dropped upon a table. The heaviest pieces, of a straw, or light brown colour, are much the best.

To preserve the same.

They take a box well lined with lead, and put it into a larger one with quick-lime (to prevent vermin) and close the whole against air and weather.



Account how ginseng is cured in Tartary.

SUCH as go in search of this plant, take nothing but the root, and bury in one place as many of these as they find, during ten days or a fortnight. They wash the root very carefully, and cleanse it, by rubbing off with a brush every thing extraneous. They afterwards dip it, for a moment, into water almost boiling, and dry it with the smoke of a kind of yellow millet, which tinges the plant a little with its colour. The millet being put into a vessel with a little water, is boiled over a slow fire, and the roots being laid on little pieces of wood, put cross-wise over the vessel, dry by degrees, under a piece of linen, or under another vessel which covers them. They also may be dried in the sun, or even by the fire: but though they then preserve their virtue, they do not keep their colour, in which the Chinese delight very much. When the roots are very dry, they are laid up in a very dry place, otherwise they would be in danger of rotting or of falling a prey to the worms.

Instructions for the culture and use of maize, or Indian corn, as fodder.—
By monsieur Sr. John de Crevecoeur,
his most christian majesty's consul general
to the state of New York. Published
by order of the committee of the
American academy of arts and sciences,
upon agriculture.

THIS corn may be planted or sown at two different periods. The first, in the beginning of May, for producing a crop of grain, to be gathered in, some time in September; and this is the common method. The other, at the end of June*, for the purpose of reaping it as fodder, in autumn; principally because the country is then naturally less rich in pasturage, or subsistence of that kind begins to fail.

To accomplish the last of these two objects, is the design of the present instructions. It may be applied to all sorts of grain, which, as well as the siftings and sweeping of the anary, being sowed and reaped after the same manner, are capable of answering the same purpose.

The seed.

Corn, the soonest ripe, the smallest, and newest, is to be preferred for sowing for fodder, because it grows softer and thicker.

Preparation of the seed.

This consists in steeping the seed in water, for twenty-four hours before it be sowed, to soften it, to make it shoot readily, and to prevent its being destroyed by creatures.

The soil.

All sorts of soils, provided they be light, or not adhesive, and have a moderate depth, are suitable for the cul-

NOTE.

* In this country, it will probably succeed, if it should be sown earlier. In case any gentleman should make a trial of this method, it is requested he will communicate the success of it.

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ture of corn for fodder. Those which have already produced rye, flax, or turnips, and even fallows, although dunged, are equally proper for it, without hurting the future crop: for neither the soil, nor the manure, can be exhausted by a plant, which remains therein so short a time, that it is to be reaped before its flowering or earing; and whose moist and flexible root, by easily rotting, does, on the other hand, restore to the soil what it had received from it.

The sowing.

After having given to the land the deepest ploughing possible, the corn is to be sowed in the broad cast way (a la voiee); the sower taking a good handful of it, and walking slowly, otherwise the grain, by reason of its largeness, will be spread too thin. It should be covered, as well as possible, with a harrow passing twice every way. About nine Paris bushels† are needful to an arpent‡, or French acre, which is nearly two-thirds more than is necessary to a crop of grain.

Culture.

Indian corn, for fodder, requires neither attention nor labour, which is doubly advantageous, in a season when the farmer is most employed.

NOTES.

‡ The Paris bushel is eight inches two lines and a half deep, and ten inches in diameter, French measure. The French foot is two-thirds of an inch longer than the English foot: and a line is the twelfth part of an inch. Those dimensions will make the Paris bushel about one-third of an English bushel: and as the French acre is larger than the English acre, it may require about two bushels and a half of seed, English measure, to sow the latter.

† The French acre [arpent] contains one English acre and a quarter, and 756 square feet, or 55206 square English feet, whereof the English acre contains only 43560.

E.

When once the seed is sown, and covered over, it is left to the care of nature. It is, therefore, needless to weed, hill, or thin it, or to observe regularity or distances between the plants: the nearer together, the more readily they grow, and the more also they abound in herbage; because they shade each other, and preserve their moisture. The ear is of no importance, as it is not the object of this culture.

The time of ripeness.

At the moment the flower issues from its case, the plant is fit for cutting; it is then filled with a sweet, agreeable, and very nutritious juice: later, its leaves decay, and the stalk becomes hard, spongy, and insipid.

Reaping.

If all circumstances favourable to the growth of corn concur, you may begin to have the benefit of it as fodder, within six weeks after sowing; and may cut it every day for the use of your cattle. But when autumn advances, you must not wait until necessity determines the cutting of it, lest early frosts should overtake the plant in the field, and thereby alter the quality of it. Besides, it is proper to leave time, to prepare the land for winter sowing, and to avail yourself of the remainder of the warm weather, to dry this fodder, in the same manner as some other fodders, by spreading and turning.

The use of the fodder, green or dry.

Among the plants, of which natural or artificial meadows are composed, there are none, which contain so much of the alimentary principle, and which please cattle of every kind more, than Indian corn when green. It is the most wholesome, agreeable, and substantial food, that can be offered them; and they prefer it to all others. It fattens oxen, increases the milk of cows, and is to be preferred to oats for horses. In short, the dry fodder, of which we are speaking, is, during a great part of

the winter, a precious resource for cattle, whether it be given alone or mixed.

Indian corn, planted for a crop of grain, bears a stalk, which, if cut in proper season, affords also an excellent fodder without injuring the size or number of ears; but as this culture, so advantageous to all the provinces that have adopted it, requires a different management, and attention, it shall be the subject of a particular memoir.



Description of a plant, the spontaneous production of this country, said to be of great utility in the improvement of poor and exhausted land.

IN Maryland, and on the eastern shore of Virginia, they have long been in the practice of sowing a seed which they call a bean, (known by the name of the maggotty bay bean) to recruit their worn-out lands, and enrich such as are naturally poor. The best information that I have, is that they sow a pint of the bean with every bushel of oats. The oats ripen, and are cut in July—at a time when the young beans are small, and escape the injury of the scythe. The beans flower in August and September. In October, the leaves fall off, the seeds ripen, and the pod opens with such elasticity, as to scatter the beans to some distance around. The year following, the field is cultivated with corn. The beans, which sprout early, are all destroyed with the plough and hoe: but the more numerous part, not making their appearance above ground, until the corn is laid by, spring up, unhurt by the instruments of agriculture; and furnish seed for the ensuing year when the field is again sowed in oats. The ground is, alternately, cultivated with corn and oats, annually; and, the course of eight or ten years, greatly improved, that, without any other manure, than the moulder-

aves and stalks of the beans falling
it, the produce will be three barrels
the acre, on such land, as, prior
this management, would not have
duced more than one. This is
id to happen from the quick moul-
ring of the leaves and stalks of the
an plant, and its aptitude to min-
e and unite with the earth, without
dergoing a fermentation. Thus
e soil is yearly and gradually en-
hed, by this easy process of na-
re, without the labour and ex-
nce of accumulating animal and
getable matters, to undergo the te-
ous operations of fermentation and
trefaction: by which, the dissolu-
on of those substances is effected,
d they fitted for manure, in the
ual way.

Notwithstanding this extraordina-
character of the eastern shore bean,
am clearly of opinion, that our
mmon corn field pea, is far prefe-
ble to any thing that I have ever
en tried for this purpose. Every
rmer who leaves his pea-vines on
e ground, and does not, in the ac-
ustomed manner, pull them up for
dder, must often have observed,
at they quickly moulder and fall
pieces: furnishing a covering to
e ground, which readily unites and
ends with it, in the manner menti-
ed of the bean.

If a piece of exhausted land, suffi-
iently level to prevent its washing
way with the rain, be annually cul-
vated in pease—leaving the stalks
d leaves to moulder and crumble
pieces upon it—the ground will
prove beyond expectation; the
op of pease increasing every year,
d the soil becoming richer and
cher, without any other manure. I
as told by an eminent planter, that
oor ground might by this ma-
gement alone, be made rich
ough to produce good tobacco.

These hints, on the culture of the
estern shore bean, and the improve-
ment of the land thereby, are related

from the best information I could
get. If any gentleman, experimen-
tally acquainted with it, would fa-
vour the public with a more ample
account, it will, no doubt, be well
received, and be of utility. My
principal design, in this publication,
is to assist the farmer, as well as the
naturalist, by pointing out the plant,
and describing it so, that it may be
distinguished, with certainty, from
all others. The eastern shore bean,
so called from its being first culti-
vated there, is found in all parts of
Virginia and Carolina; upon all
sorts of lands, high and low, except
where they are too wet. It has been
mistaken, by some, for the common
tare or partridge-pea; to which it
bears some resemblance, but is not
the same: It belongs to a different
class of plants.

In describing this plant, I shall,
first, consider the lovers of science,
and give a botanical description, in
such terms, as are most familiar to
them; adding afterwards, for the
farmer, a description and explanati-
on, in English, as plain and easy as I
possibly can. Being shewed a row of
these plants, in September (produced
from seed procured by a neighbour-
ing gentlemen from the place of cul-
tivation) sown in a drill, and then
flowering and filling their pods, I
immediately discovered it to be a
plant that I had long been acquainted
with; having collected, and sent it,
with many others, before the war, to
a professor of one of the European
universities. Upon looking into my
botanical catalogue, I find it descri-
bed and arranged in the decandria,
or tenth class of Linnæus; in the mo-
nogynia, or first order of that class;
in the genus, *cassia*; and it is that
particular species, to which he has
given the specific name *chamaecrista*.
Doctor Hill, in his *Eden*, page 54,
calls it golden cassia; and has exhibit-
ed a good engraving of it in his
fifth plate,—fig. 5. It is mentioned

by Gronovius (in the collection made by the late Mr. Clayton, of Virginia) in his flora Virginica, fol. 64.—*Cassia foliolis multijugatis*, &c. It has been noticed by several other authors. In my catalogue it stands thus described:—

Cassia chamæcrista Linnæi. Decandria, monogynia.

Radix annua fibrosa. Caulis sesquipedalis, erectus, teres, lævis, ramifolius, coloratus. Folia alterna, pinnata, multijuga, abrupta. Foliolis oppositis, ovalibus, glaberrimis, æqualibus, cum forma et sensibilitati mimosæ foliis, similissimis. Stipulæ binæ laterales, erectæ, lanceolatæ, acutæ. Glandula super medium petioli, in plantis majoribus, pedicellata. Pedunculus spatio supra petiolum egreditur. Ab mense Augusti, ad finem æstatis floret: solis omnibus habitat, sed humidis maxime gaudet.

The golden cassia or peacock flower, is an annual plant, the root and stalk dying every year. The root is small, consisting of fibres or threads. The stem is upright: in small plants, not more than eight inches high; but in richer ground, where level and moist, the stem rises to a foot and a half, or two feet; a little crooked, round, smooth, and coloured; branching out at the upper part, and bearing many flowers, standing on bending foot-stalks, scattered all over the main stem and branches. The petals or flower-leaves, are five; of a fine golden colour, with ten male stamens, or threads in the middle, crowned with antheræ, or buttons, of a red and purple colour. These filaments, somewhat resembling the crest or plumage on the head of a peacock, have led some botanists to name it *crista pavonis*, or peacock-flower; but the plant we here treat of, being a smaller species, they have added *chamæcrista pavonis*, or dwarf peacock-flower; by which latter name the reader may call it, if he pleases.

In the middle of the ten male filaments above mentioned, will be readily observed, another single thread or style; which is the female part of the flower, producing the seed-vessel or bean; each pod containing a single row of black shining seeds, fixed to the upper suture, or back seam of the bean. These seeds are nearly flat, four cornered, and not in the least resembling a bean or pea. The partridge-pea may be easily distinguished from this, by colour, and shape: The latter is brown and kidney-shaped. The leaves are pinnated or winged (like the locust, fern, partridge-pea, &c.) and grow alternately from the stem, on a slender foot-stalk, which has a small gland or wart, placed upon the middle of every one; and these glands, upon the larger plants, are elevated on a pedicle, or short stalk, conspicuous to the naked eye. At the base of every foot-stalk, upon the stem, are found two very small upright spear-pointed leaves, called stipulæ, which, by the help of a glass, appear to be hairy. The small leaves are placed oppositely, on the midrib, the number of twenty pair, or more, oval shaped, smooth, ending in an even number; in shape and sensibility resembling the leaves of the mimosa or sensitive-plant. They shut up at night, and expand in the morning; until through age, they lose this sensibility. Frequent shaking, or striking with the hand, will cause them to shut up; and in like manner, when gathered, cannot be carried far, before they collapse. So that the botanist wants to preserve the leaves expanded in *horto sicco*, must enclose the plant, when gathered on the spot, with as gentle a maturation as possible.

The month of October being the season for gathering the seed, (the leaves then falling off) the farmer will readily find the plant, upon all sorts of ground, amongst the weeds.

and even broom-straw old fields; and will easily distinguish it, by the brown colour of the pods, and the redness of the stalk. Let it be pulled up by the roots, dried on a cloth in the sun, and then threshed out with a stick, and preserved in a bag, hung up in a dry place, until the season for sowing it with oats.

PHILO BOTANICES.

Dinwiddie, (Virginia) October, 1787.



*A valuable cheap and easily procured
winter food for cattle.*

AS œconomy is amongst the first objects of a farmer, he ought to be informed of every mean and method that is in his power to gain advantage by it.

Amongst many others, one is here suggested, which is constantly practised in Germany with success. In that country, the pumice, from the cyder press, is dried and housed. In the winter a proportion of it is boiled in a kettle in three times the quantity of water; and, when cool, is given to horses, oxen, cows, and young cattle; who greedily drink the liquor, and eat the seeds, straw, and bruised apple, (or pear, where perry is made) which is increased by boiling. This food is soon very grateful, and in an easy method supplies their stomachs with an healthy and useful acid.

It is requested that the American farmers at this season would prepare for an experiment on this subject, and favour the world with a report of the success; of which there can be but little doubt.

Great savings might hereby be made in the winter-food of cattle, did we properly secure all those quantities of pumice which are now little better than useless—because, as commonly managed, it is bad manure. Many have found great advantage by sowing the pumice, not only for nurseries, but in

hedge rows, by running a plough in lines, and strewing and burying it, in order to form living fences, and thereby dividing large inclosures, in a short time, into smaller.

Settlers, in new countries, are too apt to forget the great profit which might accrue to themselves by these hedges; nothing would more tend to remind them on this subject, than for persons in possession of cyder-mills, to preserve apple and pear seeds for them, by the common method of throwing the pumice into a tub of water, and by stirring, separate the seeds which will sink to the bottom, whilst the bruised apple and the straw are taken from the surface, and spread either for drying, or converted to the common uses.

Thus, certain persons being possessed of quantities of seed, the adventurers would be easily supplied, and the country greatly benefited.



On raising potatoes.

SO many experiments have been made, and so successfully also in various parts of this continent, in the past summer, by planting potatoes under straw, old hay, sea-weed, eel-grass, &c. on grass grounds, that it is recommended to the public as an object justly deserving attention, particularly from all who live in the neighbourhood of the sea shore, where, during the winter, large quantities of this useful covering are constantly thrown up, and as constantly lost or left useless.

As potatoes are frequently given to fatten hogs, in this method of planting, they may easily get them, by being suffered to root them up themselves for an hour each day. A longer time is liable to satiate, and leave them at liberty to destroy more than they eat; this has been practised to profit in the common method of planting in the earth.

Mr. Printer,
ENCLOSED you have a paper on the subject of cotton planting, written by an intelligent gentleman of Jamaica. If you think it may be of any service to the cotton planters in the southern states, please to publish it in your Museum. L.

IT is necessary, in the first place, for those who wish to plant cotton with advantage, to take the early part of the year for preparing the soil; which is best done by hoe-ploughing, or laying the ground in small ridges or potatoe hills, which prevents the soil throwing out a crop of weeds, and gives double vigour to the powers of vegetation. The months of May, June, or July, are the best seasons in Jamaica for planting; and when the rain has penetrated the ground to the depth of twelve inches, there is every chance of succeeding in getting the plants so strong as to resist the dry season, until the October rains.

I recommend immersing the seeds in water for twelve hours before planting them, as they may sooner come up and get strength, than by putting them in the ground in their dry state. The seeds so immersed, separate, part sink and part swim; the heaviest are to be best depended on. The distance of the plants should be three feet in the line, and eight feet separate between such lines. I find, when so close, the trees are better protected from the dry weather, the ground being sheltered by their foliage; something resembling the old stile of cut fences.

When the plants arrive at the height of sixteen inches, they are then to be topped; a dry day must be chosen for that purpose, and about an inch of the uppermost part of the plant is lopped off, as well as of the principal branches. This operation produces a number of branches

to protrude from the principal stem, and spreads the tree, without permitting it to run into high wood. At this time the cotton ought to be hilled up, and as strong a moulding given as will secure it in an erect situation. When the autumnal rains commence, it will be necessary to top all the trees that have grown above four feet in height, and reduce them all to one elevation, permitting the branches that spread horizontally to enjoy that situation uninjured. Cotton should never be permitted to rise higher than six feet, as the pods, in their green state, form a great weight, and are broken down, if too tall, by every breeze. Whenever the crop ends, cut all down within two feet of the ground, and treat the ratoon, in the autumn, in the same manner as before directed.

When the season for picking arrives, the whole attention ought to be directed to gathering it. Take none but what is fully open and dry: never intrude on the half-opened pod. The wool should be pendant, and in a state of complete separation; so taken it saves the great labour of whipping, which is a tedious process, and injures the seed. The wool should be laid under cover, in order to dry the seed. When brought to the gin, it should be exposed to the sun; for the drier it is, the more easily will it pass the machine.

The gin, the great article of labour, ought to be so constructed as to give great effect to its mechanism. Three pair of rollers may be worked longitudinally with the same wheel: two negroes driving and three feeding such a gin, should clear one hundred and eighty pounds weight a day with ease.

When the caterpillars attack the cotton, in the early part of the year, they may be permitted to fly off unmolested; but if they come when the tree begins to blossom, they must be

destroyed, or they destroy the crop. If the land is clear, simply shaking them off the tree will be sufficient, as the ants will kindly take the part of the planter, and prevent their return. But if the ground is full of weeds, they must be killed as you take them. The red fly is a constant companion of the cotton in opening, but seldom does much mischief, except by soiling the wool.

When once cotton is established, a crop of corn may be always taken along with it, without injury. It should be great corn, if possible, as that is taken in before the tree begins to blossom.



Advantages of preserving parsnips by drying.—By the rev. J. Belknap.

AMONG the number of esculent roots, the parsnip has two singular good qualities. One is, that it will endure the severest frost, and may be taken out of the ground in the spring, as fresh and sweet as in autumn; the other is, that it may be preserved, by drying, to any desired length of time.

The first of these advantages has been known for many years past; the people in the most northerly parts of New England, where winter reigns with great severity, and the ground is often frozen to the depth of two or three feet for four months, leave their parsnips in the ground till it thaws in the spring, and think them much better preserved than in cellars.

The other advantage never occurred to me, till this winter, when one of my neighbours put into my hands a substance which had the appearance of a piece of buck's horn. This was part of a parsnip, which had been drawn out of the ground last April, and had lain neglected in a dry closet for ten months. It was so hard, as to require considerable strength to force a knife through it cross-wise;

but being soaked in warm water, for about an hour, became tender; and was as sweet to the taste, as if it had been fresh drawn from the ground.

As many useful discoveries owe their origin to accident, this may suggest a method of preserving so pleasant and wholesome a vegetable for the use of seamen in long voyages, to prevent the scurvy and other disorders incident to a sea-faring life, which is often rendered tedious and distressing for want of vegetable food; since I am persuaded that parsnips, dried to such a degree, as above related, and packed in tight casks, may be transported round the globe, without any loss of their flavour or diminution of their nutritive quality.



Receipts for preserving turnips from insects.

Mr. Printer,

TURNIPS are so frequently destroyed by a small fly, which feeds on them, whilst quite young, that farmers are, in a great measure, deterred from attempting to cultivate that valuable root; the following receipts, to prevent the ravages of that destructive insect, have lately been published in Europe; be pleased to insert them in your Museum, for the benefit of that very useful class of citizens, the yeomanry of the country.

I am, sir,

Your most humble servant,
PHILIP SCHUYLER.

I.

To a quart of turnip-seed add one ounce of brimstone finely powdered; put both into a bottle, large enough to afford room to shake them well together every day, for four or five days previous to sowing, keeping the bottle well corked.

II.

Take such a quantity of elder leaves, as, when bruised, will yield

juice sufficient to cover the turnip-feed you intend to sow, in which let it soak about 12 hours; the next day mix it with the bruised leaves, and sow all together.

Turnip-feed is generally covered with a brush harrow; take elder bushes for this purpose; if the berries are on, the effect will be increased. If, notwithstanding these precautions, the fly should attack the young plant, draw elder bushes gently over them.

I have found by experience, that the fly rarely attacks turnips growing on the ground, from which a crop of flax has been taken the same season. I have also, and with good success, prevented the ravages of the turnip-fly, by covering my turnip-field with straw, after it was prepared for seeding, and then burnt the straw the day before I sowed.

If turnip-feed is sowed while it rains, it does not require to be harrowed in, and the young plants shoot so strongly, that they soon gain strength beyond the power of the fly.



On the method of rearing young cattle.

OBSERVING in your Museum for August, an account of a gruel, made of ground barley and oats, being successfully used for rearing cattle when young, I think it may prove useful to inform the public of the success of further experiments thereon, which I take from the annals of agriculture, collected and published by Arthur Young, esquire, F. R. S.

A FARMER.

THERE are two objects in rearing calves, each of which is of great importance: 1st, To effect it without the assistance of milk at all; —and 2d, To improve skim milk in such a manner, as to make it more nutritious; it being well known that

there is a prodigious difference in the growth and thriving of the animal, when fed with new or skimmed milk. I followed the method of gruel made by barley and oats ground, with the greatest exactness, last year, with two calves, both of which, so far from being reared, were so reduced that though I changed their diet to milk, upon finding it would not do, yet I was too late with the change, and they both died. I will not condemn the method from one experiment, but I must own I have many doubts of its ever proving a real and entire substitute for milk.

During my residence in Ireland, I had the opportunity of buying calves at the low price of twenty pence to three shillings, which induced me to make my experiments on this enquiry. Knowing, before I went, the cheapness of calves, I had collected various receipts for weaning them; among others, hay tea, bean meal mixed with wheat, flour, barley, and oats, ground, nearly, but not exactly in Mr. Budd's proportion; but principally flaxseed boiled to a jelly, and mixed with warm water. This being recommended more than the rest, I tried it on more calves. The general result I well remember. Of above thirty calves, I reared not more than three or four: and I was convinced, as strongly as the experiments of one season could convince me, that none of the methods tried, deserved reliance. Barley and oatmeal, with a little flax jelly, reared the few that escaped, except one, on which a trial was made at the suggestion of my coachman, who had reared many calves. He desired to mix two-thirds skim milk and one third water, with a small addition of flax-seed jelly, dissolved. That calf recovered quickly from the low condition it had been reduced to, and afterwards thrived well. I intend multiplying my experiments in the enquiry after the first object, as often I am able; all I can

assert is, I have hitherto had no success.

I now come to the second object, that of improving skim milk, a desideratum as much to be desired as the former. The moment I received the very satisfactory communication from that great patron of every patriotic endeavour to serve the public, the Duke of Northumberland, I tried it exactly according to the recipe below, and at the same time recommended it to two farmers in different parts of the kingdom, who, I knew, were solicitous for discoveries of this kind. It answered with me as well as I could wish the first season, and has stood a second test. The farmers to whom I communicated, report also favourably of it; in all cases it has appeared to do better than skim milk alone. Thus one material step is gained, not the complete establishment of the method, which can only follow multiplied and varied experiments, but a proof that it may be very safely recommended, to those who are the most cautious, and the most fearful of incurring expence.

R E C I P E.

Take one gallon of skimmed milk, and in about a pint of it add half an ounce of common treacle (melasses) stirring it until it is well mixed. Then take one ounce of linseed oil cake, well powdered, and with the hand let it fall gradually, in very small quantities, into the milk, stirring it in the mean time with a spoon or ladle, until it be thoroughly incorporated. Then let the mixture be put into the other part of the milk, and the whole be made as nearly warm as new milk, when it is first taken from the cow, and in that state it is fit for use.

N. B. The quantity of the oil cake powdered, may, from time to time, be increased as occasion may require, and as the calf becomes inured to the flavour of it.

On bee keeping.

MANY and great are the advantages to be gained by the inhabitants of these united states, if bees were propagated, supported, and preserved. Our soil and climate are inferior to none for this purpose. Not Egypt, Greece, Italy, Germany, France, England, or any part whatever of the whole globe, would exceed us in the quantity, quality, or flavour of the honey. Canaan, of old, could not with more propriety be called a land flowing with milk and honey, than America would be, did we but improve all the means to produce these so valuable and so important articles, which we might do very easily; which would assist each other when we annually extended such pastures as would increase both.

Bees-wax for manufactures, candles, and exportation will be a great motive to exertion, and perhaps emulation in this system; especially was a bounty given upon it by government. Wax candles would then be sold as cheap as tallow, and the quantity of wax, in American exports, would be very great indeed.

A writer observes, that were bees propagated, and supported as extensively as a country would bear, innumerable insects would be destroyed, which feed upon the honey in the bloom of trees, shrubs, and herbs; and that this would tend to expel those hosts of insects, which we observe floating in the air, playing in the rays of the sun, near the time of its setting, many of which we are in danger of receiving into our bodies by respiration, because of their smallness, much to the injury of our health.

If these observations are just, will not the increasing of bees assist in expelling the caterpillar and canker worm, which have so often destroyed the fruit of the apple tree; whose

young, often feeding upon that part of the bloom, from which the bees collect the yellow down, which they carry into their hives on their legs?

This point would be easily decided by those persons who have trees near their bee houses, or in those parts of the country where bees are most frequent. Should the knowledge of any one prove this to be a fact, that such trees are less frequently, or never attacked by these ravagers, the world ought to be favoured with the information.

Insects often feed upon that moisture, which many trees, especially the chestnut, afford in very sultry days, in summer, which the bees collect with great activity; this is sometimes called honey dew, and is the sweet sap of the tree sweating through the leaf, and becomes honey; which, if more generally collected by the bees, would thereby serve to expel those troublesome and noxious insects.

A FARMER.



To preserve butter perfectly sweet the whole year.

TAKE of crude sal ammoniac, and of loaf sugar, each 4 oz.—nitre 8 oz.—allum-salt 1 lb. Let the above ingredients be finely powdered, and well mixed together. As soon as the butter is sufficiently worked, it should have an ounce of the above powder wrought into every pound, and after standing till the next day, the same quantity should again be added to it, working it well, as before; press it into an oak tub or barrel, as it keeps better in oak vessels than any other.

N. B. The powder should be mixed with the butter immediately after it is made; for standing even one day, previous to that, makes the success less certain.

Query addressed to the lovers of cyder.

SINCE elder is very obnoxious to insects, will it not be wise to make a strong decoction of it, and preserve it in bottles or casks through the winter, that it may be applied to the apple trees in the spring? Perhaps it will prevent the worm from destroying your fruit. If it be thought that the decoction will lose its qualities before the return of spring, the leaves and flowers may be dried and preserved, and the decoction made just before you use it.



*Copy of a letter from Mr. Decius Wadsworth to Col. Jeremiah Wadsworth, containing a further * account of Mr. James Cowles's wheat.*

Farmington, August 15, 1787.

SIR,

I HAVE the satisfaction to inform you, that Mr. Cowles's wheat continued free from any material injury by the fly, until the harvest; though considerably affected by a blast which prevailed in the neighbourhood, but which on no account appears owing to the fly; yet the straw was very luxuriant: three hundred sheaves were reaped on an acre. The difference between the wheat which had but an imperfect trial of the preparation, and the other, is very striking and serves more than any other fact to convince us of the efficacy of the elder. Mr. Cowles informed me that he reaped but four sheaves where the peck of seed, mentioned in my former letter, was sown.

If this peck of seed was of the same quality, and differed in no respect but the mode of preparing it, from the rest, as Mr. Cowles stated—

NOTE.

* For the former account of this wheat, see American Museum for August, 1787, page 175.

and it undoubtedly was, unless by some unlucky circumstance Mr. Bowles was deceived in that particular, (for his veracity is unquestionable) the efficacy of the elder is established, and we may congratulate the farmers, that so easy a method is discovered, of relieving them from the prospect of want, with which they were threatened.

D. WADSWORTH.

Col. J. Wadsworth.



Letter relative to the Hessian fly.

To the printer.

A FEW months since I read an advertisement in one of the public papers of Philadelphia, complaining of that pernicious insect commonly known by the appellation of the Hessian bug, as being generally destructive to the wheat in that state—I beg leave to inform you, that my neighbours and I sustained great loss by that reptile; so great, indeed, that we desponded of ever raising any. In the year 1783, I fortunately purchased one bushel of wheat of a certain quality, which produced more abundantly than any which I have seen for many years, and proved an antidote to the above-described insect these two years past.

Any person or persons who should be desirous of purchasing any quantity of said wheat (not exceeding one hundred bushels) may be supplied with the same, at fourteen shillings per bushel, by applying to Mr. Peter Walsh, instructor of youth, No. 24, Duke-street, New York.

PETER BURTIS.

Newtown, Long Island,

August 24, 1787.



On the use of mercurial preparations in the scarlatina anginosa.

SIR,

YOU are requested to publish in your entertaining and instructing

Museum, the following facts respecting the use of mercurial preparations in the cure of the scarlatina anginosa, or ulcerous sore throat, accompanied with scarlet fever, for the entertainment of your medical readers, by

your respectful humble servant,

WILLIAM CURRIE.

Mr. M. Carey.

HAVING had many opportunities of observing the inefficacy of the remedies in common use for the scarlatina anginosa, or sore throat, with scarlet fever, which prevailed in Philadelphia, the preceding summer, I was induced by reading an account of the extraordinary success which some practitioners in hot climates had experienced from mercurial preparations in the angina maligna, (which I conceive to be only a variety of the same disease, produced by the same specific contagion), and encouraged by the example of the ingenious Dr. Rush, and the judicious Dr. Kuhn, on whose judgments I rely more than on my own—I conceived it my duty to give it a cautious, but, at the same time, a fair and faithful trial, in such cases as manifestly discovered symptoms of great debility and putrefaction: to which circumstances I thought proper to confine it; and found it to succeed beyond my expectations. I treated the disease, when otherwise circumstanced, according to the directions given by Dr. Cullen and Dr. Perkins: for the particulars whereof, as well as for a description of the symptoms, I beg leave to refer to their treatises on the subject; and shall proceed with my statement of facts.

Calomel was the preparation which I generally employed; of which I have frequently given from thirty to forty grains, in the course of five or six days, to a child of five or six years of age; proportioning the quantity and frequency of exhibi-

tion, to the age of the patient, and violence of the symptoms. My usual dose, to a child of two years of age, was three grains of calomel, twice a day, guarded by a warm opiate, such as thereac : Venet : for the first three or four doses—that it might the more readily enter the circulation, and act more powerfully upon the diseased glands of the throat : and what is remarkable, when given in this way, it seldom or never raised a salivation in children ; but if it had, it could have been productive of no ill effect.

After having administered a few doses of calomel, combined with an opiate, I generally discontinued the opiate ; and found the mercury seemed afterwards to have a less tendency to run off by the bowels, than when given at first without the opiate. When this was not observed, the continuance of the opiate seemed to increase the comatose propensity (a symptom inseparable from the worst form of this disease), and to diminish the sensibility of the trachea, and thereby to counteract, in a great measure, the stimulating action of the mercury upon the glands of the throat, &c.

The operation of the calomel, as an expectorant, was sometimes promoted by a few grains of ipecacuanha, given so as to excite a vomit two or three times.

I never employed purges under the recited circumstances, through fear of their debilitating effects : and, as every symptom contra-indicated blood-letting, it was never advised.

Though I am convinced that mercury surpasses every other remedy in this disease, I will not presume to say that no other remedies are necessary : on the contrary, in all cases, where the feverish symptoms discover great deficiency in the vis vitæ, cordials, especially Madeira wine—and, when the ulcerations of the tonsils assume a gangrenous aspect, the

addition of the Peruvian bark—is absolutely necessary.

The natural efforts of the constitution, for the removal of this disease, seem to be by an eruption on the skin, ulcers behind the ears, or an external swelling of the throat, all of which, when the deposition or determination appears to be deficient, indicate the use of blisters. I accordingly employed them in every such case, and generally with great success. I applied them under each ear, over the tonsils, so as to meet on the trachea. The earlier in the complaint they were applied, the more certain was the service they performed. They produced these salutary effects, probably by deriving the flow of humours from the internal to the external parts, and thereby diminished the irritation occasioned by the acrid matter. They could not act by taking off spasm, where no spasm existed : but by whatever mode they acted, I am certain of their good effects. No tendency to gangrene succeeded their application in any cases that came under my inspection, even in the most desperate cases, though I have frequently seen bad effects follow their application in several cases of the putrid or malignant fevers.

I employed the gargles recommended by Huxham and Fothergill, for the ulcerations of the fauces or tonsils ; but insisted more particularly on having the warm steam of a decoction of camomile flowers, Peruvian bark, and honey, with vinegar and water, received into the throat by means of Mudge's inhaler. This not only afforded ease, but served in some manner to attenuate and assist the operation of the calomel, in separating the mucus in the fauces and trachea, and by exciting a slight cough, promoted expectoration and the expulsion of the acrid matter.

To conclude—I am perfectly convinced, that mercurial preparations

exceed every other remedy in the disease in question, when accompanied with the characteristic symptoms of putridity; and this conviction, together with a desire of contributing to the stock of medical facts (which I consider as the surest foundation of rational and certain practice) has prevailed with me to make my opinion public.



Observations on the cause and cure of the tetanus.—By Benjamin Rush, M. D. professor of chemistry in the university of Pennsylvania.

DURING my attendance upon the military hospitals of the united states, in the course of the late war, I met with several cases of the tetanus. I had frequently met with this disorder in private practice, and am sorry to say that I never succeeded with the ordinary remedy of opium in any one case that came under my care. I found it equally ineffectual in the army. Baffled in my expectations from a remedy that had been so much celebrated, I began to investigate more particularly the nature of the disorder. I found it to be a disorder of warm climates, and warm seasons. This led me to ascribe it to relaxation. I resolved to attempt the cure of it by a set of medicines in some measure the opposites of most of the medicines that had been employed in that disorder. Soon after I adopted this resolution, I was called to visit col. John Stone, who was wounded through the foot at the battle of Germantown on the 4th of October, 1777. He was in the third day of a tetanus. His spasms were violent, and his pains so exquisite, that his cries were heard near a hundred yards from his quarters. His head was thrown a little backwards, and his jaw had become stiff and contracted. He was under the care of a skilful regimental sur-

geon, who was pouring down opium in large quantities without effect.

Duty and friendship both led me to do my utmost to save the life of this valuable officer. I immediately dismissed the opium, and gave him large quantities of wine and bark, to the amount of two or three ounces of the latter, and from a bottle to three pints of the former in the day. In a few hours, I was delighted with their effects. His spasms and pains were less frequent and violent, and he slept for several hours, which he had not done for several days and nights before.

With the same indication in view, I applied a blister between his shoulders, and rubbed in two or three ounces of mercurial ointment upon the outside of his throat. He continued to mend gradually under the operation of these medicines, so that in ten days he was out of danger, although the spasm continued in his wounded foot for several weeks afterwards.

In the summer of the year 1782, I was called to visit a servant girl of mr. Alexander Todd, merchant, of this city, who had brought on a tetanus by sleeping in the evening on a damp brick pavement, after a day in which the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer had stood at near 90°. The case was nearly as violent and alarming as the one I have described. I treated her in the same manner, and with the same success. To the above named medicines, I added only the oil of amber, which she took in large doses, after I suspected the tonic powers of the bark and wine began to lose their effects. The good effects of the oil were very obvious. She recovered gradually, and has continued ever since in good health.

In the summer of the same year, I was called to Alexander Leslie, a joiner, who had run a nail in his foot. I found him the day afterwards, in extreme pain, with small

convulsions, and now and then a twinge in his jaw. The wound in his foot was without swelling or inflammation. I dilated the wound, and filled it with lint moistened with spirit of turpentine. This in a little while produced a good deal of pain and a great inflammation in his foot. While I was preparing to treat him in the manner I had treated the two former cases, the pains and spasms in his body suddenly left him, and in twenty hours after I saw him, he complained of nothing but of the pain and swelling in his foot, which continued for several weeks, and did not leave him till it ended in a suppuration. From the history of these three cases, I beg leave to make the following remarks,

1. That the predisposition to the tetanus depends upon relaxation. This relaxation is generally produced by heat; but excessive labour, watchings, marches, or fatigue from any cause, all produce it likewise; and hence we find it more frequent from wounds received in battles, than from similar wounds received in any other way. These wounds more certainly produce the tetanus, if they have been preceded for some time with warm weather. Dr. Shoepf, the physician general of the Anspach troops, that served at the siege of York, in the year 1781, informed me of a singular fact upon this subject. Upon conversing with the French surgeons, after the capitulation, he was informed by them that the troops who arrived just before the siege, from the West Indies, with count de Grasse, were the only troops belonging to their nation that suffered from the tetanus. There was not a single instance of that disorder among the troops who had spent a winter in Rhode Island.

2. As the tetanus seems to be occasioned by relaxation, the medicines indicated to cure it, are such only as are calculated to remove this relaxa-

tion, and to restore a tone to the system. The bark and wine appear to act in this way. The operation of the blisters is of a more complicated nature. That they are sedative and antispasmodic in fevers, is universally acknowledged; but in the state of irritability, which occurs in the tetanus, perhaps their effects are more simply stimulating. But I will go one step further. In order to cure this disorder, it is necessary not only to produce an ordinary tone in the system, but something like the inflammatory diathesis. The absence of this diathesis is taken notice of by all authors, particularly by dr. Cullen*.

Mercury appears to act only by promoting this diathesis. Hence it never does any service unless it be given time enough to produce a salivation. The irritation and inflammation produced in the mouth and throat, seldom fail to produce the inflammatory diathesis, as blood drawn in a salivation has repeatedly shewn.

I apprehend that the oil of amber acts as a stimulant chiefly in this disorder. I have heard of a tetanus being cured in the island of Grenada by large doses of mustard. Dr. Wright, lately of the island of Jamaica, relates in the 6th volume of the London medical essays several remarkable cases of the tetanus being cured by the colic bath. Both these remedies certainly act as stimulants and tonics. By reasoning *a priori*, I conceive that electricity would be found to be an equally powerful remedy in this disorder.

As a general inflammatory diathesis disposes to topical inflammation, so topical inflammation disposes to general inflammatory diathesis. Wounds upon this account are le-

NOTE.

* First lines, Vol. III.

apt to inflame in summer than in winter. In the tetanus I have uniformly observed an absence of all inflammation in the wounds or injuries that produced it. A splinter under the nail produces no convulsions, if pain, inflammation and supuration follow the accident. It is by exciting pain and inflammation, I apprehend, that the spirit of turpentine acts in all wounds and punctures of nervous and tendinous parts. I have never known a single instance of a tetanus from a wound, where this remedy had been applied in time. It was to excite an inflammation in the foot of Mr. Leslie, that I dilated the wound and filled it with the spirit of turpentine. I was not surprised at its good effects in this case, for I was prepared to expect them.

I find a remarkable case related in Mr. W. Monroe's thesis, published in Edinburgh in the year 1783, of a black girl, who had a tetanus from running a nail in her foot, being perfectly cured by deep and extensive incisions being made in the wounded part by Dr. John Bell, of the island of Grenada.

It is by producing inflammation in a particular part, and tone in the whole system, I apprehend, that the amputation of a wounded limb sometimes cures a tetanus; and it is because the degrees of both are too inconsiderable to oppose the violence of the spasms in the advanced stages of the tetanus, that amputation often fails of success.

I have been informed by a physician who resided some time at St. Croix, that the negroes on that island always apply a plaster made of equal parts of salt and tallow to their fresh wounds, in order to prevent a locked jaw. The salt always produces some degree of inflammation.

If the facts that have been stated are true, and the inferences that have been drawn from them are just, how shall we account for the action of

opium in curing this disorder? I do not deny its good effects in many cases; but I believe it has failed in four cases out of five in the hands of most practitioners. It is remarkable that it succeeds only where it is given in very large doses. In these cases I would suppose that its sedative powers are lost in its stimulating. It is upon a footing, therefore, in one respect, with the stimulating medicines that have been mentioned; but from its being combined with a sedative quality, it is probably inferior to most of them. I am the more inclined to adopt this opinion, from an account I once received from Dr. Robert, of the island of Dominique, who informed me that after having cured a negro man of a tetanus with large doses of opium, he was afterwards seized with a disorder in his stomach, of which he died in a few days. Upon opening him, he found his stomach inflamed and mortified. I do not forbid the use of opium altogether in this disorder. I think small doses of it may be given to ease pain, as in other spasmodic disorders; but as its qualities are complicated, and its efficacy doubtful, I think it ought to yield to more simple and more powerful remedies.

To the cases that have been mentioned, I could add many others, in which I have reason to believe that the excitement of a topical inflammation by artificial means, has effectually prevented a tetanus.

To this account of the tetanus, I beg leave to subjoin a few words upon a disorder commonly called the jaw-fall in infants, or the trismus nascentium, of Dr. Cullen, which is nothing but a species of tetanus.

I have met with three cases of it in this city, all of which proved fatal. The stage of the disorder in which I was consulted, and the age and weakness of the infants, forbade me to attempt any thing for their relief. I have introduced the subject

of this disorder in children, only for the sake of mentioning a fact communicated to me by the late dr. Cadwallader Evans of this city. This gentleman practised physic for several years in Jamaica, where he had frequent opportunities of seeing the tetanus in the black children. He found it in every case to be incurable. He supposed it to be occasioned by the retention of the meconium in the bowels. This led him invariably to purge every child that was born upon the estates committed to his care. After he adopted this practice, he never met with a single instance of the tetanus among children.

Perhaps it may tend to enlarge our ideas of the tetanus, and to promote a spirit of enquiry and experiment, to add, that this disorder is not confined to the human species. I have known several instances of it in horses from nails running in their feet, and other accidents. It is attended with a rigidity of the muscles of the neck, a stiffness in the limbs, and such a contraction of the jaw as to prevent their eating. It is generally fatal. In two cases I had the pleasure of seeing the disease perfectly cured by applying a potential caustic to the neck under the mane, by large doses of oil of amber, and by plunging one of them into the river, and throwing buckets of cold water upon the other.

How far the reasonings contained in this paper may apply to the hydrophobia, I cannot determine, having had no opportunity of seeing the disease since I adopted these principles; but from the spasmodic nature of the disorder, from the season in which it generally occurs, and above all, from the case related by dr. Fothergill, of a young woman having escaped the effects of the bite of a mad cat by means of the wound being kept open, (which from its severity was probably connected with some degrees of inflammation) is it not probable that

the same remedies, which have been used with success in the tetanus, may be used with advantage in the hydrophobia? In a disease so deplorable, and hitherto so unsuccessfully treated, even a conjecture may lead to useful experiments and enquiries.

............

Letter from dr. Thomas Bond to dr. Fothergill, on the use of the bark in scrophulous cases.

Philadelphia, Oct. 2, 1759.

Dear sir,

WHEN I read your essay on the use of bark in scrophulous diseases, I confess it a little surprised me. However, I determined to give it a fair trial, and have found that it much exceeds what you gave us reason to expect: but to answer any effectual purpose, it requires the steady use of large doses, repeated for a considerable space of time; to comply with which, there is no difficulty in prevailing with the patients, because they daily observe its good effects. The two following cases appear to me worthy of notice, which I communicate to you, in acknowledgement for the obligation I think myself under, for this improvement in the medical art.

The lady of an officer of distinction in the American army, about four years ago, was affected with several clusters of scrophulous tumour in the neck, for the cure of which she underwent many tedious and severe courses of medicine, without the least advantage. In February last she came to Philadelphia to consult me. She was then so reduced by loss of appetite, and slow fevers that she could scarcely walk across the chamber. Her neck and throat were full of indurated tumours, many of which were at least two inches in diameter: several of them had undergone a partial suppuration and discharged an ichorous matter.

from fistulous ulcers. The tumours were so numerous, large, and hard, and her constitution in general so shattered, I could not flatter myself with any rational prospect of success from medicine. However, that I might not be wanting in doing for so distressed an object all in my power, I ordered a discutient fucus to be affected parts; covered the swellings with the emp. c sapon.; and directed three scruples of the bark in powder, to be administered thrice a day; by which method, I had the unexpected pleasure of seeing her much relieved in a month. Her appetite was restored; her fever cured; and the tumour lessened at least one-third. She continued the same course, under my inspection, between two and three months longer: and being then nearly well, took one hundred doses of the bark with her, and returned to her husband's estate in the country, where she now enjoys perfect health, without the least remains of the disease.

The other instance is not so extraordinary as the above; but is as clear a proof of the efficacy of the bark, and of the necessity of continuing the use of it without intermission, until the cure is completed.

A young girl, of a good family, was brought to me from the country, with a large number of scrophulous tumours, which had gradually increased for many years. I first directed a slight salivation to be kept up for several weeks, which she bore well; but rather increased than lessened her tumours. I then directed a course of the bark in powder, with a few grains of steel. After she had taken one hundred and fifty doses, she was brought to me again, when I observed the tumours to be almost dissolved. A misfortune in the family soon after, caused the child to be neglected some months, during which time, the swellings increased to near their former size; but have

again yielded to the bark and steel.

I am, sir, &c.

THOMAS BOND.

Relation of a cure performed by electricity. Communicated to the medical society in London, by Dr. Cadwallader Evans.

C. B. in the summer, 1742, and about the fourteenth year of her age, was seized with convulsion fits, which succeeded each other so fast, that she had near forty in twenty four hours after the first attack. She struggled with such violence in the fits, that three strong people could scarcely keep her in bed; but, after bleeding, blisters, with the use of anodyne and nervous medicines, they now abated in severity, and did not return above once or twice a day. It was thought to be occasioned by an obstruction of the menses, from imprudently exposing herself to cold at the time of their appearance; therefore she was put upon a course of gums, steel, bitters, &c. which succeeded in procuring that discharge in a pretty regular manner.

Notwithstanding this, her disorder continued in one shape or other, or returned after an intermission of a month or two at farthest. Sometimes she was tortured almost to madness with a cramp in different parts of the body; then with more general convulsions of the extremities, and a choaking deliquium; and, at times, with almost the whole train of hysterical symptoms. These continued, and harassed her alternately for ten years, though she had the best advice the place afforded, and took a great number of medicines.

In September, 1752, she determined to try what electricity could do for her; which, together with its effect, she relates as follows, in two letters—the first dated five months

after the trial, the last in February, 1754 :

“ At length, my spirits were quite broke and subdued by so many years’ affliction : and indeed I was almost grown desperate, being left without hope of relief. About this time, there was great talk of the wonderful power of electricity : and, as a person reduced to the last extremity, is glad to catch at any thing, I happened to think it might be useful to me. Although I could have no encouragement from any experiment in the like case, I resolved to try, let the event be what it might : for death was more desirable than life, on the terms I enjoyed it. Accordingly, I went to Philadelphia, the beginning of September, 1752, and applied to B. Franklin, who, I thought, understood it best of any person here. I received four shocks morning and evening. They were what they call two hundred strokes of the wheel, which fill an eight gallon bottle, and indeed they were very severe. On receiving the first shock, I felt the fit very strong : but the second effectually carried it off : and thus it was, every time I went through the operation : yet the symptoms gradually decreased, till at length they entirely left me. I staid in town but two weeks : and, when I went home, B. Franklin was so good as to supply me with a globe and bottle, to electrify myself every day for three months. The fits were soon carried off : but the cramp continued somewhat longer ; though it was scarcely troublesome, and very seldom returned. I now enjoy such a state of health, as I would have given all the world for, this time two years, if it had been in my power : and I have great reason to hope it will continue.”

I have other letters from the family, of later date, which say she continues to enjoy perfect health.

To the printer.

I enclose two recipes for the cure of the dysentery, which I request to have published in the American Museum.

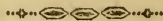
D. W.

I.

TAKE about three quarters of an ounce of the rind of the oldest cheese that can be got ; scrape it very fine in a pint of new milk, to which add as much superfine flour, as will bring it to the consistence of what is usually termed mush. Let this be the patient’s constant diet, until the disorder appears likely to abate, when any gentle-purge may be administered.

II.

TAKE the inner bark of a white oak sapling or tree, of which make tea : to sweeten it, make use of the best double-refined loaf sugar. Let this be the patient’s constant drink. If it proves unpalatable, dry the bark before a slow fire, and reduce it to a fine powder ; a small tea spoonful of which may be taken in a glass of good port wine, warmed in the morning, fasting, and in the evening, observing to work it off as in the first recipe.



Statement of a cause decided in the court of common pleas, Charleston, on the 5th of March, 1785.

IN the year 1782, a horse, belonging to col. Hill, was surreptitiously taken from his possession, and carried into the British lines. Soon after this, a deserter found means to detach the horse from the British and carried him to the camp commanded by general Greene. It being in general orders, from headquarters, that property of every denomination, brought in by deserters, should be considered as their perquisite, and that such property might be transferred in whatever manner the owner or owners should think proper.

per, the deserter sold the horse in question to major Moore, for a trifling consideration; and some time after, the horse was re-sold to mr. Slann, who was defendant in the present instance. It was strenuously insisted on, by the counsel for col. Hill, that the property being indubitably proved to have been originally vested in the colonel, the horse ought not only to be restored, but also such damages given for his use, as might appear just and reasonable. Counsel, on the other side, contended, that if mr. Slann was obliged to surrender the horse at all, it would be one of the hardest cases ever known; that an equitable price had been given to major Moore, was not even denied; the only ground, then, on which the plaintiff's plea could be established, would arise from the right in the major's antecedent and subsequent contract. In time of war, military government was necessarily established. The council of war decided upon all cases relative to military operations ultimately; and general orders had been issued, previous to the capture of col. Hill's horse, which completely authorised the deserter to dispose of him in the best manner he could.

To prove this fact, it was requested that general Pinckney might be examined, which the court assenting to, the general related, that whilst general Greene was in command of the American army in Carolina, a vast number of re-captures were made from the enemy, of negroes, &c. originally the property of citizens suffering in the cause of their country.

The governor and council for that time made application for a line of discrimination to be drawn, with regard to such property as might belong to persons hostile to America, and such as were friendly; in pursuance of which, general Greene called a council of general officers and lieu-

tenant colonels, in which the matter was fully debated; the general opinion was, that such appeared to be the situation of affairs, that every possible encouragement ought to be given to what might tend to the annoyance and injury of the enemy. Orders were therefore drawn up, which confirmed the current practice, and promised, to all degrees of persons, protection, not only with regard to person, but also assurances that whatever they brought in should be under their sole controul. The honourable witnesses differed in opinion from the board, and gave his reasons much at length. General Greene desired he would draw up his thoughts in writing, which he did, and signed his name; this paper was transmitted to congress, attended with such observations as general Greene thought proper to make. Congress took the matter up; and came to a resolution that only a fourth salvage should be allowed in cases of re-captured property, belonging to suffering citizens. The counsel for the defendant continued to argue, that the utmost veneration ought to be paid to orders from head quarters; they generally sprung from the necessities of the times; who could be more properly encouraged than deserters? but more especially when deserters brought horses, the enemy sustained a double loss. The resolution of congress did not by any means fit the present case; it was far from being large enough to include horses; but even if it did, how could mr. Slann obtain a fourth salvage? Not from the present action: for the jury were not competent to make such satisfaction. No: a fresh action must be commenced to render justice, and thus a legal war be carried on without end! That this infringement on the law of nations was pregnant with ruinous consequences, and would deaden, if not destroy military ardour, was evident. Af-

ter putting this position in different points of view, the judge informed the jury, that, agreeable to evidence, they must find for the plaintiff, if they agreed with him on the point of law. The law of nations was the law of arms; and in other parts of the world, was allowed full force and operation, when one country carried war into another; but in this country he thought the law of nations could not be set up in defence against a resolve of congress; if there was a difficulty, it must be whether the resolution extended to horses; of this they were to judge. With regard to recovering a salvage, for his part, the difficulty did not appear so plain; two jurors, being drawn, could readily ascertain the sum, and it was hardly probable the plaintiff would refuse to comply with their determination. The jury found a shilling damages for the plaintiff, which entitled him to the horse, and the defendant to a fourth salvage.



Statement of an interesting and important cause, tried in the court of King's bench, London, before judge Buller, on the 20th of July, 1787.

THE action was brought to recover the amount of damage done to a vessel coming up channel last November by another outward-bound—and what appeared singular in the business was, that the ship, against the owners of which the action was brought, had gone down by the shock.

On the side of the plaintiff mess. Erskine, Mingoy, and Wood—On the other side, mr. Bearcroft, honest Jack Lee, and mr. Chambre.

No bad intention being imputable to either party, the question turned entirely upon ascertaining by whose negligence the accident happened, and upon the general principles of seamanship.

Those were explained by mr.

Erskine in a most clear and masterly manner; so much so, as to excite the applause of the whole court.

He set out with a proposition which created a general burst of laughter.

Models of the two ships being laid on the table, he threw down the gauntlet to his opponent, mr. Bearcroft, whom he called the learned commodore, invited him to get on board their respective ships, and to fight the cause out, as by wager of battle. This challenge not being accepted, he explained the nature of the case to the jury in an eloquent speech. His client's vessel, the *Judy Randolph*, was making the Downs, *close hauled*, at the time she fell in with the *Petersfield*, from which she received the injury. It was about half past eight o'clock at night, and about four or five miles from shore. The *Petersfield* was the last of a large outward-bound fleet, and was described as possessing all the advantages of wind and tide, both of which were unfavourable to the *Judy Randolph*. In that predicament, mr. Erskine contended, that it was the duty of the *Petersfield* to have gone to leeward, in order to make a birth for the *Judy Randolph*; but before he entered upon that part of the subject, he called witnesses to prove the state of his own ship.

The second mate, John Field, deposed, that the watch had been regularly set, and every thing in perfect order, on board the *Judy Randolph*. It was *his* watch, and the usual compliment of hands were on deck—That one of the men, Neil Johnson, who was on the fore-castle to keep a look out, had perceived the *Petersfield* at the distance of a quarter of a mile, and observing her bearing right down on them, hailed her instantly five or six times, but without receiving any answer; and, circumstanced as they were, close hauled, after luffing up to two ships a few minutes before, it was impossible for

them to avoid the Petersfield, though they attempted it by putting up the helm.

The negligence on the part of the Petersfield being proved, mr. Erskine went into the second part of his argument, viz. the general rule, by which, captains of ships, meeting each other at sea, ought to be governed.

This, he contended, should be the same that is observed on the roads, or in streets, and that any accident which may happen by a deviation from it, ought to be, and really was, liable to the very same penalties.

When a ship, in the situation of the Petersfield, with a large wind, and with a free command of her helm, met one circumstanced like the Lady Randolph, it was, he insisted, her duty to go to leeward, because in doing so, she would lose no way at all, and the other, on the contrary, could not regain her birth without tacking. But no decision having ever taken place, to establish this as a general fixed rule, several captains of ships were called, to prove what was the common usage on such occasions. A very shrewd and intelligent captain, of the name of Peake, capt. French, a veteran seaman, whose manner and appearance, as well as the candid mode in which he declared his sentiments, impressed every body present with the greatest respect, and some other gentlemen on the side of the plaintiff, confirmed the justice and propriety of mr. Erskine's doctrine, which the verdict of the jury afterwards established as the law.

On the part of the defendant, several witnesses were called to describe the situation of the Petersfield, which they stated very differently from the account of Drake and Brown, both as to the care of the watch, the management of the ship, and the state of the wind.

After an uncommon share of wit

and pleasantry between the counselors, which turned chiefly on mr. Erskine's superior knowledge of tactics, and a very able speech by mr. Bearcroft, to which mr. Erskine made an admirable reply, the learned judge summed up the evidence on both sides with great precision, and submitted to the jury the importance of ascertaining, beyond the possibility of any mistake, the general principles, by which all captains of ships, in such situations, should steer in future. He remarked, that it was rather singular this point had never before been determined, considering the innumerable subjects which had been litigated among naval men. But as the jury was composed of the most respectable class of citizens, and the cause attended by such a multitude of captains and owners of ships, the matter could never be decided with more fairness and solemnity.

The jury, after a few moments consultation, found a verdict for the plaintiff, to the full amount of his damages, and also declared, as has been before stated, that in future the ship that has the wind, shall go to leeward.



Interesting decision of the court of common pleas in Philadelphia.

ON Friday, the third day of August, 1787, the court of common pleas, in Philadelphia, gave judgment in an action brought by the indorsee against the acceptors of a bill of exchange, in which the words, *or order*, were omitted; when after a judicious and elaborate discussion of the subject, mr. justice Shippen pronounced that the action would not ly. This is a question which has never before been expressly determined in any court, here or in England.

LAW REPORT.

In the supreme court of Pennsylvania.

Sarah Green, and William Pollard,
against

The executors of David Shaffer.

THE plaintiffs made a lease by indenture, dated March 1, 1773, of a sugar-house, &c. to John William Hoffman, and his assigns, for five years, at 70l. per annum, payable quarterly. The lessee covenanted for himself, his executors, administrators, and assigns, to keep the demised premises in good repair, and to deliver them up at the end of the term, in such good repair, to the plaintiffs, &c. John William Hoffman assigned the lease to David Shaffer, the original defendant, who entered into the premises. The breach alleged was, that the defendant had not paid 35l. rent in arrear for the last half year, nor delivered up the premises, at the end of the term, in good order and repair, on the first of March, 1778; but that the roof, window-shutters, floors, &c. of the sugar-house, were in decay, destroyed, &c.

The defendant pleads performance of covenants, payment, and that an alien enemy, viz. the British army, commanded by general sir William Howe, on the 1st of September, 1777, had invaded the city of Philadelphia, taken possession of the premises, and held the same until the end of the term, and afterwards; and had during that period committed the waste and destruction.

The plaintiff demurs generally to the last plea, and defendant joins in demurrer, and issue.

This demurrer was argued on the 27th of June, 1786, by messrs. Coxe, Lewis, and Wilson, for the plaintiffs, and messrs. Ingersol, Wilcocks, and Sergeant, for the defendant, before the chief justice and judge Bryan; and afterwards, upon the 15th of

April last, by the same council before the chief justice, judges Atlee and Bryan—judge Rush declining to hear the same, as he had been of council with the plaintiffs, when he was appointed a judge.

Two questions were made in the cause.

1st. Whether the defendant, as assignee of the lease, is bound, by the covenant, to repair as well as the lessee?

2d. Whether the special matter pleaded, is sufficient in law to bar the plaintiffs?

On Saturday, the 6th of October, 1787, the chief justice pronounced the judgment of the court in this cause, as follows:

With respect to the first question, we are clear, in our opinion, that the covenant to repair, and to deliver up the demised premises in good order and repair, runs with the land being annexed and appurtenant to the thing demised, and shall bind the assignee as much as the lessee, even if the assignee were not named by express words, on account of the privacy; but in the case at bar, the assignee is bound by express words and, a fortiori, is answerable as well as the lessee. This point has been fully settled in Spencer's case, 5, Co. 16. b. and 1 Salk. 199, Levinz 206 1, Rolls abr. title (Covenant) letter M. pl. 1, and N. pl. 2—Vin. Abr. 6 vol. p. 411, letter M. pl. 1. 2—Bacon's Abr. 534, ca. 5. and the books cited in these abridgments.

The second question is of great difficulty, and of very great importance in its consequence. We can not find, that it has ever come directly before any court in England or in any other part of Europe. We wish, that it had come before able judges than we pretend to be. However, we must give our judgment, but we do it with more diffidence than has occurred in any case, since we have had the honour to sit here.

As there is no positive law, no adjudged case, no established rule or order, to direct the court in this point, we must be guided by the principles of the law; by conscience, that infallible monitor within every judge's breast; and the original and eternal rules of justice. For, equity is part of the law of Pennsylvania. 1 Chan. Ca. 141—Grounds and rudiments of law and equity, p. 74. ca. 104. Doct. and Stud. 1 cap. 16.

It is agreed, that if a house be destroyed by lightning, floods, tempests, or enemies, without any concurrence of the lessee, or possibility of his preventing the same, this is no waste in the lessee: for it is not done by the lessee's negligence, or any wilful act of his; and he cannot be charged with using it improperly, and it would thus have perished, even in the reversioner's possession. 1 Inst. 53 b. Brook, Waste, 69—4 Co. 63 b. Herlakenden's case. Landlord's law, p. 158, 278, 286—Fitzherbert's Natura Brevium, Waste 132, 1st edition. Kelw. 87.

It is also agreed, that where the law creates a duty or charge, and the party is disabled to perform it, without any default in him, and hath no remedy over, there he shall be excused. As in the cases of waste against tenants in dower, by the courtesy, for life, or years. Of common carriers, innkeepers, &c.—Of lessees, by parol, &c. or of a lessor during a war. Aleyn. 27—4 Co. 84, b. Southcote's case and other books.—2 Leon, 189.

But it is contended for the plaintiffs, that the defendant is obliged to pay the rent, and yield up the tenements in good order and repair, because of the express covenant; and in support of this doctrine have been cited, Doctor and Student, Dialogue 2, chap. 4. p. 124. Aleyn 27—Stiles 47, S. C.—1 Rolls abr. 939, S. C. Comyns, Rep. 631, 632—2 Stra. 763—1 Vent. 185—Plow. 290—

Perkins, 738—Brook, title (Covenant) pl. 4—title Waste, pl. 19, 31.—2 Leon, 189—Dyer, 33, pl. 10.—2 Saunders, 420.—2 Vern. 280.

On the part of the defendant, it is insisted, that the express covenant in this case does not bind against acts of God or of enemies, but only against other events. Because such acts were not in the contemplation of either party, at the time of the lease being executed. A risque, known and insured, ought to be complied with, agreeably to bargain. Every contract ought to be construed according to the intention of the parties; and, in the present case, the defendant had only covenanted to keep the premises in repair, &c. against ordinary accidents, and not against a case, which he could by no means possibly prevent. That if the law were otherwise, yet in England relief would be had in a court of chancery; and that as no such action had ever been brought, in a case circumstanced as this is, an argument is furnished, that no such action will ly. In maintenance of this opinion were cited, lord Raym. 909—4 Bac. abr. 369, 370—1 Rolls abr. 236—Dyer, 56 pl. 15.—1 Blacks. 252, 268.—2 Blacks. 379.—3 Blacks. 153, 157.—Cowper 9, 600—Douglass 190—1 Comyns digest, 150—Co. Litt. 206 a.—1 Brown's parl. cases, 526, p. 528.—15 Vin abr. 474, pl. 1—3 Chan. rep. 44. 79—3 Burrows, 1240, 1637. Dyer 33, 10. Sir Tho. Raymond, 464—1 Co. 98, Shelley's case—6 Vin. p. 407, ca. 1, 3—1 Cha. ca. 72, 83, 84, 190.

The books have been thoroughly searched on this head, and the question handled with great ability on both sides. In short, little more could be said or done for either party, than what has been said and done.

In deciding this intricate and difficult case, it will be of use to state the different powers of the common-law-courts and the court of chancery

in England, at the time of the revolution.

The courts of law, there, are governed by general and established rules, from which they never deviate in any case, be the injustice arising from thence ever so apparent. They are bound by their oaths to observe the strict rules of law.

A court of chancery judges of every case according to the peculiar circumstances attending it; and is bound not to suffer an act of injustice to prevail: and in doing this, it conforms to the spirit and intent of the general rule of every positive law, which always admits of particular exceptions. This is tacitly understood. The jurisdiction and bounds of these two [kinds of] courts are fixed.

In this state, the judges are sworn "to do equal right and justice to all men, to the best of their judgment and abilities, according to law." There is no court of chancery. The judges here are, therefore, to determine causes according to equity, as well as positive law—equity being a part of the law. Doctor and student, lib. 1. ch. 16.—1 chan. cases, 141—grounds of law and equity, 74, ca. 104. Indeed, the common law is common right, common reason, or common justice. Wood's inst. 4.

Was this point brought before a court of common law, in England, at this day, I have doubts with respect to what would be their determination. For, it is laid down for law, "that if a lessee covenanteth to leave a wood in as good plight as the wood was [in] at the time of the lease, and afterwards the trees are overturned by tempest, he is discharged of his covenant, quia impotentia excusat legem." 1 Co. 98, b. Now, in that case, there was an express covenant: and, although it was impossible to restore the trees in the same plight they were [in], yet he might plant new ones, or render da-

mages in lieu of them. The same law in Brook's covenant, pl. 4. Then was it not equally impossible for the defendant to deliver the possession of the premises, in good repair, to the plaintiffs, on the first of March, 1778, when they were held by an hostile army?

In Vaughan's reports, in the case of Hayes vs. Bickerstaff, page 122, it is held, "that a man's covenant shall not be strained so as to be unreasonable, or that it was improbable to be so intended, without necessary words to make it such: for it is unreasonable to suppose that a man should covenant against the tortious acts of strangers, impossible for him to prevent, or probably to attempt preventing." This was an action brought by the lessee against the lessor, on his covenant, for quiet enjoyment. In page 119, it is said, that if the lessor covenants that the lessee shall hold and enjoy his term, without the entry or interruption of any, whether such entry or interruption be lawful or tortious, there the lessor should be charged, because no other meaning can be given to his covenant. In the case before the court, if the lessee had covenanted for himself, and his assigns, to deliver up the tenements in good order and repair, notwithstanding they should be destroyed by act of God or of an enemy, then this action would certainly ly, because of the special, express words: but when there are no such words, but only generally 'to repair,' &c. would it be reasonable to construe these words so as to extend to the cases put? Cannot the covenant in this case have another meaning? Can it not be so construed, that the tenements should be kept in good repair and in such order delivered up at the end of the term, without any act or default of him, or act of any person, who could be prosecuted as a wrong doer, to prevent it?

However, perhaps the common-

law-courts in England might think they were bound, by the strict rules of law, on account of the general express covenant, to determine against the defendant, and that his relief must be in chancery, if any where, because of the established rules and boundaries of the jurisdiction of these courts. We must, then, consider the equity of this case, and determine upon all the circumstances thereof: for although we have not the chancery forms or methods of carrying several equitable cases into execution, yet we are to determine (where we may) according to equity, as making a part of the law—to prevent a failure of justice. And here we have no precedents in chancery on point. But the case of the office which was taken away by the usurpers in the civil war in England, reported in 1 ch. ca. 72.—that of the rent of a house, which was seized by the parliament, during the said war, for an hospital for soldiers, in the same book, 84, which appears to have been taken under advisement by the chancellor, with a declaration, that if he could, he would relieve the tenant; but it was afterwards probably compromised, as we can find no more of it.—that of the recognizance for payment of £.10.000 to legatees by an executor, where the testator's estate was so lessened by the fire of London that it became insufficient to make up the sum. Same book, 190—and that of the fee given with an apprentice; where £.120 was given, and it was provided by articles expressly, that if the master died within a year, £.60 were to be returned; he died in three weeks after the execution of the articles: and though the parties themselves had provided against accidents—and though the maxim, “*modus conventio vincit legem*,” was alleged, yet an hundred guineas were decreed to be paid back, 1 Vern. 50—I say, these cases, and the un-

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contradicted assertion of mr. Dunning, that the case of *Paradine vs. Jane*, had been lately over-ruled in chancery, see 3d. Burr. 1639—and also some others, which have been quoted by the defendant's counsel, hold a doctrine that is strongly in favour of the defendant.

In doctor and student, dialogue 2. chap. 4. p. 126. mr. German is puzzled to give a satisfactory reason to the question, put by the doctor, to wit,—“If a man under age marries, and lands afterwards descend to the wife, and waste is committed therein after her death, without the concurrence or default of the husband, shall he be charged with it?” The case thus stated, shews, that he could not refuse taking such estate, and therefore the charge or condition annexed to it by law is unreasonable and unjust. He makes the student answer it in this manner, “that there is as great fault in him, as in him in the reversion; and that there is as great reason why he should be charged with the waste, as that he in reversion should be disinherited, and have no manner of remedy, or yet no profit of the land as the other hath.”

But I conceive, as there was no default in either of them, that there is more reason that each of them should bear his own share of the loss, according to the duration of his estate, than that the one should be responsible to the other. The maxims, “*Lex non cogit impossibilia*,” “*Impotentia excusat legem*.” “Constructions are to be with equity and moderation, to moderate the rigour of the law.” Grounds, &c. 38 ca. 49—apply to the present case. If a lessor covenants that the lessee shall quietly enjoy against all men, yet in case he is ousted by an enemy, or tortiously entered upon by strangers, no action of covenant can be maintained against the lessor, notwithstanding the express general co-

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tenant. Vaughan 119, &c. This the counsel for the plaintiffs agree to be the law. Why, then, should the law make the lessee answerable on such a general express covenant, to surrender the demised premises in good repair, when they were destroyed by an hostile army? Ought not the two covenants to receive the like favourable and reasonable construction? "Remedies are to be reciprocal." "When the construction of any thing is left to the law, the law, which abhorreth injury and wrong, will never so contrive it, as it shall work a wrong." Grounds, &c. 368.

To conclude—My opinion is, that the defendant ought to pay the rent, 1st. because of the express covenant to pay it. 2. Because it is a sum certain, and the extent of the loss known, and as he was to have the advantage of casual profits, he ought to run the hazard of casual losses during the term, and not lay the whole burden of them upon the lessors, as resolved in *Alleyn* 27. And 3d. because if a tenant by elegit, be interrupted to take the profits of the land, by reason of war, he shall not hold over, but shall sustain the disadvantage, as resolved in 4 Co. 81, b. Sir Andrew Corbit's case.

But I am of opinion, the defendant is excused from his covenant to deliver up the premises in good repair on the first of March, 1778—1st. Because a covenant to do this, against an act of God, or an enemy, ought to be special and express, and so clear that no other meaning could be put upon it. 2d. Because the defendant had no consideration, no premium for this risque; and it was not in the contemplation of either party. And lastly, because, "equality is equity," and the loss should be divided; he who hath the term, will lose the temporary profits of the premises, and he, who hath the reversion, will bear the loss done to the

permanent buildings. Neither party has been guilty of any default; the injury has been done by a common enemy, whom both together could not possibly resist or prevent, and the premises would have been thus damaged in the possession of the plaintiff himself. Suppose, when the lease was executed, that the lessee had been asked, is it your meaning, that, in case the buildings should be destroyed by an act of God, or public enemies, you are to rebuild or repair them? His answer would be unquestionably, "no—I never entertained such an idea." Should the like question have been put to the lessor, his answer would certainly have been "no—I do not expect any thing so unreasonable." If there is no case in point in favour of this determination, there is none against it; and since no action of this kind has hitherto been brought, a presumption arises, that the sense of mankind is against it. If, however, we should be thought mistaken, another hearing may be had before the high court of errors and appeals, on a writ of error, where this new case may be finally settled.



Mr. Editor,

THE late frequent alarms of fire justify any endeavours of a friend to the public, which may have the suppression of this desolating evil for its object. I therefore trust that the motive of the following address, will, without apology entitle it to a place in your valuable repository.

I am, sir,

your obedient servant,
Philadelphia, Nov. 26. A. B.

Observations on the means of extinguishing a fire.

THERE are, perhaps, no men in the world more worthy of praise, than the inhabitants of the

city, for their benevolent and manly exertions at a fire : but men in an unorganized body can never act consistently, unless a knowledge of the object, and of the proper means to obtain it, be spread among them. When this is the case, he that obeys, is able to command, and he that directs, is ready to execute. This knowledge, confirmed by habit, gives an uniformity of opinion, enables the majority to see causes and effects in the same view, and at once suggests the best remedy. Thus every person naturally throws water to extinguish fire : but if the effect of this cause had not been fixed in our minds by constant habit, from our infancy, it might yet be among the many curious facts which are known only to philosophers.

The effect of air on fire is not so well understood : and it never fails to happen, on these occasions, that some zealous and intrepid citizen, by a few strokes of an axe, does more mischief than half a dozen engines can remedy. It is to these well-meaning, though mistaken men, whose exertions, properly directed, would be the most efficacious, that the following considerations are proposed.

Look into a baker's oven, and observe how sluggishly the flames roll over : see how little terror is conceived from their confined fury, which does not prevent a very near approach ; and judge how easily they might be extinguished.

The bottom of a baker's oven, converted into a grate of open bars, and a chimney placed on the top of it, would represent an air-furnace, raging with prodigious fury, as may be seen at an iron-foundery.

A room on fire, with every opening * closed, except a window, thro'

NOTE.

* I beg my scientific readers, once for all, to pardon every term that

which an engine may play, represents a baker's oven : and, in a few minutes, a well-directed pipe would extinguish it. But let a few bold and zealous men cry out, " let us get at the fire,"—those from above, endeavouring " to get at it," by making a hole in the floor—those from below, endeavouring " to get at it," by making another hole in the ceiling of the room under the burning one—and the house will immediately become a complete air-furnace, which often occasions great destruction.

Fire is, to be sure, an enemy—but not like other enemies, to be overcome by being knocked in the head. People, therefore, should be more zealous to smother, than " to get at it," except in such places, where water can be thrown in to advantage.

Fire ascends with great strength ; but spreads weakly in a side direction. To illustrate this, let any person hold a piece of paper sideways to the flame of a candle ; and he will find he may approach within an almost imperceptible distance, without even scorching it : but let him hold it directly over the candle, and it will burn at the distance of several inches, without touching the flame. From this it may be naturally concluded, that fire, in a side direction, spread with infinitely less force than it does in an ascending one : and it will be, of course, seen, that instead of knocking down doors and partitions, they may be kept close, at least without more injury, if not with great advantage.

The celebrated mr. Hartley in England has exemplified this. His invention does not so much consist

NOTE.

may appear to them inconsistent with philosophical accuracy, in consideration of my object, which is, to be *universally understood*.

in lining rooms with iron, (as people generally imagine), as it does in preventing *the admission of air from below*, for he does not line the partitions.

He has publicly made the following experiment :

A wooden house was built with several rooms in it : the floors and cielings were lined with iron-plates : and no opening was left in the wainscot, except at the windows. A quantity of faggots, placed in one of these rooms, being then set on fire, was reduced to ashes, before the partitions were burned through. This experiment has been successfully repeated. But what would have been the issue, if an engine had played in at the window ?

This account is the substance of a conversation I had with Mr. Hartley : but as my relation of it is from memory only, it may be, in some respects, inaccurate—though I am confident that it is not materially so.

Let me now be permitted to describe an opposite experiment, within the knowledge of every citizen.

Whoever will give themselves the trouble of looking at that side of the Harp-and-crown-tavern, in Third-street, adjoining the hatter's shop that was lately burned, will observe it to be a dead wall, except at the top, in the roof, where they will see a small window. The fire could not communicate through the wall : and the edge of the roof was under the command of an engine. This window, then, was the most dangerous and the principal means, by which the fire could get at the inside of this roof : and had it remained shut, the house would probably have escaped unhurt : for one or two men, with a small supply of water, could have kept the fire from passing through the crevices of the roof, at its edge within. If, by the direction of the wind, the fire had acquired force enough to penetrate this window, it should have been stopped by the first

door that could have been unhung for the purpose. But “an axe ! an axe !” was the repeated cry : the obstacle was removed—a hole was cut in the floor—and the roof soon became uninhabitable.

One of the mistaken reasons given by the actors in this scene, was, that by cutting a hole, the water would find its way to the rooms below : thus, in order to throw water where there could be no fire, the effect of a smith's bellows was produced, to a part in flames.

No ingenious incendiary could have contrived a better means of destruction : and, but for the united efforts of several engines, which deluged the house, it would have been lost. Indeed, notwithstanding this powerful and immediate assistance, much damage was done : for the engines below could not throw water within the roof.

Before I quit this subject, it may not be amiss to add some observations relative to fire in chimnies which, though pretty generally known, are not universally so.

Upon the same principle of preventing a supply of air, let a blazing chimney be closely stopped at the first place, with a wet blanket, the fire on the hearth being first extinguished and a tub of water being put in its place, to receive the falling burning soot : if there be any flues from other chimnies which communicate with the one on fire, let them be stopped likewise : and if the passage of air be thus effectually prevented the extinction will be almost immediate. These stoppages should not be soon removed, lest some expiring sparks be revived by the admission of fresh air.

Every person, who has seen a coal fire in a grate, has seen the effect of a blower, when placed before it. Fire in a chimney, above the opening in the room, is like a grate with it blower on : for the passage of air

ing relatively small, the current is so much the stronger. This shews once the necessity of stopping the passage of the air, and of stopping it completely.

It has been my lot to see many fires in several parts both of Europe and America. This has enabled me to observe some things worthy of imitation, which, though they may be trite to many persons, who have also seen them, yet ought not to be thought too trifling to be mentioned to those who may not know them, and it is to such persons that this paper is addressed.

In old and in New England, each engine has a leathern pipe, or hose, of sufficient length to be carried to the top of a house. This hose should have joints from ten to twenty feet distant, connected by brass sockets, screwing one into another, that the hose may be used at the lengths required: and when out of use, it should be always found hanging in a coil to the body of the engine. When a house is on fire within, one end of this hose being screwed to the place where the pipe screws on the engine, and the pipe being screwed to the other end, may be carried up a ladder, to a window, and deluge a room in a moment. It may be occasionally carried through an alley, into a yard, into an entry, through several rooms, up a stair-case, and in short, it is difficult to imagine any apartment on fire, which may not be "got at," with this pipe. Such a pipe playing in at the window in the roof of the Harp-and-crown, would have done more execution in ten minutes, than all the engines playing from the street, did in one hour.

There should be a stout axe placed in a neat case, at the side of the engine; but this useful, though sometimes dangerous implement, should not be trusted to unskilful hands.

In Boston, the members of the fire companies have a screw-driver, winch,

pryer, and hammer, all comprised in one piece of iron; the screw-driving part being well hardened. This is so contrived as to apply to screws of all sizes, and is kept in one of the buckets, till the moment of an alarm, when the owner puts it into his pocket to be ready for use. How many bedsteads, looking-glasses, clocks, and very valuable fixtures are either destroyed or lost, for want of proper means to unscrew or otherwise disengage them? This machine, and a description of its various uses, are left at the post-office for public examination. I have made some alterations in it, which may not be improvements; but as they injure none of its former properties, cannot be amiss.

Fire-hooks are of great use; for a frame house seasonably pulled down, may save a whole street; but they are seldom in order: the rope being generally left wet, becomes rotten before it is used again. These ropes should be of *whale line*, which contains double the number of yarns well twisted into the same size; and they should be tarred ropes, which are not so liable to be water soaked, and of course to rot. But these improvements will be of no use, if by frequent visits they are not kept in order. The hose itself, the most important of all, will become an useless incumbrance, unless it is frequently oiled and kept pliant. For this purpose, and for the uniform as well as the more effectual management of all matters that relate to this subject, I will take the liberty to make one more proposition, the adoption of which must depend on the public opinion of its utility.

Let each company elect from its own body one delegate, possessing sound health and great activity, with calm judgment, and extensive popular influence. Let these delegates form a general fire committee for the whole city, to meet at stated periods, to

have the direction of all the engines and their appendages, to make alterations and improvements, and in short, to superintend every general concern. Let every fire-company agree to obey the directions of this committee, when in action at a fire, and to support them against the insolence of any impertinent intruder they may think proper to check. Let them wear a staff, or such other badge as shall make them at once distinguishable and respectable. This would be a kind of voluntary organization which would tend to make all efforts effectual, by uniting them in one object. In London there are fire-men appointed by the several insurance offices. These fire-men act in a systematic manner when they get together; but as the mass of the people are kept off, by the military, when in call, a house or two is generally destroyed before the fire becomes important enough to call forth their exertions. In France, the management at fires is committed to a mixture of military and religious people—the capucins being the most active, while the soldiers preserve order among the populace.

In some parts of America, and particularly in Boston, there are fire-wards appointed by the town; these are generally chosen from among the most respectable of the inhabitants, and by general consent they have absolute power when in action. I have known the governor of Massachusetts to be placed by a fire-ward in one of the lanes, and he very prudently obeyed with cheerfulness.

But as the police of every city depends more or less on the manners and habits of the inhabitants, I do not presume to lay a greater stress on this mode of fire administration, than may be found consistent with the general opinion.

Upon the whole, let it be remembered, that “*the most haste makes the worst speed* ;” that instead of throw-

ing a looking-glass out of a window, it is better to give it the chance of being saved with the house; and that a consistent and steady resistance will overcome an enemy much sooner than ten times the force divided and wasted on various unimportant objects. Let it be remembered, also, that in removing goods from a house on fire, it will be safest to carry them against the wind. I have often seen furniture, and even children, carried to houses which were afterwards on fire, and the goods and children were to be again transported. Above all, let it be remembered, that deliberate reflection, in cases of general calamity, is more serviceable than any degree of inconsiderate activity, however benevolent in the motive, or intrepid in the execution.



Address to the ladies of America.

I Have been often disgusted, my fair country-women, at the many impertinent invectives that have appeared against your dress, of which you only are competent judges. No reasonable man ought to expect that you should attend to advice, which instead of taking the form of gentle persuasion, assumes the authoritative air of reproach. It is not, therefore, my intention to find fault with you on this score; nor shall I presume, in defiance of your taste, to dictate an absolute rule of conduct: but I may not, perhaps, displease you by shewing what has been the origin of many fashions, that you may judge how far the embellishment of your persons, and the delicacy of your minds, are concerned in the adoption of them.

MADAME LA COMTESSE DE BORGNE lost one eye by the small pox: but the lower part of her face received little or no injury: and she had a fine set of teeth. About the time of her being so far recovered as to lay by her bandage, a new opera,

alled Panurge in the island of Lan-
erns, (Panurge dans l'isle des Lan-
ernes) appeared in Paris. The story
was taken from Rabelais : and it
ended to ridicule the ancient oracles,
by making the priest of the temple
wear a ludicrous dress, part of which
was a hat as large as a tea-table. Ma-
dame la comtesse immediately adopt-
ed the expedient of a large hat, and
concealed the upper part of her face,
while she enjoyed the advantage of a
lovely mouth. Thus, although she
could not regain her lost eye, she ef-
fectually eclipsed that essential part
of beauty in all her rivals, who fol-
lowed the fashion of *un chapeau a la*
Panurge, without suspecting the
notive that produced it.

This fashion found its way into
England, and reigned some time
without alteration : but LADY BET-
TY DENTPOURIE had a bad tooth,
which often occasioned a swelled
cheek. It was impossible to suffer
confinement : and yet the swelling
was a deformity she did not wish to
expose in public. She therefore in-
clined the hat till one side touched
her shoulder, and produced the dou-
ble effect of shewing a charming pro-
file, and concealing her unfortunate
swelling :—the ladies in London
now shew their faces by halves.

MISS SMART, a young milliner
in Tavistock-street, “vowed it was
a monstrous shame for the men to make
such a fuss about the extravagance of
their wives and daughters ; when,
instead of *parlaving* and *barping* on
what they did not understand, they
should look at home and spend less
money in drinking and *carousing* at
averns :”—As a constant memento
of this very just reproof, she chang-
ed the crown of a hat into a punch
bowl, and the ladies now give us a
sacrit, but useful lesson every time we
look at this part of their dress.—

MADAME LA MARECHALE DE
TISON had fine coloured hair, and
a reddish brown eruption on her

head, which appeared in front. With
the assistance of her coiffeur a pow-
der was invented, which so partook
of the colour of the hair and of the
eruption, as to suit both, and by
passing the powder knife along the
edge of the incrustation, it appeared
like a rim left to adorn the fore-
head : *poudre a la marechale* im-
mediately became the pink of the
mode !

MADAME LA PRESIDENTE DE LA
CHAUVETE soon after rendered the
colour of the powder an unnecessary
circumstance. This lady, when
young, had very strait hair, which
was perpetually moist from a constant
perspiration through these capillary
tubes. Frizzled and curled heads were
at that time a raging fashion, which
she could not follow ; she consulted
a quack, and procured a drug that
effectually closed all the pores of her
head, and to her great joy the hair
kept dry, and obeyed the curling
irons. Nature, however, in the
course of a few years, asserted her
right of punishment for disobedience,
and being thus deprived of a method
she had taken to throw off the super-
abundant humours, formed such an
accumulation of them, as occasioned
a continual head ach. The faculty
were now consulted, and it was de-
termined to increase the evaporation
of the head, by daily lotions of cam-
phorated spirits of wine ; for this
purpose a complete tonsure became
necessary, and her fine auburn hair
vanished in a moment. A *tete* and a
chignon were soon procured from the
heads of two unhappy youths who
were hanged for crimes that need
not be mentioned, and the presidente
led a fashion which has produced
more profit to the *boureaux* than all
their other fees put together. As
this concealed all sorts of diseases
in the head, the MARECHALE DE
TISON readily adopted the fashion.
and as the lotion was necessary in
both cases, camphor became an es-

sential ingredient in all compound perfumes.

That celebrated beauty, the DUCHESS OF ROSEBANK, vice queen of Hibernia, has the loveliest neck, &c. that ever woman had, and she used kindly to gratify her admirers, without the trouble of peeping. All the ladies in Dublin, that *could do it*, followed her example : but as nature has not permitted these advantages to be universal, the fortunate ladies claimed a distinction, under the title of the *breast squadron* : and indeed the appearance did great honour to his most christian majesty's first seaport : for *such a squadron* would conquer the best *manned* fleet in the world.

The DUCHESS OF DOADONESIR, who long led the ton in England, has lately grown corpulent. She was therefore afraid to imitate the nudity of her beautiful friend, lest, if the usual boundaries were to be slackened, an inundation of charms would deprive her of the command of these lacteal protuberances, which, indeed, had lost part of their whiteness as well as elasticity. She therefore invented an immense covering of gauze, which, while it kept up the external appearance *d' une nourrice*, enabled her to confine all matters in proper subjection.

Few ladies could *naturally* rise to this degree of protuberance : the covering, therefore, became indispensable, and the *breast squadron* was soon enveloped in clouds of gauze. Tall, palid misses were vastly relieved by this invention : for the fullness of the handkerchief left room for the imagination to suppose an agreeable plenitude below : but the knowledge of the contrary gave rise to a bon mot, and these handkerchiefs were called *des fichus trompeurs*.

It is remarked by anatomists, that nature is constantly on the watch, either to remedy defects, or to make them less inconvenient, by adapting

the other parts of the system, so as to relieve the patient. Thus, when by extraordinary corpulence, the weight of the body is increased, the natural cushion, on which that weight is to rest, is increased also : and therefore the DUCHESS OF DOADONESIR had a pair of posteriors, which perfectly defended the os sacrum, when she was seated, and at the same time occasioned a due counterpoise, that kept her centre of gravity within its base when she was erect. But her grace was a little diffident of the extent of her influence : and in order to make herself a certain standard of beauty, she gave sir J. . . . R. . . . one hundred guineas to paint a lusty Venus rising from her native sea, for which she sat herself as a model.

" As coral red, her pulpy lips,
" Full as the swelling surge, her hips
" As full her bosom heaving strong,
" Like wave propelling wave along."

The picture was placed in the exhibition at the royal academy, in Somerset-house, and all the fat ladies in the British court were charmed with it. But the more slender fair were again reduced to the necessity of a succedaneum, and cork-rumps were invented.

The French ladies ride as the gentlemen do, and wear buff breeches and boots : over these, the petticoat of the riding dress descends to the ankle, but is buttoned before, to open occasionally, like a gentleman's waistcoat. This addition to the riding dress was adopted by the English ladies, without considering, that it was a tacit declaration that they were ready to mount *en cavalier*. A polite Parisian, who might offer his assistance to a horsewoman, thus dressed, would begin by dropping on one knee, and unbuttoning the five lower buttons, that the lady might throw her leg over the saddle with ease and safety.

The ladies in Ireland, equally un-

acquainted with the use of this opening before, made an improvement, as they thought, of an additional row of buttons, and called it the *double-breasted* petticoat. So much, my charming country-women, for your dress. But this is not all.

Fashionable colours have their origin in circumstances, which, tho' they may have nothing to do with your shapes, may be thought not very grateful to some of your senses.

The queen of France caught a flea on her arm : and the king of England found an insect of about the same size on his plate. Observe the different genius of the two nations : at Versailles, the circumstance gave rise to a fashion, and only *couleur de puce* was to be seen at court ; while at St. James's, every person about his majesty's sacred person was obliged to wear a wig.

When the present dauphin was born, every eye was in search of something relating to the child, to give origin to a fashion : and MADAME LA MARQUISE DE SENTEUR, having had the honour of superintending his linen, appeared at court in a straw-coloured satten, which she called *caca dauphin*. MADAME LA VICOMTESSE DE LA BOUDERIE, piqued at the ascendancy the marquise de Senteur had gained by being first in the invention, muttered, as loud as she durst, that one might as well take a colour from the *ordure* of a gosling, as from that of a baby : and she immediately made up a yellowish-green silk, which she called *merde d'oye*. Paris now became divided between *caca dauphin* and *merde d'oye*, till LA DUCHESSE DE LA CROTTE united them into one colour, which she called *ventre de crapaud*, from its resemblance to that of a toad's belly.

I should tire your patience, ladies, and perhaps offend your delicacy, were I to go into an enumeration of all the indecent origins of the va-

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rious pretty colours that are recommended to you by the paltry examples of some great ladies in Europe, whose motives are, to conceal deformities, to create artificial beauties in defect of natural ones, and to display a trifling talent, which, in its most indulgent sense, can only be called obscene wit.

I have exposed this with a freedom of expression, which was unavoidable, because I could not otherwise give you a just idea of the imposition you innocently suffer : but I assure you that the names of the modes and colours I have described, are not of my invention—but fashionable appellations, taken verbally from the belles of Europe.

How much more consistent with your dignity would it be, to assume a national distinction, and invent your own fashions ? Your country is independent of European power : and your modes of dress should be independent of a groupe of coquettes, milliners, and manufacturers, who, from motives of vanity on one hand, and avarice on the other, endeavour to enslave the fancy of the whole world ?

Would not a CONVENTION HAT, a FEDERAL BONNET, or a CONGRESS CAP, sound as prettily, as the silly names produced by affected wit ? and would not a WASHINGTON BLUE convey as strong an idea of a never-fading colour, as a PRINCE OF WALES'S BUFF ? As for descriptive names, look, my fair friends, into blooming nature, and there you will see the inexhaustible, and only true source of taste. I should be happy to see this revolution, and to have it in my power to say, that the dress, as well as manners of the American ladies, exemplified the following recommendation :

*' Be frugal then : the coyly-yielded kiss
' Charms most, and gives the most sincere
' delight.*

I

- ' Cheapness offends : hence on the har-
 ' lot's lip
 ' No rapture hangs, however fair she
 ' seem.
 ' Hail MODESTY ! fair female honour,
 ' hail !
 ' Beauty's chief ornament, and beauty's
 ' self !
 ' For beauty must with virtue ever
 ' dwell,
 ' And thou art virtue ! and without
 ' thy charm,
 ' Beauty is insolent and wit profane.'

I am your faithful admirer,
 FRANK AMITY.



On the use of bustlers.

A Performance which aims at abolishing a ridiculous fashion, or preventing the misapplication of a useful production, is entitled at least to the candour of the public.

I read with pleasure, a paragraph in a newspaper of the 11th of this month, under the London head, which gives an account that the ladies there are again falling into the shapes which nature gave them—that broad-hoops, bell-hoops, high heads, and low heads have all had their day ; but the genuine figure is now restored.

I hope that the fair of this town will follow the example of their sex in that large and polite city—no longer disguise their beautiful forms with hoops or *bustlers*, nor divert our attention from the symmetry of their features, and the carnation of their complexions, by enormous hats, bedizened with a profusion of ribands and feathers.

As large hats, and hoops, are gone out of fashion in London, experience induces us to expect that they will soon go out of fashion here : and therefore I shall say no more on those parts of female dress ; but confine myself in this sheet, to a part of it which is not mentioned in the para-

graph referred to ; but which has a much worse effect upon the shape than broad-hoops or bell-hoops—I mean the *bustler* : and I would beg the candid attention of my female readers to the arguments I shall advance against that preposterous habiliment. These arguments will be principally deduced from that humanity, benevolence, and compassion which are congenial with their nature, and from that pride, a portion of which has fallen to the share of every daughter as well as son of Adam.

Human nature is such, that no one is possessed of a corporeal endowment without being in some degree proud of it, and next to, if not before, a fine face, is an elegant, graceful form.

How deeply the latter is injured by the *bustler*, every one must perceive who traces Hogarth's line of beauty, as it is exhibited and illustrated in the beautiful figure of the young ladies of this town, when they are habited in a suitable dress, and compares the regular curve that terminates the waste, with the sudden, angular prominence occasioned by the *bustler*. A retrospective view of themselves when rigged out with this woollen bolster, would, methinks, in spite of fashion, be sufficient to induce the fair to throw it aside. But a dread of that almost invincible controul of dress, will not permit me to rest the matter here ; for that imperious mistress, fashion, too frequently constrains us to submit to the grossest absurdities ; and arguments drawn from the tender feelings of the female heart, appear to me to be the most powerful.

The sheep's wool that grows in this state, is, I believe, not sufficient for stockings for its inhabitants ; what then must be the wretched situation, particularly of the poor of this town, the approaching winter, when the wool, which might cover the legs of hundreds, is diverted from that

use, and manufactured into odious *busblers*!

If any female, attached to this ridiculous article of dress, should imagine that the quantity of wool expended in its manufacture is too small to merit consideration, I would desire her to attend but a moment to the following moderate calculation; and I am sure she will be convinced that the wool so expended, would clothe the legs of many hundreds.

An ingenious good-hearted female acquaintance informs me, that there are at least six hundred *busblers* worn in this town, and that I shall not be extravagant if I should count upon half a pound of wool for each of them. Now reckoning the same quantity of that article to a pair of stockings, which she says will be the average weight, if children's stockings are taken into the calculation, the wool, worse than wasted in *busblers*, would protect the legs of *six hundred* persons from the inclemency of the coming winter.

Let any female reflect upon the numbers of grown persons as well as children, of both sexes, who, in the winter season, may be seen shivering in our streets, without stockings to cover their limbs, purple with cold—let her consider, that the wool in her *busbler* would screen the limbs of one of them, and then let her wear it if she can. Female softness and pity could not sustain the painful reflection. The *busbler* must yield to the feelings of humanity.

But besides these arguments—besides the consideration that the *busbler* injures the female form, and robs the poor of a partial covering—is it not injurious to the constitution? A physician, on whose skill I can rely, informs me, that the unnatural heat cited by this cincture of wool, must, in his opinion, be productive of pernicious consequences.

For my part, if this abominable practice should be continued, and

become general through the state, I shall despair of our ever having more than one representative in congress under the proposed constitution, which, in my opinion, is, and I trust will be in the opinion of the fair, a collateral argument against *busblers*, of no inconsiderable weight.

While I am inveighing against this absurd part of dress, I would not forget the aged matron, nor the antiquated virgin. The first seems to have some claim to the comforts of, if any are connected with this broad, thick, woollen girdle; and the last ought not to be denied them, provided she will plead her frigidity in her favour; but this reason cannot, and I am sure will not, be urged by the numerous majority of those who wear them. These are girls in all the glow, the plumpness, and elasticity of health. To these my arguments are addressed; and may I not conclude that they will attend to their kindly feelings for the distressed part of their species—pay a suitable regard to the exact symmetry with which nature has endowed their beautiful forms, and to the preservation of their constitutions—and without delay, renounce and discard the ridiculous, deforming, and (may I not add?) inhuman *busbler*?

If any of my fair readers should wish to know how the *busbler* came into vogue, they are hereby informed, that in the fall of the year 1783, the duchess of Bussledorfe, a German lady, paid a visit to the city of London, in Great Britain—that the redundant protuberancy of a part of her figure struck and engaged the attention of the ladies of the court; that from their fondness of imitation, and perhaps from political views, they put the invention of their mantua-makers to the torture, to discover some habiliment, that would impart to them a jutting magnificence similar to that of the duchess. The woollen bolster, on which I have been

remarking, was at length concluded upon, and to this circumstance the *bustler* owes its introduction into Great Britain, and its name. Its passage to, and its adoption in, America, will find an easy key in that strange cupidity for foreign fashions, for which the ladies of this country are remarkable.

Upon the departure of the duchess from London, the *bustler* gradually lessened, and is now, it is said, entirely dropped in that metropolis. If this should be the case there, it will, perhaps, have as great a tendency to throw this disgraceful appendage out of fashion here as any thing or all the things I have said against it. However, I shall think my labour well rewarded, if I should find that I had, in any measure, contributed to the restoration, or rather development, of the beautiful forms of the fair, or procured a stocking for the poor. BICKERSTAFF.

Newspost, (R. I.) Oct. 25, 1787.



From the Pennsylvania Magazine.

Susannah Trapes's complaint of the badness of the police.

To Mr. AKEN.

Deer Sur,

I Lately met with a most unfortunate disaster; and as I think it a burning shame that such things should be suffered in this city, I want you to say something about it in your *makaseen*. I will tell you the story as well as I kan, in my way, and then you kan write it over again in a more skollardly manner, that it may be prentid. For I want the wurshipful the mare, or the rite wurshipful the klark of the markit, or their honours whose ever bisness it is to luk after futch things, to see how I hav bin farved. And so I hope that they will be so good as to order matters otherwase for the footer.

You must no, misther Aken, I live

in Frunt-street, neer the draw-britch, and last Tusday eevnin I heard as how my cussin was come to town, and lodgd neer the bank meetin house; and so next mornin, bein markit day, I put on my kleen kallico gound, and my silk bonnit, and my kotton stockings, and my new hi-heel shues, to go and see my cussin, do you see: and it was a fogge, drisle mornin, and outregius dirty waukin. Howsumdever, I had a numbarell, and I held up my gound tale behind, to keep it from dragglin. And so when I cum to Markit-street, I could not kross over strate along bekaufe why, there stud three afore grate waggens rite akross the path, and almost contagious to the end of the markit, that has the butiful wooden shugar pots a top of it. Whereby I was obliged to go down hill a littel way to avoid the waggens. Now you no the hill is pritt steep, and is peavd with large stone: which being very slippy with the mud and wet, down cums me, I in the midst of the street. I durtied my kalliko gound most torneshunly broke my numbarell, spatterd my kleen kottin stockings, and lost woe of the heels of my new shues. Ar then you no there is a stand of pots a little way down the hil, and the grate haw-buks set up a hofs-l at me, and then hollud out, *Ta care, young woman, or youl sho your a kels: cum heer, sweet-hart, and we help you up*, and such loe-life sayin I was consarn'd mad, to be shure, at in my mind wishd them all at the divil. I got to my cussins, however in a terrible piggie, and was obliged to send hoam for dry clofe, before could return.

Now isn't it a most monstro thing, that them there filthy waggens shud be stuck rite akross the street evry markit-day, so that folk can't pass? Ime shure we pay tax enuf for the streets, and for w thing and another, and we aut

av them as accomodetious as pos-
bel. I hoap you will represent this
natter propurly in your makaseen,
nd if so be the gentilmen see as
ow peepel are farved, they will or-
ler it otherwase. I am,

your frend to farve,
SUSANNAH TRAPES.

Philadelphia, Oct. 20, 1775.



On pronouncing dictionaries.

CUSTOM, says a great writer, is
the tyrant of fools: if so, how
few, at this advanced age of the
world, are wise! Fashions begin
with the rich, and the poor follow
on. It has been observed, that the
wiser sort of people are the last to
come into the fashions; but this we
must not believe, when we see the li-
terati contending for error. Dicti-
onarians ought to be wise, as well as
learned; but these, we find, are the
first to stamp authority on error.
They say duty is *djuty*, endure is *en-
djure*, tune is *tsbune*, stone is *stun*,
skey is *skei*, kind is *keind*, fortune is
fortskin, tyrant is *tir-ant*, and a thou-
sand more absurdities. Now where
do these grammarians and dictionary-
ans go for authority? Shakespeare is
so antique, Addison so solemn, Pope
so holy, and Dean so *swift*, that they
will not copy after them—No: they
can't *endjure* it; they don't think it
their *djuty*; so they *keindly* took *hum*
to the English theatre, as a brighter
skei, in hopes of making their *fort-
skin*—Heard, they say, should be
pronounced *hurd*, guide *geide*, crea-
ture *creerchur*, &c.

Now, I advise these *keind* polish-
ers of *aever* language, to go to brother
Jonathan, for a *geide*: he'll *larn'um*,
to say *kearw* for cow, *wearw* for vow,
geal for girl, *beause* for house, and a
grate many other nashun clever
things, and he won't ax'um a *sarding*
for't nother.

August 7, 1787.

From the New York Daily Advertiser.

Plan for a wax-work legislature.

- " *Ab! cease to laugh, for laughing
ne'er will do,*
- " *Perceive the right, and still the
right pursue;*
- " *Let men of merit sit in merit's
place,*
- " *For clowns and black-heads fill it
with disgrace."*

To the Printer.

A VERY vulgar idea seems to
pervade the generality of the
citizens, that none but mechanics
are fit to be representatives in the le-
gislation, for the interest of the me-
chanics. Any person, with a very
small share of discernment, would be
led to think that the mechanics and
others should change their plan of
electing legislators now, since they
have been so often deceived in their
choice. I grant that a cobbler may
be a fit enough person to represent or
advocate the interests of shoe-makers,
tanners, curriers, saddlers, &c. but
this is a very sufficient reason why
he should not have a seat in the leg-
islature; for as the good of the com-
monwealth, the primitive intent of
a legislative representative, does not
consist in the advancement of any
one trade, or number of trades, but in
the universal promotion of every ho-
nest man's employment—he is dis-
qualified for a seat in the council of
the state, who is not perfectly ac-
quainted with its general interests.

Let none but men of *extensive
knowledge* and *liberal principles*, no
matter in what rank of life they ap-
pear, be elected members for senate
or assembly; for by a foolish adhe-
rence to the above vulgar idea, we
have seen men taken from mechani-
cal employments, where they were
useful to society, and sent to the le-
gislation, where they were not only
useless but ridiculous, with the er-
roneous title of the *representatives of
the people*; but they no more repre-

sent the people than my standish does a man of war! for certainly the people are not *dumb*!

If no better representatives than some we have lately seen, can be found, let the citizens begin to open a subscription for the purpose of constructing a number of *wax-work figures*, to represent the good *dumb* people of the state. I have been told that there is now a French artist in town, who can furnish a complete set of these representatives before the next election comes on, and as economy is the very life and soul, as it were, of good government, this plan will fully accord with its principles. When one of these figures is fully equipped—nay they may be stuffed with all the laws in the state, and their heads filled with the best politics in the universe, and that is a great deal more than a very large number of assemblymen can say for themselves—I say, when one of these representatives is every way accomplished, and ready to say *AY!!* and *NO!!* in a solemn, audible tone, he will not cost so much as one of the present or past legislators; and they will have this superior advantage, that they will last for 41 years, if not abused.

Some people, without examining into the merits of the proposal, may think this a whimsical scheme; but I can assure the reader that it would be both wholesome and prudent; for by adopting such a plan as this, the debts of the commonwealth might be paid off in ten or fifteen years, without laying any new taxes, and without burdening the *good peaceable farmers*, who, I am convinced, would readily come into this measure, as it is just the same thing to them whether the laws are made by black men or white men, Egyptian mummies or wax-work machines; for they obey them as they please; they pay their taxes whenever they choose; and therefore the laws of the

one would answer as well for them as the laws of the other—besides, there are laws enough, in all conscience, to serve for these fifty years to come: for what does it signify to make laws, if they are not enforced? and there are volumes of them now in the archives of the state, that are a mere dead letter, of hardly so much use to the state as a good ballad—yet some of these same *dead-and-alive* laws have cost the people thousands of *hard dollars*—To be sure it is a good method to have a number of *ready made* laws lying past, for who knows what occasion there may be for them, some time or other?

Perhaps the reader may laugh at this scheme, and think that I mean to recommend a *dumb assembly* to make laws for the government of the state; but I declare there is nothing further from my intentions: for I propose to myself that there shall be as much noise and debate in this *wax work assembly*, as there has been in any of those that we have seen these two years last past. A *speaker* to sign the laws, and five or six *motion-makers* to raise debates, would be every way sufficient for the assembly; the remainder to complete the present number, and determine whether this, that, or t'other question may be right or wrong, would do as well in either *wax* or *wood*; for as we have found the above number of *motion-makers* sufficient in past assemblies, we may reasonably conclude they will answer well enough in future ones.

To each of these *motion-makers* I would apportion a certain and equal number of the *ay's* and *no's*, as they are at present; and I would make this wax-work assembly resemble as nearly as possible, those we have already seen; with this trifling difference, that in place of being moved with *long-winded speeches*, I would have them moved with *mechanism*, from which circumstance I flatter myself

that it would gain the approbation of the *mechanics*. Every motion-maker should have his portion of wires, by the pulling of which he could make his party say ay or no, just as it would answer his purpose.

Suppose this assembly met, what a respectable appearance it would make, to see them all dressed in long robes like Roman senators ! a spectator going in to hear their debates would be impulsively led to take off his hat, out of respect, at beholding so venerable an assemblage of legislators ; whereas spectators now only take off their hats in compliance to custom.

As to patriotism, people may say that they will ; but I aver that this assembly would be as patriotic as any that has assembled since the days of Hudson ; for (as we will suppose the *motion-makers* to be men of principle) it would be impossible to purchase their influence with a dinner, or even a purse, which every body admits to be very tempting.

Having fully shewn the utility of *wax-work assembly*, I shall now conclude, after recommending to the citizens to engage with the person who shews the wonderful figures of *hell and the dragon*, for furnishing sufficient number of these legislators in wax, against the election ; and that they should not come under the description of *infidels* or mere *statues*, would have them christened by the following names, which I request you will print in large characters, that they may not escape the notice of the FREE ELECTORS.

Mr. PATRIOT,
Mr. POPULARITY,
Mr. FREEDOM,
Mr. KNOWALL,
Mr. MENDALL,
Mr. LIBERTY,
Mr. PUBLIC-VIRTUE, and
Mr. PLAIN TRUTH.

Now as these are characters that have been long neglected in *New*

Amsterdam, one would imagine that common gratitude would induce the citizens to do something for them at the next election.

I am, mr. Printer,

Your most obedient,

Humble servant,

GEORGE PHELPS,

Elector of Hanover.

New Amsterdam, April 8, 1786.



On the use of tobacco and snuff.

To the Editor.

I Was invited, a few days ago, to dine with a gentleman, who, as soon as the cloth was removed, but before the ladies were withdrawn, introduced a bundle of segars ; and, supplying such of his guests as chose to partake in this part of the entertainment, the whole company was, in a moment, enveloped in the odious vapour of tobacco. Puff—puff—passed from side to side, resembling an engagement at sea, in which, (while a delicate and offended stomach would permit me) I amused myself with imagining the range of gentlemen on either side of the table, to be contending fleets, drawn up in line of battle : and the vegetable tube, with the smoke and fire which it discharged, served to communicate an apt idea of maritime artillery. This picture, however, soon gave way to commotions less ideal.—The person, who sat next to me, without consulting my taste upon the subject, had continued, for several minutes, to emit clouds of smoke from his unfavoury maw, full in my face, till by certain intestine indications, I grew apprehensive, that I should be obliged to retaliate the insult at the expence of the very excellent meal I had eaten.

I endeavoured at first, however, to procure a cessation of hostilities, by artfully observing, that the effects of this amusement might be disagreeable to the ladies : but one and all

exclaimed, that they were accustomed to it, and did not by any means think it offensive : so that, deserted by the support which I had expected from female delicacy, I had no alternative but a precipitate retreat to save me from intolerable sickness and disgrace.

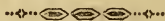
In return for the feast which I had thus shared, I sent an invitation soon afterwards to the master of the family, who was shewn into my wife's tea-room, while dinner was placing upon the table. The carpet in this chamber, sir, is a costly and curious one, ornamented with flowers of a gay and perishable colour : but regardless of the evident interest which the whole family took in its preservation, (for it is never uncovered, except upon gala days), my guest had no sooner seated himself, than he began to squirt the dingy juices of a well-chewed quid indiscriminately about him. Poor Molly ! I observed that she turned pale ; and ringing the bell more violently than usual, she petulantly ordered the servant to hasten dinner.

As a stranger, this gentleman was seated of course at the upper end of the table : but the courtesy was an unlucky one : for in the act of receiving a plate of soup, an enormous pinch of Scotch snuff escaped from his fingers into the tureen, and a few grains striking on my wife's olfactory nerve, she was seized with a fit of sneezing, that tormented her for the rest of the day. At length, our guest retired, but not before he had deposited the relics of his exhausted quids in every corner of the room.

These are but a small proportion of the inconveniences arising from the extravagant use of tobacco, and I cannot admit that any man has a greater right to indulge himself in the practice of this, than of any other nuisance. We are astonished at the Turkish consumption of opium ; but it should be remembered that the

effects of that drug operate only upon those who use it ; whereas our snuffing, chewing, and smoking, are a grievance to every man who nauseates the fumes of tobacco, to every housewife who has a regard for her furniture, and to every nostril that is not rendered callous to this piquant weed : in short, I confess, sir, that I wish this country to enjoy the profit, but to abstain from the use of tobacco : or, as there are certainly those amongst us who hate, as well as those who like it, I would propose that every person who is about to indulge in his pipe, would, for the future withdraw from company, (unless every man in it was of a similar humour as he would upon any other unseemly occasion.

B E N V O L I O.



An account of three volcanos in the moon.—By William Herschel, L. L. D. F. R. S. Communicated to the royal society of London.

IT will be necessary to say a few words by way of introduction to the account I have to give of some appearances upon the moon, which were perceived the 19th and 20th of April last. The phenomena of nature, especially those that fall under the inspection of the astronomer, are to be viewed, not only with the usual attention to facts, as they recur, but with the eye of reason and experience. In this we are, however, not allowed to depart from plain appearances ; though their origin and signification should be indicated by the most characterising features. When we see on the surface of the moon, a great number of elevations from half a mile to a mile and a half in height, we are strictly entitled to call them mountains ; but when we attend to their particular shape in which many of them resemble the craters of volcanos, and then argue, that they owe their origin

the same cause which has modelled many of those, we may be said to see by analogy, or with the eye of reason. Now, in this latter case, though it may be convenient, in speaking of phenomena, to use expressions that can only be justified by reasoning on the facts themselves, it will certainly be the safest way not to neglect a full description of them, that it may appear to others how far we have been authorized to use the mental eye. This being premised, I may safely proceed to give my observations.

April 19, 1787, 10h. 36m. sidereal time.

I perceived three volcanos in different places of the dark part of the new moon. Two of them are either nearly extinct, or otherwise in a state going to break out; which may, perhaps, be decided next lunation. The third shews an actual eruption of fire, or luminous matter. I measured the distance of the crater from the northern limb of the moon, and found it 3 deg. 57 min. 3 sec. Its light is much brighter than the nucleus of the comet, which M. Mechain discovered at Paris the tenth of this month.

April 20, 1787, 10h. 2m. sidereal time.

The volcano burns with greater splendour than last night. I believe its diameter cannot be less than 3 m. comparing with that of the Georgian planet. As Jupiter was near at hand, I turned the telescope to the satellite, and estimated the diameter of the burning part of the volcano to be equal to at least twice that of the satellite. Hence we may compute, that the shining or burning matter must be above three miles in diameter. It is of an irregular round figure, and very sharply defined on the edges. The other two volcanos are much fainter towards the centre of the moon; and resemble large pretty faint nebulae that are gradually

much brighter in the middle: but no well-defined luminous spot can be discerned in them. These three spots are plainly to be distinguished from the rest of the marks of the moon: for the reflection of the sun's rays from the earth, is, in its present situation, sufficiently bright, with a ten feet reflector, to shew the moon's spots, even the darkest of them; nor did I perceive any similar phenomena last lunation, though I then viewed the same places with the same instrument.

The appearance of what I have called the actual fire or eruption of a volcano, exactly resembled a small piece of burning charcoal, when it is covered with a very thin coat of white ashes, which frequently adhere to it, when it has been some time ignited: and it had a degree of brightness, about as strong, [as that] with which such a coal would be seen to glow in faint day-light.

All the adjacent parts of the volcanic mountain seemed faintly illuminated by the eruption; and were gradually more obscure as they lay at a greater distance from the crater.

This eruption resembled much that which I saw on the fourth of May, 1783; an account of which, with many particulars relating to the volcanic mountains in the moon, I shall take an opportunity of communicating to this society. It differed, however, considerably, in magnitude and brightness: for the volcano of the year 1783, though much brighter than that which is now burning, was not nearly so large in the dimensions of its eruption. The former, seen in the telescope, resembled a star of the fourth magnitude, as it appears to the natural eye. This, on the contrary, shews a visible disk of luminous matter, very different from the sparkling brightness of star-light.

WILLIAM HERSCHEL.

Observations on the numb fish, or torporific eel, communicated to the American philosophical society.—By Henry Collins Flagg, Esquire.

I DO myself the pleasure, though late, I confess, to comply with my promise of communicating some observations on the numb fish, or torporific eel, which I think a more proper name. These observations are contained in two letters I had the honour to write to the rev. dr. Stiles, a member of your philosophical society, from Rio Essequibo. Please to accept the following extracts.

The apparent difference between the torporific eel and that usually caught in your harbour, is, the former is flatter on the back and head, the upper part of which is perforated with several holes*, and has on each side, behind, a small fin, which some say is elevated or depressed as the fish is pleased or not†; the body I think is larger in proportion to the length, and it has a broad fin connected to the belly and continued to the tail. I have seen this fish four feet long. The sensation occasioned by touching it, appeared to me exactly similar to an electric shock. I have as yet been able to procure only one of these eels, and that was injured by lying too long dry before it came to me. The following are the remarks I made the little time it lived. I received the fish from a negro in a wicker basket, and laying it on the ground, felt a considerable shock, as I did too when I turned the fish out of the basket into a tub of water. The shock is greater, if the fish

is enraged; but whether repeated touches will exhaust this strange power, as frequently-repeated bites do the viperine and some other poisons for a time, I believe no experiment has yet determined‡. If a person holds his finger in the water, several inches distant from the fish, and another touch it, a shock equally severe is felt by him who does not touch it. The same thing happens if the fish exerts itself without being touched. If a number of persons join hands and one touch the eel, they are all equally shocked, unless there should happen to be one of the number incapable of being affected by the eel, which is the case of a very worthy lady of my acquaintance, who can handle this fish at will. I am informed some Indians and negroes can do the same; whether by the assistance of any means to counteract the power of the eel, I know not, but am persuaded it is something in the constitution of the lady||. The eel I had obtained, got out of the tub and it was with some difficulty I turned it, for the repeated shocks received through a piece of deal board eighteen inches long, which I attempted to lift it, made my arms ache very much, and for considerable time. I think the numbness occasioned by touching this eel continues longer than that from an electric shock of the same degree of force, and I have been assured by a person of good sense and veracity that a negro fellow formerly bantered by his companions for his fear of this eel, determined to give proof of his resolution, and attempt

NOTES.

* These holes do not penetrate to the mouth, nor could I discover the use of them. But I was not sufficiently exact in my dissection of the head, or I think I might have found the termination of these ducts.

† This is true.

NOTES.

‡ I am since convinced they do.

|| This lady, when I became acquainted with her, was far gone in an hectic fever. And I did not think to enquire if she could treat the fish with so much familiarity while in perfect state of health.

I to grasp it with both hands. The unhappy consequence was, a confirmed paralysis of both arms. I fear this fellow is still living in the land of St. Christopher's; if so, I can obtain more satisfaction, for I have my doubts of the negro's honesty*. But very certain it is, that many persons have been knocked down by the severity of the shock. The languid state in which I found the eel the morning after it was taken, gave me an opportunity of observing that though I could perceive no shock by touching it on or near the tail; yet, applying my finger near the belly, the torporific power was very considerable, notwithstanding the fish was now almost dead. This I repeated several times, as a remark of some consequence, in assisting us to determine whether, or how far, the emission of torporific articles depends on the exertion of any muscular force†; upon which principle, Mr. Reaumur accounts for

NOTES.

* This account was afterwards confirmed to me, with the further information, that after several years the negro recovered the use of his arms, by slow degrees, and I think without any assistance from medicine.

† I have not ventured as yet to give any opinion of the strange property by which this fish becomes the conductor of the electric fluid. But that the emission of it depends upon the exertion of muscular force, may, I think, be concluded from hence; that, as has already been determined, repeated exertions will exhaust its power to shock, for a time, and before it can again exert its influence, a fresh quantity of fire must be collected; nor do I think the experiment I made on the dying eel invalidates this opinion, for to the best of my recollection, it ceased to shock for some time before its death.

the benumbing power of the torpedo. I much doubt, if the most acute eye can discern any motion in the eel at the time it shocks‡. I have been so particular in taking notice of the basket and deal-board, because it has been asserted that the eel shocks only by immediate contact, through metal or very hard wood. This eel is frequently eat by the negroes, and reckoned very delicious. Its common food is shrimps, or any small fish.

I have lately made another experiment upon the torporific eel. It was suggested to me by the very great similarity between the effects of a shock from the eel and an electric machine. I held an iron rod between two pieces of glass, and touched the eel with it, but could not perceive the least shock. I held the rod in a silk handkerchief with the same effect. I repeated these experiments on two eels with equal success. I think this experiment demonstrates that the electric and torporific particles are the same. I have tried the effects of this fish upon the needle of a compass, but perceived no influence. I have not, however, done with the eel, and hereafter will repeat all the old and make new experiments upon it§.

This fish raises its head every few minutes above the water, to respire.

I have seen negroes take hold of it, at first very cautiously, receiving

NOTES.

‡ I am informed the motion is perceptible, though I confess I could not distinguish it.

§ I had not been long in South America, when I made my observations; soon after which, the necessary avocations of my profession, together with that relaxation of the mental powers generally consequent upon the lassitude of body incident to the inhabitants of warm climates, indisposed me to the farther prosecution of experiments I am now mortified at not having made.

many light shocks, but presently have grasped it hard, and taken it out of the water.

There is a kind of light wood through which the eel cannot shock.

Mrs. Behn, in her Oroonoko, gives a description of this fish, which she calls the numb eel, and says it is taken in the river Surinam.

From the above experiments, partial as they are, I leave you, sir, to judge how far the torporific and electric fluids are alike.

I am, with the greatest respect and esteem, your most humble servant,

HENRY COLLINS FLAGG.

South Carolina, October 8, 1782.



Extract of a letter from his excellency Thomas Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary at Paris, to the reverend president Stiles, of Yale college, dated Paris, September 1, 1786.

I Return you my thanks for the communications relative to the western country. When we reflect how long we have inhabited those parts of America, which lie between the Alleghany and the ocean—that no monument has ever been found in them, which indicated the use of iron among its aboriginal inhabitants—that they were as far advanced in arts, at least, as the inhabitants on the other side of the Alleghany—a good degree of infidelity may be excused as to the new discoveries, which suppose regular fortifications of brick work to have been in use among the Indians, on the waters of the Ohio. Intrenchments of earth they might indeed make; but brick is more difficult. The art of making it may have preceded the use of iron: but it would suppose a greater degree of industry than men in the hunter state usually possess. I should like to know whether general Parsons himself saw actual bricks among the remains of fortification. I sup-

pose the settlement of our continent is of the most remote antiquity; the similitude between its inhabitants and those of the eastern parts of Asia, renders it probable that ours are descended from them, or they from ours. The latter is my opinion, founded on this single fact. Among the red inhabitants of Asia there are but a few languages radically different: but among our Indians, the number of languages is infinite, which are so radically different as to exhibit at present no appearance of their having been derived from a common source. The time necessary for the generation of so many languages must be immense. A countryman of yours, a mr. Lediard, who was with capt. Cooke on his last voyage, proposes to go to Kamschatka, cross from thence to the western side of America, and penetrate through the continent to our side of it, or to go to Kentucke, and thence penetrate westwardly to the south sea. He went from hence lately to London, where, if he found a passage to Kamschatka, or the western coast of America, he would avail himself of it: otherwise he proposed to return to our side of America to attempt that route. I think him well calculated for such an enterprise, and wish he may undertake it. Another countryman of your's, mr. Trumbull, has paid us a visit here and brought with him two pictures which are the admiration of connoisseurs. His natural talents for this art seem almost unparalleled. For these twelve months past, little new and excellent has appeared either in literature or the arts. An abbe Rochon has applied the metal called platina to the telescope, instead of the mixed metal of which the specula were formerly composed; it is insusceptible of rust, as gold is, and he thinks its reflective power equal to that of the mixed metal. He has observed a very curious effect of the

natural chryſtal, eſpecially of thoſe of Iceland, which is, that lenſes made of them have two direct focuſes, and preſent you the object diſtinctly at two different diſtances; this I have ſeen myſelf. A new method of copying has been invented here: I called on the inventor; and he preſented me with a plate of copper, a pen and ink. I wrote a note on the plate, and in about three quarters of an hour he brought me an hundred copies, as perfect as the imagination can conceive. Had I written my name, he could have put it to ſo many bonds, ſo that I ſhould have acknowledged the ſignature to have been my own. The copying of paintings in England is very inconceivable; any number may be taken, which ſhall give you the true lineaments and colouring of the original, without injuring that. This is ſo like creation, that had I not ſeen it, I ſhould have doubted it. The death of the king of Prussia, which happened on the 17th inſt. will probably employ the pens, if not the ſwords of politicians. We had exchanged the ratifications of our treaty with him. The articles of this, which were intended to prevent or mitigate wars, by leſſening their aliment, are ſo much applauded in Europe, that I think the example will be followed.

I have the honour to be, with
very ſincere eſteem, dear ſir,
your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
THOMAS JEFFERSON.



Observations on the leech worm, by a gentleman who kept one for ſeveral years, to indicate the approaching weather.

A Phial of water, containing a leech, I kept on the frame of my lower ſaſh window, ſo that when I looked in the morning, I could

know what would be the weather of the following day.

If the weather proves ſerene and beautiful, the leech lies at the bottom of the glaſs, motionleſs, and rolled together in a ſpiral form.

If it rains, either before or after noon, it is found crept up to the top of its lodging, and there it remains until the weather is ſettled.

If we are to have wind, the poor priſoner gallops through its limpid habitation with amazing ſwiftness, and ſeldom reſts until it begins to blow hard.

If a remarkable ſtorm of thunder and rain is to ſucceed, for ſome days before, it lodges almoſt continually without the water; and diſcovers uncommon uneaſineſs, in violent throws, and convulſive-like motions.

In the froſt, as in clear ſummer weather, it lies conſtantly at the bottom: and in ſnow, as in rainy weather, it pitches its dwelling on the very mouth of the phial.

What reaſons may be aſſigned for theſe effects, I muſt leave philoſophers to determine; though one thing is evident to every body, that it muſt be affected in the ſame way with the mercury and ſpirits in the weather glaſs. It has, doubtleſs, a very ſurpriſing ſenſation, that the change of weather, even days before, makes a viſible alteration in its manner of living.

Perhaps, it may not be amiſs to note, that the leech was kept in a common eight ounce glaſs phial, about three-fourths filled with water, and covered on the mouth with a bit of linen rag. In ſummer, the water is changed once a week, and in winter once a fortnight.



To the printer of the American Muſeum.

SIR,

I Underſtand that a part, if not all, of the medals, which, in the

course of the late war, were voted by congress, to officers of distinguished merit, and for the execution of which, I contracted with artists at Paris, have lately arrived in America. But not having seen any account published of the devices and inscriptions, I presume it will not be ungrateful to the public, to receive some authentic information respecting these memorials of national glory. However superfluous the publication of the correspondence on this subject, with the PERPETUAL SECRETARY of the ROYAL ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND BELLES LETTRES, might be deemed—it will not, I conceive, be improper it should be known, that this learned society, to whom a reference was made, entered on the discussion with the same alacrity, as if the subject had been designed to illustrate the actions of their compatriots, or to immortalize some glorious events in the annals of their own nation. You will be at liberty to insert in your Museum the result of their deliberations.

In our free republics, certainly, nothing should be suppressed, that can tend to awaken a noble spirit of emulation, to cherish the fine feelings of patriotism, to exhibit alluring examples for imitation, or to extend and perpetuate the remembrance of those heroic achievements, which have ennobled the era of the American revolution. Few inventions could be more happily calculated to diffuse the knowledge, and preserve the memory of illustrious characters, and splendid events, than medals—whether we take into consideration the unperishable nature of the substance from whence they are formed, the facility of multiplying copies, or the practice of depositing them in the cabinets of the curious. Perhaps one improvement might be made. The sage and venerable dr. Franklin, whose patriotic genius is active in

old age, and ever prolific in projects of public utility, once suggested, in conversation with me, as an expedient for propagating still more extensively the knowledge of facts designed to be perpetuated in medals, that their devices should be impressed on the current coin of the nation.

Under the influence of such ideas, I shall claim the indulgence of my countrymen, for bringing forward a communication, which might possibly have come more satisfactorily from some other quarter. An apprehension that the subject might remain unnoticed, is my apology.

I am, sir,
your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
DAVID HUMPHREYS.

Mount Vernon, November, 1787.

Devices and inscriptions of American medals.

The gold medal for general Washington, represents the head of his excellency with this legend :

*Georgio Washington, supremo duce
exercituum, adjutori libertatis,
comitia Americana.*

On the reverse.

The evacuation of Boston. The American army advances in good order towards the town, which is seen at a distance, while the British army flies with precipitation towards the strand, to embark on board the vessels with which the road is covered. In front of the picture, on the side of the American army, general Washington appears on horseback, amidst a groupe of officers, to whom he seems to be pointing out the retreat of the enemy.

Legend.

Hoslibus primo fugatis.

On the exergue.

*Bostonium recuperatum, die 17 Martis,
M.DCC.LXXVI.*

The gold medal for general Gates, represents the head of that general, with this legend :

Horatio Gates, duci strenuus, comitia Americana.

On the reverse :

The enemy's general, at the head of his army, who are grounding their arms, presents his sword to the American general, whose troops stand with shouldered arms.

Legend.

Salus regionum Septentrionalium.

On the exergue.

Hæstæ ad Saratogam in deditiorem accepto, die 17, Octobris.

M.DCC.LXXVII.

The gold medal of general Greene, represents the head of that general with this legend :

Nathaniel Greene, egregio duci, comitia Americana.

On the reverse : a Victory treading under feet broken arms.

Legend.

Salus regionum australium.

On the exergue.

Hæstibus apud Eutaw debellatis, die 8 Septembris,

M.DCC.LXXXI.

The medal in gold for general Morgan, and those in silver for the colonels Howard and Washington, were to be indicative of the several circumstances which attended the victory, at the Cowpens, on the 17th of January, 1781, in conformity to a special resolution of congress.

It may not be foreign to the purpose, to add, that dyes have formerly been engraved, under the direction of dr. Franklin, for striking the gold medal for general Wayne, and the silver medals for the colonels de Fleury and Steward, emblematic of their gallant conduct in storming the

works of Stony-point, sword in hand.

These are all the medals voted by congress in the course of the war.



PROCLAMATION.

By John Burgoyne, esq. lieutenant general of his majesty's armies in America, colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons, governor of Fort William in North Britain, one of the representatives of the commons of Great Britain, and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expedition from Canada, &c. &c.

THE forces entrusted to my command, are designed to act in concert, and upon a common principle, with the numerous armies and fleets which already display in every quarter of America, the power, the justice, and, when properly fought, the mercy of the king.

The cause, in which the British arms are thus exerted, applies to the most affecting interests of the human heart; and the military servants of the crown, at first called forth for the sole purpose of restoring the rights of the constitution, now combine with love of their country, and duty to their sovereign, the other extensive incitements, which form a due sense of the general privileges of mankind. To the eyes and ears of the temperate part of the public, and to the breasts of suffering thousands, in the provinces, be the melancholy appeal, whether the present unnatural rebellion has not been made a foundation for the completest system of tyranny that ever God, in his displeasure, suffered for a time to be exercised over a froward and stubborn generation.

Arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation of property, persecution and torture, unprecedented in the inqui-

sitions of the Romish church, are among the palpable enormities that verify the affirmative. These are inflicted, by assemblies and committees, who dare to profess themselves friends to liberty, upon the most quiet subjects, without distinction of age or sex, for the sole crime, often for the sole suspicion of having adhered in principle to the government under which they were born, and to which by every tie, divine and human, they owe allegiance. To consummate these shocking proceedings, the profanation of religion is added to the most profligate prostitution of common reason; the consciences of men are set at nought; and multitudes are compelled not only to bear arms, but also to swear subjection to an usurpation they abhor.

Animated by these considerations—at the head of troops in the full powers of health, discipline, and valour—determined to strike where necessary—and anxious to spare where possible—I, by these presents, invite and exhort all persons, in all places where the progress of this army may point—and by the blessing of God I will extend it far—to maintain such a conduct as may justify me in protecting their lands, habitations, and families. The intention of this address is to hold forth security, not depredation, to the country. To those, whom spirit and principle may induce to partake the glorious task of redeeming their countrymen from dungeons, and re-establishing the blessings of legal government, I offer encouragement and employment; and, upon the first intelligence of their association, I will find means to assist their undertakings. The domestic, the industrious, the infirm, and even the timid inhabitants, I am desirous to protect, provided they remain quiet-

ly at their houses; that they do not suffer their cattle to be removed, nor their corn or forage to be secreted or destroyed; that they do not break up their bridges or roads; nor by any other act, directly or indirectly, endeavour to obstruct the operations of the king's troops, or supply or assist those of the enemy.

Every species of provision, brought to my camp, will be paid for at an equitable rate, and in solid coin.

In consciousness of christianity, my royal master's clemency, and the honour of soldiership, I have dwelt upon this invitation, and wished for more persuasive terms to give it impression. And let not people be led to disregard it, by considering their distance from the immediate situation of my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction—and they amount to thousands—to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America. I consider them the same, wherever they may lurk.

If, notwithstanding these endeavours, and sincere inclinations to effect them, the phrenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand acquitted in the eyes of God and men, in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the state against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of justice and of wrath await them in the field: and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror, that a reluctant, but indispensable, prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return.

JOHN BURGOYNE.

Camp, near Ticonderoga,

July 2, 1777.

By order of his excellency

the lieutenant general,

ROBERT KINGSTON, secretary.

To John Burgoyne, esq. lieutenant general of his majesty's armies in America, colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons, governor of Fort William in North Britain, one of the representatives of the commons of Great Britain, and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expedition from Canada, &c. &c.

Most high, most mighty, most puissant, and sublime general!

WHEN the forces under your command arrived at Quebec in order to act in concert and upon a common principle with the numerous fleets and armies which already display in every quarter of America the justice and mercy of your king, we, the reptiles of America, were struck with unusual trepidation and astonishment. But what words can express the plenitude of our horror when the colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons advanced towards Ticonderoga. The mountains shook before thee, and the trees of the forest bowed their lofty heads—the vast lakes of the north were chilled at thy presence, and the mighty cataracts stopped their tremendous career, and were suspended in awe at thy approach. Judge, then, *oh ineffable governor of Fort William in North Britain*, what must have been the terror, dismay, and despair that overspread this paltry continent of America, and us, it's wretched inhabitants. Dark and dreary, indeed, was the prospect before us, till, like the sun in the horizon, your most gracious, sublime, and irresistible proclamation opened the doors of mercy, and snatched us, as it were, from the jaws of annihilation.

We foolishly thought, blind as we were, that your gracious master's fleets and armies were come to destroy us and our liberties; but we are happy in hearing from you (and who

can doubt what you assert?) that they were called forth for the sole purpose of restoring the rights of the constitution to a forward and stubborn generation.

And is it for this, oh sublime lieutenant general, that you have given yourself the trouble to cross the wide Atlantic, and with incredible fatigue traverse uncultivated wilds? And we ungratefully refuse the proffered blessing?—To restore the rights of the constitution, you have called together an amiable host of savages, and turned them loose to scalp our women and children, and lay our country waste—this they have performed with their usual skill and clemency; and we yet remain insensible of the benefit, and unthankful for so much goodness.

Our congress have declared independence, and our assemblies, as your highness justly observes, have most wickedly imprisoned the avowed friends of that power with which they are at war, and most profusely compelled those, whose consciences will not permit them to fight, to pay some small part towards the expences their country is at, in supporting what is called a necessary defensive war. If we go on thus in our obstinacy and ingratitude, what can we expect, but that you should, in your anger, give a stretch to the Indian forces under your direction, amounting to thousands, to overtake and destroy us? or, which is ten times worse, that you should withdraw your fleets and armies, and leave us to our own misery, without completing the benevolent task you have begun, in restoring to us the rights of the constitution?

We submit—we submit—most puissant colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons, and governor of Fort William in North Britain! We offer our heads to the scalping knife, and our bellies to the bayonet. Who can resist the force of your elo-

quence? Who can withstand the terror of your arms? The invitation you have made, in the *consciousness of christianity, your royal master's clemency, and the honour of soldier'ship*, we thankfully accept. The blood of the slain, the cries of injured virgins and innocent children, and the never-ceasing sighs and groans of starving wretches, now languishing in the jails and prison-ships of New York, call on us in vain, whilst your sublime proclamation is sounded in our ears. Forgive us, oh our country! Forgive us, dear posterity! Forgive us, all ye foreign powers, who are anxiously watching our conduct in this important struggle, if we yield implicitly to the persuasive tongue of the most elegant *colonel of her majesty's regiment of light dragoons*.

Forbear, then, thou magnanimous *lieutenant general*! Forbear to denounce vengeance against us—Forbear to *give a stretch* to those *restorers of constitutional rights*, the *Indian forces under your direction*—Let not the *messengers of justice and wrath* await us in the field, and *devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror*, bar our return to the allegiance of a prince, who, by his royal will, would deprive us of every blessing of life, with all possible clemency.

We are *domestic*, we are *industrious*, we are *infirm*, and *timid*: we shall remain quietly at home, and not remove our cattle, our corn, or forage, in hopes that you will come, at the head of troops in the full powers of health, discipline, and valour, and take charge of them for yourselves. Behold our wives and daughters, our flocks and herds, our goods and chattels, are they not at the mercy of our lord the king, and of his *lieutenant general, member of the house of commons, and governor of Fort William in North Britain*?

A. B.

C. D.

E. F. &c. &c. &c.

Saratoga, 10th July, 1777.

From the Pennsylvania Magazine.

The old bachelor.

NUMBER I.

Mr. Aitken,

I Have just met with something that has put me exceedingly out of temper, and fitted me to write, I believe, *elegantly*. It has warmed up my passions to such a pitch, that I think I can quarrel as *sublimely* as my brother bachelor, dr. Johnson. Oh! he's the prince of ill-nature—he's an excellent fellow. I should like to see some of his best quarrelling faces, when he is mauling and tearing your poets, and your players, and your authors of all work to pieces. They tell me, that he cuts up a critic, like a goose, and quarrels so *deliciously* over the section and dissections, that it is a *feast* to hear him. I have just seen a print of him in one of the English magazines. O he's a rare hand at a surly face.—He frowns so *emphatically*, that every muscle is a sentence. Talk of your lovers, and your languishers, and your fainters, and your expirers—'tis nothing, sir—'tis all learned out of the looking-glass: and if they happen to forget which is which, they will give you the *wrong* look, as soon as the *right* one. But if you have any taste for looks, look at dr. Johnson—he looks as logically as he writes. I intend to put his print over my writing desk, that whenever I happen (which happens very often now) to be as ill-natured as I am at present, I may know how to model my countenance: for you must know that my face is so foolishly contrived for a quarrelling one, that it don't answer my purpose: for my man, or my maid, or my boy, comes as briskly up, when I am in a surly mood, with, "Did you ring, sir?" or, "Did you call, sir?" as if my face stood for nothing. Now, I dare

ny that dr. Johnson frowns so glou-
ously as to be seen through his study
door. This sort of faces are very
seful ones : they not only keep a
man from being disturbed more than
ere is occasion for—but tell others
hen to keep out of the way of mis-
chief, and save a great deal of wri-
ing and talking.

But this is not the story I have to
tell you—only I am such an admirer
of dr. Johnson, that he always be-
itches me out of my subject. I have
yet with something that galls me
unfoundedly : and the misfortune
is, I have nobody to quarrel with ;
that is, nobody of sufficient conse-
quence, for there is as much famili-
arity in quarrelling as in foot-ball :
and a man loses as much of his dig-
nity among his servants, by admit-
ting them to wrangle with him, as
if he were to *sit down*, and *tips up*
with them for a gallon of Hare's
porter. When I quarrel, I love to do
it in character. Now I could quarrel
with an alderman, or a lord mayor,
or any other lord, or a god, if he
came in my way. I could quarrel
with your Apollo's, and your muses,
or your nymphs of the woods, or
your nymphs of the waters, and so
on : but as I can meet with no one
great enough for my purpose, I'll sit
down, and quarrel with myself.

I have two or three times told you
that I have met, that is, I have seen,
something to-day that hurts me ter-
ribly. I have seen, sir, a man and his
wife the happiest people I ever saw
in my life. "Well," you'll say, with
a great deal of amazement, "why
should that disturb you?"—Why
should that disturb me! why, because
I hate such fights. I had rather see a
good battle between them, and the
cat and dog keeping up the quarrel.
I'd have them always at it. "That's
very strange," you'll say. Not at all
strange, if you knew all the reason :
if you felt it, as I feel it. "What
reason," you'll say again, "can jus-

tify such an unreasonable wish?"
Oh! a very good one, a very pow-
erful one, I assure you. "Aye,"
you'll say, "what is it?" Why, be-
cause I have no wife of my own.
The world has got the start of me ;
and swims along so pleasantly, that,
as I cannot keep up with it, I hate
to see it. Your *my loves*, and your *my
dears*—zounds! I can't bear it! I
had rather see it all fire and smoke,
and then the laugh would be on my
side. "Well," perhaps you'll say,
"why don't you get married, sir?"
No, no, sir, it won't do now. Mar-
ried indeed! A fine affair I should
make of it, at sixty-five. A fine af-
fair *she'd* make of it too! No, no,
friend, it won't do, I tell you. I
ought to be *hanged* for not being
married *before*—but I ought to be
hung in chains, if I get married *now*.
If the law will leave me out of the
question—and I don't much care
whether they do or not—I would
give my vote to make it felony for
any man to remain a bachelor after
forty. But come, sit down, mr. Ait-
ken, and we'll drink a bottle to the
success of the magazine, and I'll tell
you seriously about the matter.

Perhaps I have been as great a be-
nefactor to the province of Pennsyl-
vania, (you understand me?) as any
man. But what of all that? I don't
know what is become of them—some
are here, and some are there, and
some are no where : some are black,
and some are white, and some are
neither : some are gone to the Eng-
lish, some to the French, and some,
perhaps, are beyond the Styx : and
whatever happens to any of them,
will be laid to my charge, for not
having taken care of their education.
I don't know what the gay world
may think of these things ; but ever
since I reformed, which is now two
years, I have pondered very seriously
thereon. I reason thus—to beget
them, was a *natural* crime ; to dis-
own them, a *proud* one ; and to ne-

inspected tobacco, at such rates as shall be fixed by the governor, in the manner hereafter directed, or with specie, at his option.

And be it further enacted, that it shall and may be lawful for the governor, with the advice of the council of state, to fix the rate at which the tobacco, inspected at each of the ware-houses, within this state, shall be receivable in payment of the said taxes, and having fixed it, by his proclamation, which he is hereby empowered and required to issue, to declare the rate at which the tobacco inspected at each of the ware-houses within this state, shall be received in payment of the said taxes.

Provided, that the tobacco of that inspection, which by the governor, with the advice aforesaid, shall be judged best and most valuable, shall be rated at shillings a hundred, and no more.



*Act for establishing religious freedom
in Virginia.*

Passed anno .1785.

SECTION I.

WHEREAS Almighty God hath created the mind free ; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in his almighty power to do: that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opi-

nions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavouring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time : that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves, is sinful and tyrannical : that even the forcing him to support this or that preacher of his own religious persuasion, is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern, and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness ; and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards, which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional excitement to earnest and unremitting labours for the instruction of mankind ; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physic or geometry : that, therefore, the proscribing any citizen as unworthy of the public confidence, by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument, unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion, is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages, to which, in common with his fellow citizens, he has a natural right : that it tends only to corrupt the principles of that religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing, with a monopoly of wordly honours and emoluments, those who will externally profess and conform to it : that though, indeed, these are criminal, who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent, who lay the bait in their way : that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles, on

supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy, because he being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with, or differ from his own : that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government, for its officers to interfere, when principles break out into overt-acts against peace and good order ; and finally, that truth is great and will prevail, if left to herself : that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless, by human interposition, disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate ; errors ceasing to be dangerous, when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

SECTION II.

Be it therefore enacted, by the assembly of this state, that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief ; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion ; and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.

SECTION III.

And tho' we well know that this assembly, elected by the people, for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own—and that therefore to declare this act irrevocable, would be of no effect in law—yet we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted, are of the natural rights of mankind ; and that if any act shall

be hereafter passed, to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.



Virginia, ff.

“ *An act to prevent the further importation of slaves into this commonwealth.*

“ **B**E it enacted by the general assembly of this state, that from and after the passing of this act, no slave or slaves shall hereafter be imported into this commonwealth, by sea or land ; nor shall any slave or slaves so imported, be sold or bought by any person whatever.

“ Every person hereafter importing slaves into this commonwealth, contrary to this act, shall forfeit and pay the sum of one thousand pounds for every slave so imported ; and every person selling or buying any such slave or slaves, shall, in like manner, forfeit and pay the sum of five hundred pounds for every slave so sold or bought, one moiety of which forfeitures shall be to the use of the commonwealth, and the other moiety to him or them that shall sue for the same, to be recovered by action of debt or information in any court of record.

“ And be it further enacted, that every slave imported into this commonwealth, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, shall, upon such importation, become free.”

Richmond, October, 1786.



State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

In general assembly, October session, A. D. 1787.

An act to prevent the slave trade, and to encourage the abolition of slavery.

WHEREAS the trade to Africa for slaves, and the

transportation and selling of them into other countries, is inconsistent with justice, and the principles of humanity, as well as the laws of nature, and that more enlightened and civilized sense of freedom which has of late prevailed. And whereas the general congress of the united states, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, taking the said trade into consideration, agreed and resolved as follows: that "we will neither import, nor purchase any slaves imported, after the first day of December next; after which time, we will wholly discontinue the slave trade; and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, or sell our commodities or manufactures to those that are."

Nevertheless, forgetful of the danger which then impended, and inattentive to the principle of justice and sound policy manifested in the aforesaid resolution, a renewal of the African trade for slaves has been entered into by divers inhabitants of this state: for the prevention whereof,

Be it enacted by this general assembly, and by the authority thereof it is enacted, that no citizen of this state, or other person residing within the same, shall, for himself or any other person whatever, either as master, factor, or owner, of any vessel, directly or indirectly, import or transport, buy or sell, or receive on board their vessel, with intent to cause to be imported or transported from their native country, any of the natives or inhabitants of any state or kingdom in that part of the world called Africa, as slaves, or without their voluntary consent.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every citizen, inhabitant, or resident, as aforesaid, who shall import or transport, or cause to be imported or transported, any of the said inhabitants of Africa, contrary to the true intent

and meaning of this act, and be thereof lawfully convicted, shall forfeit the sum of one hundred pounds, lawful money, for every person by him or them so imported or transported; and the sum of one thousand pounds, for every vessel by him or them employed in the importation or transportation aforesaid; to be recovered by bill, plaint, or information, before the superior court, or either of the inferior courts within this state: the one moiety thereof shall be paid into the general treasury, for the use of the state; and the other moiety to and for the use of the person or persons who shall prosecute for and recover the same.

Provided nevertheless, that this act do not extend to vessels which have already sailed, their owners, factors, or commanders, for and during their present voyage.

A true copy:

Witness, HENRY SHREBURN, *deputy secretary.*



Speech of his excellency John Hancock, governor of Massachusetts, to both branches of the legislature, on Thursday the 18th Oct. 1787.

Gentlemen of the senate, and

Gentlemen of the house of representatives,

I HAVE directed the secretary to lay before you several letters, which I have received in the recess of the court; among them you will observe a letter from his excellency the governor of New York, wherein he expresses his apprehension of a wicked combination entered into by a number of persons, with an intention to deprive this commonwealth, and that state, of the lands which have been lately the subject of a compact between them. I need not enlarge on this subject, as it will appear to you that the pretensions of these people are rather an insult upon this government, than an apology for their

conduct. I have no doubt of your immediate attention to a subject, by which the interest and honour of the commonwealth are so much affected.

The general convention having completed the business of their appointment, and having reported to congress, "a constitution for the united states of America," I have received the same from that honourable body, and have directed the secretary to lay it, together with the letter accompanying it, before the legislature, that measures may be adopted for calling a convention in this commonwealth, to take the same into consideration. It not being within the duties of my office to decide upon this momentous affair, I shall only say, that the characters of the gentlemen who have compiled this system, are so truly respectable, and the object of their deliberations so vastly important, that I conceive every mark of attention will be paid to the report. Their unanimity in deciding those questions, wherein the general prosperity of the nation is so deeply involved, and the complicated rights of each separate state are so intimately concerned, is very remarkable; and I persuade myself that the delegates of this state, when assembled in convention, will be able to discern that, which will tend to the future happiness and security of all the people in this extensive country.

By a resolve of the legislature, of the thirteenth of June last, the governor was requested to raise a body of troops, of not less than five hundred, nor more than eight hundred men, as the public exigency, in his opinion, should require, to be stationed in the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, and to be continued in service for the space of six months, unless sooner discharged, in the whole or in part, by the governor with advice of council. In pursuance of that resolve, I issued orders for raising five hundred men, rank and

file; and appointed lieutenant-colonel Lyman to the command of them. But the recruits never amounted to more than two hundred and fifty; which were, as the event shews, fully adequate to the business for which they were raised.

Soon after the general court were adjourned, the intelligence from those counties indicated a military force to be unnecessary: but as you had, by your act of the twenty-ninth of June, requested me to write to the governors of other states, for leave to march troops into their territories, if it should be found necessary to pursue any number of men collected there, for the purpose of annoying this commonwealth, there would have been an impropriety in disbanding the troops immediately upon writing letters in consequence of that request. They were, therefore, continued in service until the thirteenth of September, when, by the unanimous advice of the council, I gave orders for disbanding them.

But as some persons, who were under charge for taking an active part in the late commotions, were confined in the jail of Berkshire with advice of council, I gave order to major-general Patterson, to afford such guard to the prison, by draft from the militia, as the sheriff of that county should find to be necessary.

I have the pleasure to congratulate you, gentlemen, on the return of peace and good order, thus far: and while I sincerely lament those insurrections, which have greatly injured the interest and character of our country, I am persuaded you will join with me in the sentiment, that this unhappy occurrence cannot be considered as a certain mark of the indisposition of the people to good order and government. Similar insurrections are found in the history of all countries: and although, in this state, where no tax can be levied, or law made, but by the consen-

of the immediate representatives of the people, and where every grievance can be redressed in a constitutional way, they are inexcusable; yet, from my knowledge of the great degree of intelligence, which our fellow citizens at large possess, I am obliged to believe, that a sense of their own reputation, and the regard they have to their own interest and happiness, will produce a due subordination to government, and a regular obedience to the laws, without a further application of military force.

The legislature having, by their act of the thirteenth of June, indemnified from criminal prosecution all the persons concerned in the late commotions, excepting those convicted of crimes, and nine others specially named in the act—the supreme executive, on similar sentiments, conceived that a pardon to Mason Parmenter, Henry M'Culloch, Henry Gale, and Job Shattuck, who were then under sentence of death for treason, might be granted consistently with the dignity and safety of the government, and that such a measure would have a tendency to restore the public tranquillity, to conciliate the affections of the people, and to establish peace in the state. Accordingly, by and with the advice of council, on the thirteenth day of September, I sealed a pardon for those persons.

As a tax in the course of the year, will become necessary, an attention to the mode of taxation may tend to the peace, as well as to the prosperity of the commonwealth. While we were a part of the British empire we necessarily acquired a habit of fixing our attention upon taxes levied from polls and estates, to supply the treasury. This we were then, from the peculiarity of our situation, compelled to; but I earnestly recommend it to your consideration, whether, as the wealth and power of the state must depend

upon the cultivation of the soil, and the encouragement of the useful arts, it has not become our duty to lessen, as far as we possibly can, the taxes upon polls and estates, and to raise the necessary supplies, in a great measure, by imposts on foreign goods—by excises on luxuries imported—and by taxes on those superfluities which can never be an advantage to the community, unless it be by producing funds to support the public burdens.

In consequence of an act, made in October, 1786, a mint has been erected for coining cents; and a very considerable quantity of copper coin will soon be ready for circulation. I wish your attention to the subject, and that a law may be made to prevent the daily frauds and impositions arising from the circulation of foreign copper coin in this commonwealth.

I have not gone minutely into all the communications which are necessary to be made, but shall by particular messages make such as may be for the public interest; and shall be very ready to unite with you in all measures tending to a proper regulation of our finances, the promoting of virtue and knowledge, to the establishing of good order and government, securing the liberties and increasing the happiness of the united states in general, and those of this commonwealth in particular.

JOHN HANCOCK.

Council chamber, Oct. 17, 1787.



Resolves of congress.

July 6, 1787.

RESOLVED, that the board of treasury direct the contractor for the copper coinage, to stamp on one side of each piece, the following device, viz. thirteen circles linked together, a small circle in the middle, with the words, "*United States*," round it, and in the centre, the words, "*We are one*." On the M

other side of the same piece, the following devices, viz. a dial with the hours expressed on the face of it, a meridian sun above, on one side of which is to be the word, "*Fugio*," and on the other, the year in figures, "1787;" below the dial, the words, "*Mind your business*."

September 28, 1787.

WHEREAS, it hath been represented to congress, by the delegates of Georgia, that their country is in danger of an invasion :

Resolved, that the secretary at war deliver to the order of the delegates of Georgia, one hundred and fifty pair of horsemen's swords, one pair of brass field pieces, three pounders, one thousand pounds weight of gunpowder, and six hundred rounds of grape and round shot for the field pieces : the state of Georgia to be accountable.

Eodem die.

WHEREAS, doubts have, in certain instances, arisen, whether foreign consuls, residing in the united states, are entitled to an exemption from such legal imposts and duties on merchandizes, by them imported for their own use, as are payable by other subjects of their respective nations :

Resolved, that no consuls of any nation are entitled to such exemptions in the united states.

October 5, 1787.

ON a report of the secretary for foreign affairs, to whom were referred two letters from the hon. John Adams, of the 24th and 27th of January last :

Resolved, that the hon. John Adams, the minister plenipotentiary of the united states, at the court of London, be permitted, agreeably to

his request, to return to America, at any time after the twenty-fourth day of February, in the year of our Lord 1788 ; and that his commission of minister plenipotentiary to their high mightinesses do also then determine.

Resolved, that congress entertain a high sense of the services which mr. Adams has rendered to the united states, in the execution of the various important trusts, which they have from time to time committed to him ; and that the thanks of congress be presented to him for the patriotism, perseverance, integrity, and diligence, with which he has ably and faithfully served his country.

October 16, 1787.

ON motion of mr. Carrington,

Resolved unanimously, that a medal of gold be struck, and presented to the chevalier John Paul Jones, in commemoration of the valour and brilliant services of that officer, in the command of a squadron of French and American ships, under the flag and commission of the united states, off the coast of Great Britain, in the late war : and that the honourable mr. Jefferson, minister plenipotentiary of the united states at the court of Versailles, have the same executed with the proper devices.

Resolved, that a letter be written to his most christian majesty, informing him, that the united states in congress assembled, have bestowed upon the chevalier John Paul Jones, this medal, as well in consideration of the distinguished marks of approbation, which his majesty has been pleased to confer on that officer, as from a sense of his merit : and that, as it is his earnest desire to acquire greater knowledge in his profession, it would be acceptable to congress, that his majesty would be pleased to permit him to embark with his fleets

of evolution, convinced that he can no where else so well acquire that knowledge which may hereafter render him more extensively useful.

Ordered, that the secretary for foreign affairs prepare a letter for the above purpose; and that the chevalier John Paul Jones be the bearer of the said letter.

October 20, 1787.

ON the report of a committee, consisting of mr. Grayson, mr. Clarke, and mr. Ross, to whom was referred a motion for a representation to the states of North Carolina and Georgia, on the subject of surrendering a liberal portion of their territorial claims:

Resolved, that it be, and it is hereby represented to the states of North Carolina and Georgia, that the lands, which have been ceded by the other states, in compliance with the recommendation of this body, are now selling in large quantities for public securities; that the deeds of cession from the different states have been made without annexing an express condition, that they should not operate, until the other states, under like circumstances, made similar cessions; and that congress have such faith in the justice and magnanimity of the states of North Carolina and Georgia, that they only think it necessary to call their attention to these circumstances, not doubting but upon consideration of the subject, they will feel those obligations which will induce similar cessions, and justify that confidence which has been placed in them.

Eodem die.

ON a report of the secretary for foreign affairs, to whom was referred a letter to him, from the minister of the united Netherlands, enclosing a note of the same date,

complaining of an act of the legislature of the commonwealth of Virginia, exempting French brandies, imported in French and American vessels, from the payment of certain duties, to which the like commodities, imported in Dutch vessels, are left liable, as being contrary to the second article in their treaty with the united states, stipulating that they shall be treated as the most favoured nation:

Resolved, that whenever any of these states shall think proper to grant a favour to any foreign nation, such state ought to extend it to such other foreign nations, as, by treaties with the united states, are to be treated as the most favoured nation.

Resolved, that a copy of the above resolution, and of the representation of the minister of the united Netherlands, be transmitted to the commonwealth of Virginia, to the end that the legislature of that commonwealth may take the earliest opportunity of revising the act, of which the said minister complains, and rendering the same perfectly consistent with the treaty subsisting between the united states and the united Netherlands, and of causing to be repaid whatever extra duties may, in virtue of the said act, be exacted on the brandies there imported in Dutch vessels, during the operation of the same.



Premiums, offered by the board of managers of the Pennsylvania society for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts.

AT a meeting of the board of managers of the Pennsylvania society for the encouragement of manufactures and the useful arts, held at the dispensary on Friday, November 16, 1787, it was resolved, that this board will confer the following premiums:

1. To such person as shall exhibit,

on or before the 31st day of December, 1788, a model of the most useful engine or machine, to be moved by water, fire, or otherwise, and by which the ordinary labour of hands, in manufacturing cotton, wool, flax, or hemp, shall be saved in a greater degree than by any engine or machine now used in the state of Pennsylvania, a plate of gold, with suitable device and inscription, of the value of twenty dollars.

2. To such person in the state of Pennsylvania, as shall raise and clean the greatest quantity of hemp, in the year 1788, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of thirty dollars—the proof to be exhibited by the first day of May, 1789.

3. To such person in the state of Pennsylvania, as shall raise and clean the next greatest quantity of hemp, in the year 1788, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of twenty dollars—the proof to be exhibited by the 1st day of May, 1789.

4. To such person in the state of Pennsylvania, as shall raise and swing the greatest quantity of flax, in the year 1788, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of thirty dollars—the proof to be exhibited by the first day of May, 1789.

5. To such person in the united states, as shall raise and clean the greatest quantity of cotton in the year 1788, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of twenty dollars—the proof to be exhibited by the first day of May, 1789.

6. To such person as shall exhibit, on or before the 31st day of December, 1789, the most approved set of specimens or patterns of printed linen and cotton goods, stamped with in this state, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of twenty dollars.

7. To such person, in the state of Pennsylvania, as shall exhibit, on or before the 15th of April next, the best and most beautiful specimen of letter press in a bound volume, of at least

150 pages, executed by Pennsylvania made types, and on Pennsylvania made paper, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of twenty dollars.

8. To such person as shall exhibit on or before the 31st of December, 1789, the best specimens of Pennsylvania made earthen ware, approaching the nearest in quality and usefulness to the delft, white stone, or queen's ware, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of twenty dollars.

9. To such person as shall exhibit on or before the 31st of December, 1789, the best and greatest variety of specimens of Pennsylvania flint glass ware, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of twenty dollars.

10. To the person who will manufacture in Pennsylvania, the greatest quantity of glass bottles, strong and fit to contain fermentable liquors, or produce to this society the best specimens of sheet glass, manufactured by him in this state, a certificate of which facts to accompany the specimens, to be exhibited on or before the 31st of December, 1788, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of twenty dollars.

11. To such person in the state of Pennsylvania, as shall make the greatest quantity of pot-ashes, not less than five tons, from the present time to the 30th November, 1788, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of fifty dollars.

12. To such person in the state of Pennsylvania, as shall make the greatest quantity of pearl-ashes, not less than five tons, from the present time to the 30th November, 1788, the proofs to be exhibited on or before the 31st of December, 1788, a plate of gold, of the value of fifty dollars. Specimens of these two last articles to be produced to the society.

13. To such person in the state of Pennsylvania, as shall shear, from his own sheep, the greatest quantity of wool, in the year 1789, not less

than two hundred pounds, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of twenty dollars. The proof to be exhibited on or before the first of September, 1789.

14. To the person who shall prepare the greatest quantity of bleached wax, not less than five hundred pounds, fit for making candles, and for exportation, on or before the first of July 1788, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of twenty dollars.

15. To the person who shall discover and produce to this society, the greatest variety of specimens, with certificates of the greatest quantity of painters' colours, drawn from the fossils and earths of the united states, on or before the 31st of December, 1788, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of fifty dollars.

16. To that person in the state of Pennsylvania, who shall, on or before the 1st of January 1789, make the greatest number of smith's anvils (not less than twenty) equal in quantity and goodness to those usually imported from England, a plate of gold, &c. of the value of thirty dollars.

The society think it necessary to inform those, who may become candidates for the above premiums, that they will be expected to prepare clear and satisfactory proofs, such as their respective cases may require; and that it will be left in the option of the claimants to *receive the respective premiums in cash, or in a plate of gold*, engraved with suitable devices, or inscriptions, of the value specified in the different articles.

Published by order of the board,
Attest.

SAMUEL POWEL,
vice-president.

GEORGE FOX, secretary.

Resolutions unanimously agreed to by the general assembly of Virginia, on Saturday, November 3, 1787. (Introduced by Mr. George Mason).

RESOLVED, that the present scarcity of a circulating money, has been in a great measure occasioned by the general fear and apprehension of an emission of paper currency—inducing monied men to lock up their gold and silver, preferring the loss of interest, to the risk of lending or letting it out here.

Resolved, that money, by the common consent and custom of commercial nations, is, and ought to be, considered as a scale or standard, by which to estimate the comparative value of commodities; and that nothing can be more improper and unjust, than to substitute such a standard as would be more uncertain and variable than the commodities themselves.

Resolved, that an emission of paper money would be ruinous to trade and commerce, and highly injurious to the good people of this commonwealth, and that by weakening their manners and morals, destroying public and private credit, and faith between man and man, it would increase and aggravate the very evils it is intended to remedy.

Resolved, that making paper currency, or any thing but gold and silver coin, a tender in discharge of debts, contracted in money, is contrary to every principle of sound policy as well as justice.



At a meeting of respectable inhabitants of Berkley county, Virginia.

RESOLVED, that it is the opinion of the gentlemen now met, that the united states are under the greatest obligation to the members of the late convention, for their assiduity and perseverance in accom-

the necessity of a supreme power, and efficacious laws, in every state; and the best constituted confederacies, ancient and modern, have not been able to maintain internal peace, or to exert their natural force with effect against foreign enemies, where each member of the union retained its sovereignty; but we need not recur to the history of other nations for proof of these positions. Peace was no sooner restored than the federal government relaxed. The wisest and most necessary recommendations of congress, as well as their most solemn compacts, have been either totally disregarded, or partially complied with: hence hath ensued a breach of faith both with respect to foreign nations, and our own citizens; hence that debility of government which our enemies regard with exultation, and our best patriots with anxious concern; and hence will inevitably ensue, anarchy, confusion, and all the direful consequences of a dissolution of government, unless an effectual remedy be timeously applied.

A noble effort has been made to reform, and an excellent plan proposed for our acceptance. The question ought not to be, "is this plan perfect?" but "is it an improvement on our present system?" Perfection in human affairs is not to be hoped for. We conceive it is well calculated to secure to us our independence as a nation, and our civil rights as individuals. We conceive that without a more energetic federal government, we cannot exist as a nation; and that if the present attempt to reform, should fail, there is little prospect of success in future. Such being our sentiments, gentlemen, we instruct you to vote for holding a convention as early as possible, to whose consideration the proposed constitution may be submitted; and that you exert your utmost influence in opposition to those, if any such

there are, who may attempt to frustrate a measure, on which our peace, liberty, and safety, essentially depend.

We are, respectfully, yours, &c.

Signed by order of the meeting,
JOSEPH HOLMES,
Chairman.



Resolutions of the inhabitants of Petersburg.

AT a meeting of a number of the inhabitants of the town of Petersburg and its vicinity, on the twenty-fourth day of October, 1787, (col. Banister in the chair), the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, that being fully impressed with the incompetency of the powers of congress, for the essential objects of government—and feeling the absolute necessity of an immediate review and amendment of the confederation, this meeting with much satisfaction beheld a general convention of deputies assembled for that purpose, composed of characters the most distinguished for experience, abilities, and integrity.

That, sensible as we are of the vast difficulty of forming such a plan of government, as shall at once combine the diversity of interests, and secure the rights of the respective states, subject to the general controul of one sovereign authority, we view with admiration and gratitude, the wisdom, unanimity, and magnanimous spirit of accommodation, displayed by the late convention, in the prosecution of the arduous object of their appointment.

That a work of such momentous import, framed by our best and wisest characters, upon the most ample deliberation and discussion, and founded upon the most enlarged principles and extensive information, deserves to be received with every mark of consideration and respect: and we are anxiously desirous, that a state

convention be immediately called, as we conceive every delay unworthy of the magnitude of the object, and incompatible with the urgency of our public affairs.

That we approve of the proposed plan of the federal constitution, as formed to cement the union of the states—to establish vigour and confidence in government—to extend an uniform administration of justice—to promote the general interests of commerce—and to secure respect abroad, and peace at home; and that should it be even supposed, that in some lesser matters, the exclusive interest of this state may not have been particularly considered, yet we are free to declare, that we have not any possible hope, that under the circumstances of the several states, a better federal constitution can ever be obtained; nor have we the smallest expectation, that the like exertion of such eminent qualifications can ever again be commanded for a similar purpose; deeming it certain, that there remains now for the united states, this only alternative, either by a speedy adoption of the proposed constitution, to become a great and respectable nation—or, by rejecting it, to precipitate the dissolution of the union, exposed to insult and contempt, from without—to wars and dissensions, from within.

That these resolutions be forwarded to the delegates of Dinwiddie and Prince George, who are requested to use their influence for immediately calling a convention, to be held at as early a day as circumstances will possibly admit.



To the honourable the legislature of the state of Pennsylvania.

The memorial of the college of physicians of Philadelphia,

Respectfully sheweth,

THAT your memorialists have seen, with great concern, the

numerous evils which have followed the intemperate use of distilled spirituous liquors, in the state of Pennsylvania. They decline taking notice of the baneful effects of these liquors upon property and morals; and beg leave to confine this memorial to their influence upon the health and lives of their fellow citizens, and the population of their country.

That among the numerous diseases, which are produced by the use of distilled spirituous liquors, they would only mention—the dropsy, epilepsy, palsy, apoplexy, melancholy, and madness; which too seldom yield to the power of medicine.

That where distilled spirituous liquors do not produce these terrible and obstinate diseases, they generally impair the strength of the body, so as to lessen its ability to undergo that labour, either in degree or duration, which it is capable of without them.

That the prevailing ideas of the necessity and advantages of using distilled spirituous liquors, to obviate the injurious effects of extreme heat or cold, upon the human body, are altogether without foundation; and that they increase the evils which they are taken to remove. That the inconvenience arising from excessive labour, heat, or cold, are to be removed with much more safety and certainty, by the use of cyder or malt liquors.

Your memorialists therefore pray, that your honourable house would take the facts herein stated, into their serious consideration; and as guardians of the health and lives, no less than of the liberties and morals of their constituents, that they would enact such a law, for checking the improper use of distilled spirituous liquors as to their wisdom and humanity may seem proper.

JOHN REDMAN, Pres.
Philadelphia, Nov. 9, 1787.

S E L E C T P O E M S.

Epistle to his excellency general Washington.

“ ——— Honest praise
 “ Oft nobly sways
 “ Ingenuous youth :
 “ But from the coward and the lying mouth
 “ Praise is reproach. Eternal God alone
 “ For mortals fixes that sublime award.
 “ He, from the faithful records of his throne,
 “ Bids the historian and the bard
 “ Dispose of honour and of scorn ;
 “ Discern the patriot from the slave ;
 “ And write the good, the wise, the brave,
 “ For lessons to the multitude unborn.” AKENSIDE.

W HILE many a servile muse her succour lends,
 To flatter tyrants, or a tyrant's friends—
 While thousands, slaughter'd at ambition's shrine,
 Are made a plea to court the tuneful nine—
 Whilst laureats lift their heroes to the sky,
 Foretell their conquests twice a year, and lie—
 Damn half-starv'd rebels to eternal shame,
 Or paint them trembling at Britannia's name—
 Permit an humble bard, great chief, to raise
 One truth-erected trophy to thy praise :
 No flatt'ring colours shall these numbers seek,
 To tinge with blushes virtue's modest cheek :
 Call forth to view no great or gen'rous deed,
 But foes must own, and Washington may read.

Say, where along yon venerable wood,
 By native streams swells thy Potowmac's flood,
 Shall my untutor'd muse begin the song,
 Which future bards in rapture shall prolong ?
 Or there my little bark presume to sail,
 Fann'd by fair liberty's inspiring gale ?
 Fair liberty ! of man the noblest claim !
 Great source of blifs ! kind nurse of arts and fame !
 She, wrong'd, and exil'd from yon eastern climes,
 Perhaps may deign to listen to these rhymes ;
 And in these regions pleas'd to find relief,
 May bear them smiling to her fav'rite chief :

Vol. II. No. V. N

Illustrious chief ! whom with one common voice
An injur'd people chose, and heav'n approv'd the choice.

Forth from the bosom of thy calm retreat,
At once the hero's and the sage's seat,
Where bounteous nature spreads her choicest gifts
Of woods and lawns along thy native cliffs,
Where, with the graces, wisdom chose to roam,
Where sweet simplicity had fix'd her home,
Where wedded love display'd his mildest ray,
To gild each rising and each setting day,
And with a smile could smooth the brow of care,
Save, when thy country's cries alarm'd thy ear—
Great freedom call'd thee to the glorious strife :
The tranquil scenes of sweet domestic life
Delight no more : to arms ! to arms ! she cries,
To arms ! to arms ! each sister state replies.
Be thou great guardian of thy country's cause,
She said, and hosts of heroes shout applause.

Thus, when of old, from his paternal farm,
Rome bid her rigid Cincinnatus arm,
'Th' illustrious peasant rushes to the field,
Soon are the haughty Volsci taught to yield :
His country sav'd—the solemn triumph o'er,
He tills his native acres as before.

Hail happy man ! crown'd with immortal bays,
Before whose glory sink the dwindled rays
Of royal pageantry ! thy gen'rous heart
To freedom's sons shall still its warmth impart,
Teach them their native dignity to scan,
And scorn the wretch who spurns his fellow man :
And when in eastern climes, 'midst lawless sway,
Thy fame shall sink, and freedom's wreaths decay,
These infant states shall catch the god-like flame,
And tyrants still shall shudder at thy name ;
'Then nobly dare, Columbia, to be free,
And what the Roman was, thy Washington shall be.



To the memory of the brave, accomplished, and patriotic col. John Laurens, who, in the 27th year of his age, was killed in an engagement with a detachment of the British from Charleston, near the river Cambahsee, in South-Carolina, August, 1782. By Philip Freneau.

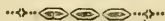
SINCE on her plains this gen'rous chief expir'd,
Whom sages honour'd, and whom France admir'd ;
Does fame no statues to his mem'ry raise,
Nor swells one column to record his praise ?

Where her palmetto shades th' adjacent deeps,
Affection sighs, and Carolina weeps!

Thou, who shalt stray where death this chief confines,
Approach, and read the patriot in these lines :
Not from the dust the muse transcribes his name,
And more than marble shall declare his fame ;
Where scenes more glorious his great soul engage,
Confest thrice worthy in that closing page ;
When conqu'ring time to dark oblivion calls,
The marble totters, and the column falls.

Laurens! thy tomb while kindred hands adorn,
Let northern muses, too, inscribe thy urn—
Of all, whose names on death's black list appear,
No chief, that perish'd, claim'd more grief sincere ;
Not one, Columbia, that thy bosom bore,
More tears commanded, or deserv'd them more !—
Grief at his tomb shall heave th' unwearied sigh,
And honour lift the mantle to her eye :
Fame thro' the world his patriot name shall spread,
By heroes envy'd, and by monarchs read :
Just, gen'rous, brave—to each true heart ally'd,
The Briton's terror, and his country's pride ;
For him the tears of war-worn soldiers ran,
The friend of freedom, and the friend of man.

Then what is death, compar'd with such a tomb,
Where honour fades not, and fair virtues bloom ?
Ah, what is death, when fame like *this* endears,
The brave man's fav'rite, and his country's tears !



Lines occasioned by a visit to an old Indian burying ground.—By Philip Freneau.

IN spite of all the learn'd have said,
I still my old opinion keep ;
The posture that we give the dead
Points out the soul's eternal sleep.

Not so the ancients of these lands—
The Indian, when from life releas'd,
Again is seated with his friends,
And shares again the joyous feast.

His imag'd birds, and painted bowl,
And ven'son, for a journey drest,
Bespeak the nature of the soul,
Activity that wants no rest.

His bow for action ready bent,
And arrows, with a head of bone,

Can only mean that life is spent,
And not the finer essence gone,

Thou, stranger, that shalt come this way,
No fraud upon the dead commit,
Yet, mark the swelling turf and say,
'They do not lie, but here they sit.

Here, still a lofty rock remains,
On which the curious eye may trace,
(Now wasted half by wearing rains)
The fancies of a ruder race.

Here, still an aged elm aspires ;
Beneath whose far projecting shade,
(And which the shepherd still admires)
The children of the forest play'd.

There, oft' a restless Indian queen,
(Pale Marian, with her braided hair)
And many a barb'rous form is seen
To chide the man that lingers there.

By midnight moons, o'er moist'ning dews,
In vestments for the chase array'd,
The hunter still the deer pursues,
The hunter, and the deer—a shade.

And long shall tim'rous fancy see
The painted chief, and pointed spear,
And reason's self shall bow the knee
To shadows and delusions here.



Prospect of Carolina. For July.—By the late dr. Ladd:

LO! wrapt in sun-shine all divinely bright,
Fair Carolina rises to the fight ;
Here the hot sun, with fierce, effulgent ray,
Darts from his orb intolerable day ;
Unlike the northern beam, his fervid glow
Pays fiercer courtship to the streams below ;
Hence from each stagnant pool thick vapours rise,
Curl to the clouds, and blacken in the skies :
On such dire fogs, death rides with murky wing,
And here thy woes, O Carolina, spring !

When vertic sun-beams wrap the mountain heads,
And the red dog star's cursed venom spreads—
Then smoke the hills ; for from the marshes round,
The curling fog invades the higher ground.
Unblest is he, who in this luckless hour,
By dread experience proves its deathful pow'r.

But what rash man, celestial muses say,
Bends o'er yon mist-clad marsh his dang'rous way?
O stay fond youth!—no living wight can bear
The deadly influence of empoison'd air:
Stay while thy frame the rigid fibres brace,
And vermeil health sports lovely in thy face:
Stay ere Phobera † thro' thy circling veins,
Spread the dire prelude to more fatal pains:
For know, youth, o'er yon dreary marshes glide
The mists envenom'd, Miasmata † ride;
If in thy veins they taint the gen'rous blood,
Fair health adieu!—and ev'ry earthly good.

Hence comes dire tertian, Carolina's bane,
And all the haggard family of pain:
The van pale horror leads, and anguish blind;
Infernal megrim follows close behind.
Taste not the air, for death is in the breeze,
And the whole hydra of abhorr'd disease.

* * * * *

Cætera desunt.



The man of sorrow.—By William More Smith, esq.

I HAD a son!—Oh, pierc'd reflection, spare,
In pity spare an hapless parent's breast:
Long down his age-plough'd cheek the briny tear
Of anguish, streaming fast, has broke his rest.

A parent's breast! oh! parent now no more!
From mem'ry's seat, oh! blot the fatal morn,
When, by the ruffian hand of lawless pow'r,
From these weak arms my age's hope was torn.

Adorn'd with ev'ry grace of blooming youth,
I had a son, who bore from all the prize;
His soul was spotless as the shrine of truth,
And beam'd with mildest radiance from his eyes.

Bright blaz'd his nuptial torch—the happy hour
Approach'd—and music echo'd through the grove:
With verdure bloom'd my Damon's fav'rite bow'r,
Deck'd by the hand of his officious love.

Deck'd for Almeria! dear unhappy maid!
What pangs do now thy snowy bosom tear!

NOTES.

† The harbingers of disease.

† The seeds of diseases.

Like April blossoms do thy beauties fade,
Nipp'd by the frosty hand of pining care.

Almeria came!—the pride of all the plain,
She sweetly smil'd upon my raptur'd boy;
When war's stern fons—a fell remorseless train—
Burst on the sweet retreat of peace and joy.

Ah—nought avail'd a kneeling father's tears,
Nor could their rage a mother's sorrows stay;
Regardless of her sex—her feeble years,
They sternly spurn'd her as she prostrate lay.

Nor yet avail'd the fair Almeria's sighs;
From her soft clasping arms my boy they tore,
O'erthrew the wreath-bound altar—curs'd our cries,
And to th' embattled field the youth they bore.

What need I more? my anguish speaks the rest!
On Monmouth's plain he bow'd his dying head!
The hostile steel deform'd his manly breast,
And at the wound life's crimson current fled.

On light'ning's wings the cruel tidings came;
His boding mother guess'd the fatal blow!
The dreadful shock o'erpow'r'd her feeble frame!
She sunk! a speechless spectacle of woe!

Waking at length, she cry'd with wild despair,
“ Oh bring my Damon from the bloody plain;
“ I'll bathe his wounds with many a falling tear,
“ And from his bosom wash the crimson stain!

“ With wreaths of flow'rs his body I'll adorn;
“ On rose crown'd sods his icy head shall lie,
“ And, 'till the stars shall fade before the morn,
“ I'll watch my breathless child with sleepless eye.

“ No tainting blast shall touch my darling boy;
“ A sheet of lilies o'er his corse I'll spread!
“ Come, come, Almeria, raise the song of joy,
“ Thy well-known voice shall wake him from the dead.

“ But soft, he slumbers in yon balmy grove;
“ Ye gentle zephyrs, fan him with your breath;
“ His are the peaceful dreams of bliss and love—
“ Ah, no!—they dream not in the sleep of death.”

Distracted now, she beat her aged breast;
Wild as the woods was ev'ry word she said;
But soon, to scenes of never-ending rest,
From its weak tenement her spirit fled.

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T H E
 AMERICAN MUSEUM,
 O R
 R E P O S I T O R Y
 OF ANCIENT AND MODERN
 FUGITIVE PIECES, &c.

PROSE AND POETICAL.

For D E C E M B E R, 1787.



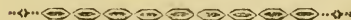
..... " *With sweetest flow'rs enrich'd,*
" From various gardens cull'd with care."

* * * * *

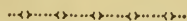
..... " *Collecta revirescent."*



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PHILADELPHIA:
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M.DCC.LXXXVII.

THE

AMERICAN MUSEUM,

For DECEMBER, 1787.



THE FEDERALIST.

Continued from page 446.

To the people of the state of New York.

LETTER III.

IT is not a new observation, that the people of any country (if, like the Americans, intelligent and well informed) seldom adopt, and steadily persevere for many years in, an erroneous opinion respecting their interests. That consideration naturally tends to create great respect for the high opinion which the people of America have so long and uniformly entertained of the importance of their continuing firmly united under one federal government, vested with sufficient powers for all general and national purposes.

The more attentively I consider and investigate the reasons which appear to have given birth to this opinion, the more I become convinced that they are cogent and conclusive.

Among the many objects to which a wise and free people find it necessary to direct their attention, that of providing for their safety seems to be the first. The safety of the people, doubtless, has relation to a great variety of circumstances and considerations; and consequently affords great latitude to those who wish to define it precisely and comprehensively.

At present, I mean only to consider it as it respects security for the

preservation of peace and tranquility, as well against dangers from foreign arms and influence, as from dangers of the like kind, arising from domestic causes. As the former of these comes first in order, it is proper it should be the first discussed. Let us, therefore, proceed to examine, whether the people are not right in their opinion, that a cordial union, under an efficient national government, affords them the best security that can be devised against hostilities from abroad.

The number of wars which have happened or will happen in the world, will always be found to be in proportion to the number and weight of the causes, whether real or pretended, which provoke or invite them. If this remark be just, it becomes useful to enquire, whether so many just causes of war are likely to be given by united America, as by disunited America; for if it should turn out that united America will probably give the fewest, then it will follow, that, in this respect, the union tends most to preserve the people in a state of peace with other nations.

The just causes of war for the most part arise either from violations of treaties, or from direct violence. America has already formed treaties with no less than six foreign nations, and all of them, except Prussia, are

maritime, and therefore able to annoy and injure us. She has also extensive commerce with Portugal, Spain, and Britain, and with respect to the two latter, has, in addition, the circumstance of neighbourhood to attend to.

It is of high importance to the peace of America, that she observe the laws of nations towards all these powers, and to me it appears evident that this will be more perfectly and punctually done by one national government, than it could be either by thirteen separate states, or by three or four distinct confederacies.

Because when once an efficient national government is established, the best men in the country will not only consent to serve, but also will generally be appointed to manage it; for although town or country, or other contracted influence may place men in state assemblies, or senates, or courts of justice, or executive departments; yet more general and extensive reputation for talents and other qualifications, will be necessary to recommend men to offices under the national government—especially as it will have the widest field for choice, and never experience that want of proper persons, which is not uncommon in some of the states. Hence it will result, that the administration, the political counsels, and the judicial decisions of the national government will be more wise, systematical and judicious, than those of individual states, and consequently more satisfactory with respect to other nations, as well as more safe with respect to us.

Because under the national government, treaties, and articles of treaties, as well as the laws of nations, will always be expounded in one sense, and executed in the same manner—whereas adjudications on the same points and questions, in thirteen states, or in three or four confederacies, will not always accord or be

consistent; and that as well from the variety of independent courts and judges appointed by different and independent governments, as from the different local laws and interests which may affect and influence them. The wisdom of the convention in committing such questions to the jurisdiction and judgment of courts appointed by, and responsible only to one national government, cannot be too much commended.

Because the prospect of present loss or advantage, may often tempt the governing party in one or two states to swerve from good faith and justice: but those temptations not reaching the other states, and consequently having little or no influence on the national government, the temptation will be fruitless, and good faith and justice be preserved. The case of the treaty of peace with Britain, adds great weight to this reasoning.

Because even if the governing party in a state should be disposed to resist such temptations, yet as such temptations may, and commonly do result from circumstances peculiar to the state, and may affect a great number of the inhabitants, the governing party may not always be able, if willing, to prevent the injustice meditated, or to punish the aggressors. But the national government, not being affected by those local circumstances, will neither be induced to commit the wrong themselves, nor want power or inclination to prevent, or punish its commission by others.

So far therefore as either designed or accidental violation of treaties and of the laws of nations afford just causes of war, they are less to be apprehended under one general government, than under several lesser ones, and in that respect, the former most favour the safety of the people.

As to those just causes of war, which proceed from direct and unlawful violence, it appears equally clear to me, that one good national

government affords vastly more security against dangers of that sort, than can be derived from any other quarter.

Because such violences are more frequently caused by the passions and interests of a part than of the whole, of one or two states than of the union. Not a single Indian war has yet been occasioned by aggressions of the present federal government, feeble as it is; but there are several instances of Indian hostilities having been provoked by the improper conduct of individual states, who, either unable or unwilling to restrain or punish offences, have given occasion to the slaughter of many innocent inhabitants.

The neighbourhood of Spanish and British territories, bordering on some states and not on others, naturally confines the causes of quarrel more immediately to the borderers. The bordering states, if any, will be those who, under the impulse of sudden irritation, and a quick sense of apparent interest or injury, will be most likely by direct violence, to excite war with those nations; and nothing can so effectually obviate that danger, as a national government, whose wisdom and prudence will not be diminished by the passions which actuate the parties immediately interested.

But not only fewer just causes of war will be given by the national government, but it will also be more in their power to settle them amicably. They will be more temperate and cool; and in that respect, as well as in others, will be more in capacity to act advisedly than the offending state. The pride of states, as well as of men, naturally disposes them to justify all their actions, and opposes their acknowledging, correcting, or repairing their errors and offences. The national government, in such cases, will not be affected by this pride; but will proceed with

moderation and candour to consider and decide on the means most proper to extricate them from the difficulties which threaten them.

Besides, it is well known, that acknowledgments, explanations, and compensations, are often accepted, as satisfactory, from a strong united nation, which would be rejected, as unsatisfactory, if offered by a state or confederacy of little consideration or power.

In the year 1685, the state of Genoa having offended Louis XIV. endeavoured to appease him. He demanded, that they should send their doge, or chief magistrate, accompanied by four of their senators, to France, to ask his pardon, and receive his terms. They were obliged to submit to it, for the sake of peace. Would he, on any occasion, either have demanded, or have received the like humiliation from Spain, Britain, or any other powerful nation?

PUBLIUS.

New York, Nov. 6, 1787.



LETTER IV.

MY last paper assigned several reasons, why the safety of the people would be best secured by union, against the dangers it may be exposed to, by just causes of war given to other nations: and those reasons shew, that such causes would not only be more rarely given, but would also be more easily accommodated by a national government, than either by the state governments, or the proposed little confederacies.

But the safety of the people of America, against dangers from foreign force, depends not only on their forbearing to give just causes of war to other nations, but also on their placing and continuing themselves in such a situation, as not to

invite hostility or insult : for it need not be observed, that there are pretended as well as just causes of war.

It is too true, however disgraceful it may be to human nature, that nations in general will make war, whenever they have a prospect of getting any thing by it : nay, that absolute monarchs will often make war, when their nations are to get nothing by it, but for purposes and objects merely personal, such as, a thirst for military glory, revenge for personal affronts, ambition, or private compacts to aggrandize or support their particular families, or partizans. These, and a variety of motives, which affect only the mind of the sovereign, often lead him to engage in wars not sanctified by justice, or the voice and interests of his people. But, independent of these inducements to war, which are more prevalent in absolute monarchies, but which well deserve our attention, there are others, which affect nations as often as kings : and some of them will, on examination, be found to grow out of our relative situation and circumstances.

With France, and with Britain, we are rivals in the fisheries ; and can supply their markets cheaper than they can themselves, notwithstanding any efforts to prevent it, by bounties on their own, or duties on foreign fish.

With them, and most other European nations, we are rivals in navigation and the carrying trade : and we shall deceive ourselves, if we suppose that any of them will rejoice to see it flourish [with us] : for as our carrying trade cannot increase, without in some degree diminishing theirs, it is more their interest, and will be more their policy, to restrain, than to promote it.

In the trade to China and India, we interfere with more than one nation, in as much as it enables us to partake in advantages which they

had in a manner monopolized, and as we thereby supply ourselves with commodities which we used to purchase from them.

The extension of our own commerce, in our own vessels, cannot give pleasure to any nations which possess territories on or near this continent : because the cheapness and excellence of our productions, added to the circumstance of vicinity, and the enterprize and address of our merchants and navigators, will give us a greater share in the advantages which those territories afford, than consists with the wishes or policy of their respective sovereigns.

Spain thinks it convenient to shut the Mississippi against us, on the one side ; and Britain excludes us from the St. Laurence, on the other : nor will either of them permit the other waters, which are between them and us, to become the means of mutual intercourse and traffic.

From these, and such like considerations, which might, if consistent with prudence, be more amplified and detailed, it is easy to see that jealousies and uneasinesses may gradually slide into the minds and cabinets of other nations ; and that we are not to expect they should regard our advancement in union, in power and consequence by land, and by sea, with an eye of indifference and composure.

The people of America are aware that inducements to war, may rise out of these circumstances, as well as from others not so obvious at present ; and that whenever such inducements may find fit time and opportunity for operation, pretences to colour and justify them, will not be wanting. Wisely therefore do they consider union and a good national government as necessary to put and keep them in such a situation as instead of inviting war, will tend to repress and discourage it. That situation consists in the best possible state

of defence, and necessarily depends on the government, the arms, and the resources of the country.

As the safety of the whole is the interest of the whole, and cannot be provided for without government, either one, or more, or many, let us enquire whether one good government is not, relative to the object in question, more competent than any other given number whatever.

One government can collect and avail itself of the talents and experience of the ablest men, in whatever part of the union they may be found. It can move on uniform principles of policy—It can harmonize, assimilate and protect the several parts and members, and extend the benefit of its foresight and precautions to each. In the formation of treaties, it will regard the interest of the whole, and the particular interests of the parts, as connected with that of the whole. It can apply the resources and power of the whole to the defence of any particular part, and that more easily and expeditiously than state governments, or separate confederacies can possibly do, for want of concert and unity of system—It can place the militia under one plan of discipline, and by putting their officers in a proper line of subordination to the chief magistrate, will as it were consolidate them into one corps, and thereby render them more efficient than if divided into thirteen or into three or four distinct independent bodies.

What would the militia of Britain be, if the English militia obeyed the government of England, if the Scotch militia obeyed the government of Scotland, and if the Welsh militia obeyed the government of Wales! Suppose an invasion—would those three governments (if they agreed at all) be able, with all their respective forces, to operate against the enemy so effectually as the single government of Great Britain?

We have heard much of the fleets of Britain; and the time may come, if we are wise, when the fleets of America may engage attention. But if one national government had not so regulated the navigation of Britain as to make it a nursery for seamen—if one national government had not called forth all the national means and materials for forming fleets, their prowess and their thunder would never have been celebrated.

Let England have its navigation and fleet—let Scotland have its navigation and fleet—let Wales have its navigation and fleet—let Ireland have its navigation and fleet—let those four of the constituent parts of the British empire be under four independent governments, and it is easy to perceive how soon they would each dwindle into comparative insignificance.

Apply these facts to our own case—Leave America divided into thirteen, or if you please, into three or four independent governments—what armies could they raise and pay, what fleets could they ever hope to have? If one was attacked, would the others fly to its succour, and spend their blood and money in its defence? would there be no danger of their being flattered into neutrality, by specious promises, or seduced by a too great fondness for peace, to decline hazarding their tranquility and present safety for the sake of neighbours, of whom, perhaps, they have been jealous, and whose importance they are content to see diminished? Although such conduct would not be wise, it would nevertheless be natural. The history of the states of Greece, and of other countries, abound with such instances: and it is not improbable that what has so often happened, would under similar circumstances, happen again.

But admit that they might be willing to help the invaded state or confederacy—How and when, and

in what proportion, shall aids of men and money be afforded? who shall command the allied armies, and from which of them shall he receive his orders? who shall settle the terms of peace, and, in case of disputes, what umpire shall decide between them, and compel acquiescence? various difficulties and inconveniencies would be inseparable from such a situation; whereas one government, watching over the general and common interests, and combining and directing the powers and resources of the whole, would be free from all these embarrassments, and conduce far more to the safety of the people.

But whatever may be our situation, whether firmly united under one national government, or split into a number of confederacies, certain it is, that foreign nations will know and view it exactly as it is; and they will act towards us accordingly. If they see that our national government is efficient and well administered—our trade prudently regulated—our militia properly organized and disciplined—our resources and finances discreetly managed—our credit re-established—our people free, contented, and united—they will be much more disposed to cultivate our friendship, than provoke our resentment. If, on the other hand, they find us either destitute of an effectual government, (each state doing right or wrong as to its rulers may seem convenient,) or split into three or four independent and probably discordant republics or confederacies, one inclining to Britain, another to France, and a third to Spain, and perhaps played off against each other by the three, what a poor pitiful figure will America make in their eyes! How liable would she become not only to their contempt, but to their outrage? and how soon would dear bought experience proclaim, that when a people or family

so divide, it never fails to be against themselves?

PUBLIUS.

New York, Nov. 9, 1787.



LETTER V.

QUEEN ANN, in her letter of the first of July, 1706, to the Scotch parliament, makes some observations on the importance of the union then forming between England and Scotland, which merit our attention. I shall present the public with one or two extracts from it. “An entire and perfect union will be the solid foundation of lasting peace. It will secure your religion, liberty, and property; remove the animosities among yourselves, and the jealousies and differences betwixt our two kingdoms. It must increase your strength, riches, and trade: and by this union, the whole island, being joined in affection, and free from all apprehensions of different interest, will be enabled to resist all its enemies.” . . . We most earnestly recommend to you calmness and unanimity in this great and weighty affair, that the union may be brought to a happy conclusion, being the only effectual way to secure our present and future happiness, and disappoint the designs of our and your enemies, who will doubtless, on this occasion, use their utmost endeavours to prevent or delay this union.”

It was remarked in the preceding paper, that weakness and divisions at home, would invite dangers from abroad, and that nothing would tend more to secure us from them, than union, strength, and good government within ourselves. This subject is copious, and cannot easily be exhausted.

The history of Great Britain is the one with which we are in general

the best acquainted, and it gives us many useful lessons. We may profit by their experience, without paying the price which it cost them. Altho' it seems obvious to common sense that the people of such an island, should be but one nation, yet we find that they were for ages divided into three, and that those three were almost constantly embroiled in quarrels and wars with one another. Notwithstanding their true interest, with respect to the continental nations, was really the same, yet by the arts, policy, and practices of those nations, their mutual jealousies were perpetually kept enflamed, and for a long series of years they were far more inconvenient and troublesome, than they were useful and assisting to each other.

Should the people of America divide themselves into three or four nations, would not the same thing happen? Would not similar jealousies arise, and be in like manner cherished? Instead of their being "joined in affection and free from all apprehension of different interests," envy and jealousy would soon extinguish confidence and affection, and the partial interests of each confederacy, instead of the general interests of all America, would be the only objects of their policy and pursuits. Hence, like most other bordering nations, they would always be either involved in disputes and war; or live in the constant apprehension of them.

The most sanguine advocates for three or four confederacies, cannot reasonably suppose that they would long remain exactly on an equal footing in point of strength, even if it was possible to form them so at first; but admitting that to be practicable, yet what human contrivance can secure the continuance of such equality? Independent of those local circumstances which tend to beget and increase power in one part, and

to impede its progress in another, we must advert to the effects of that superior policy and good management which would probably distinguish the government of one above the rest, and by which their relative equality, and strength, and consideration, would be destroyed. For it cannot be presumed that the same degree of sound policy, prudence and foresight, would uniformly be observed by each of those confederacies for a long succession of years.

Whenever, and from whatever causes, it might happen—and happen it would—that any one of these nations or confederacies should rise on the scale of political importance, much above the degree of their neighbours, that moment would those neighbours behold her with envy and with fear. Both those passions would lead them to countenance, if not to promote, whatever might promise to diminish her importance; and would also restrain them from measures calculated to advance, or even to secure her prosperity. Much time would not be necessary to enable her to discern these unfriendly dispositions—She would soon begin, not only to lose confidence in her neighbours, but also to feel a disposition equally unfavourable to them. Distrust naturally creates distrust: and by nothing is good will and kind conduct more speedily changed, than by invidious jealousies and uncandid imputations, whether expressed or implied.

The north is generally the region of strength: and many local circumstances render it probable, that the most northern of the proposed confederacies would, at a period not very distant, be unquestionably more formidable than any of the others. No sooner would this become evident, than the northern hive would excite the same ideas and sensations in the more southern parts of America, which it formerly did in the

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southern parts of Europe. Nor does it appear to be a rash conjecture, that its young swarms might often be tempted to gather honey in the more blooming fields and milder air of their luxurious and more delicate neighbours.

They who well consider the history of similar divisions and confederacies will find abundant reason to apprehend, that those in contemplation would in no other sense be neighbours than as they would be borderers; that they would neither love nor trust one another, but on the contrary, would be a prey to discord, jealousy, and mutual injuries; in short, that they would place us exactly in the situation which some nations doubtless wish to see us, viz. formidable only to each other.

From these considerations it appears, that those gentlemen are greatly mistaken, who suppose that alliances offensive and defensive might be formed between these confederacies, and would produce that combination and union of wills, of arms, and of resources, which would be necessary to put and keep them in a formidable state of defence against foreign enemies.

When did the independent states, into which Britain and Spain were formerly divided, combine in such alliances, or unite their forces against a foreign enemy? The proposed confederacies will be distinct nations. Each of them would have its commerce with foreigners to regulate by distinct treaties; and as their productions and commodities are different, and proper for different markets, so would those treaties be essentially different. Different commercial concerns must create different interests, and of course different degrees of political attachment to, and connection with different foreign nations. Hence it might and probably would happen, that the foreign nation with whom the southern

confederacy might be at war, would be the one, with whom the northern confederacy would be the most desirous of preserving peace and friendship. An alliance so contrary to their immediate interest would not therefore be easy to form, nor if formed, would it be observed and fulfilled with perfect good faith.

Nay, it is far more probable, that in America, as in Europe, neighbouring nations, acting under the impulse of opposite interest, and unfriendly passions, would frequently be found taking different sides. Considering our distance from Europe, it would be more natural for these confederacies to apprehend danger from one another, than from distant nations and therefore that each of them should be more desirous to guard against the others, by the aid of foreign alliances, than to guard against foreign dangers by alliances between themselves. And here let us not forget how much more easy it is to receive foreign fleets into our ports, and foreign armies into our country, than it is to persuade or compel them to depart. How many conquests did the Romans and others make in the character of allies, and what innovations did they under the same character introduce into the governments of those whom they pretended to protect!

Let candid men judge, then, whether the division of America into any given number of independent sovereignties would tend to secure us against the hostilities and improper interference of foreign nations.

PUBLIUS.

New York, Nov. 13, 1787.



LETTER VI.

THE three last numbers of this paper have been dedicated to an enumeration of the dangers to which we should be exposed, in a state of

disunion, from the arms and arts of foreign nations. I shall now proceed to delineate dangers of a different and, perhaps, still more alarming kind—those which will, in all probability, flow from dissensions between the states themselves, and from domestic factions and convulsions. These have been already in some instances slightly anticipated; but they deserve a more particular and more full investigation.

A man must be far gone in Utopian speculations, who can seriously doubt, that if these states should either be wholly disunited, or only united in partial confederacies, the subdivisions, into which they might be thrown, would have frequent and violent contests with each other. To presume a want of motives for such contests, as an argument against their existence, would be to forget that men are ambitious, vindictive, and rapacious. To look for a continuation of harmony between a number of independent, unconnected sovereignties, situated in the same neighbourhood, would be to disregard the uniform course of human events, and to set at defiance the accumulated experience of ages.

The causes of hostility among nations are innumerable. There are some which have a general and almost constant operation upon the collective bodies of society. Of this description are the love of power, or the desire of pre-eminence and dominion—the jealousy of power, or the desire of equality and safety. There are others, which have a more circumscribed, though an equally operative influence, within their spheres. Such are the rivalships and competitions of commerce between commercial nations. And there are others, not less numerous than either of the former, which take their origin entirely in private passions; in the attachments, enmities, interests, hopes, and fears of leading individuals in

the communities of which they are members. Men of this class, whether the favourites of a king or of a people, have in too many instances abused the confidence they possessed; and assuming the pretext of some public motive, have not scrupled to sacrifice the national tranquility to personal advantage, or personal gratification.

The celebrated Pericles, in compliance with the resentments of a prostitute *, at the expence of much of the blood and treasure of his countrymen, attacked, vanquished, and destroyed the city of the Samnians. The same man, stimulated by private pique against the Megarensians †, another nation of Greece, or to avoid a prosecution with which he was threatened, as an accomplice in a supposed theft of the statuary Phidias ‡, or to get rid of the accusations prepared to be brought against him, for dissipating the funds of the state, in the purchase of popularity ||, or from a combination of all these causes, was the primitive author of that famous and fatal war, distinguished in the Grecian annals by the name of the Peloponnesian war; which, after various vicissitudes, intermissions, and renewals, terminated in the ruin of the Athenian commonwealth.

The ambitious cardinal, who was prime minister to Henry VIII. permitting his vanity to aspire to the triple crown, entertained hopes of succeeding in the acquisition of that splendid prize by the influence of Charles V. To secure the favour

NOTES.

* Aspasia—vide Plutarch.

† Idem.

‡ Idem. Phidias was supposed to have stolen some public gold, with the connivance of Pericles, for the embellishment of the statue of Minerva.

|| Idem.

and interest of this powerful and enterprising monarch, he precipitated England into a war with France, contrary to the plainest dictates of policy, and at the hazard of the safety and independence, as well of the kingdom over which he presided by his counsels, as of Europe in general: for if there ever was a sovereign, who bid fair to realise the project of universal monarchy, it was the emperor Charles V. of whose intrigues Wolsey was at once the dupe and the instrument.

The influence, which the bigotry of one female *, the petulancies of another †, and the cabals of a third ‡, had in the cotemporary policy, ferment, and pacifications of a considerable part of Europe, are topics that have been too often descanted upon, not to be generally known.

To multiply examples of the agency of personal considerations, in the production of great national events, either foreign or domestic, according to their direction, would be an unnecessary waste of time. Those, who have but a superficial acquaintance with the sources, from which they are to be drawn, will themselves recollect a variety of instances: and those, who have a tolerable knowledge of human nature, will not stand in need of such lights, to form their opinion either of the reality or extent of that agency. Perhaps, however, a reference, tending to illustrate the general principle, may, with propriety, be made to a case which has lately happened among ourselves. If Shays had not been a desperate debtor, it is much to be doubted whether Massachusetts would have been plunged into a civil war.

But notwithstanding the concurring testimony of experience, in this

particular, there are still to be found visionary, or designing men, who stand ready to advocate the paradox of perpetual peace between the states, though dismembered and alienated from each other. The genius of republics, say they, is pacific; the spirit of commerce has a tendency to soften the manners of men, and to extinguish those inflammable humours which have so often kindled into wars. Commercial republics, like ours, will never be disposed to waste themselves in ruinous contentions with each other. They will be governed by mutual interest, and will cultivate a spirit of mutual amity and concord.

Is it not, we may ask these projectors in politics, the true interest of all nations to cultivate the same benevolent and philosophic spirit? is this be their true interest, have they in fact pursued it? Has it not, on the contrary, invariably been found, that momentary passions and immediate interests have a more active and imperious controul over human conduct than general or remote considerations of policy, utility, or justice? Have republics in practice been less addicted to war than monarchies? Are not the former administered by men as well as the latter? Are there not aversions, predilections, rivalships, and desires of unjust acquisitions that affect nations as well as kings? Are not popular assemblies frequently subject to the impulses of rage, resentment, jealousy, avarice, and of other irregular and violent propensities? Is it not well known that their determinations are often governed by a few individuals, in whom they place confidence, and are of course liable to be tinged by the passions and views of those individuals? Has commerce hitherto done any thing more than change the objects of war? Is not the love of wealth as domineering and enterprising a passion as that of power or glory? Have there not been

NOTES.

* Madame de Maintenon.

† Ducheſs of Marlborough.

‡ Madame de Pompadore.

as many wars founded upon commercial motives, since that has become the prevailing system of nations, as were before occasioned by the cupidity of territory or dominion? Has not the spirit of commerce, in many instances, administered new incentives to the appetite both for the one and for the other? Let experience, the least fallible guide of human opinions, be appealed to for an answer to these enquiries.

Sparta, Athens, Rome, and Carthage, were all republics; two of them, Athens and Carthage, of the commercial kind. Yet were they as often engaged in wars, offensive and defensive, as the neighbouring monarchies of the same times. Sparta was little better than a well regulated camp; and Rome was never fatigued of carnage and conquest.

Carthage, though a commercial republic, was the aggressor in the very war that ended in her destruction. Hannibal had carried her arms into the heart of Italy, and to the gates of Rome, before Scipio, in turn, gave him an overthrow in the territories of Carthage, and made a conquest of the commonwealth.

Venice, in latter times, figured more than once in wars of ambition; 'till becoming an object of terror to the other Italian states, pope Julius the second, found means to accomplish that formidable league*, which gave a deadly blow to the power and pride of this haughty republic.

The provinces of Holland, till they were overwhelmed in debts and taxes, took a leading and conspicuous part in the wars of Europe. They had furious contests with England

for the dominion of the sea, and were among the most persevering and most implacable of the opponents of Louis XIV.

In the government of Britain, the representatives of the people compose one branch of the national legislature. Commerce has been, for ages, the predominant pursuit of that country. Few nations, nevertheless, have been more frequently engaged in war; and the wars, in which that kingdom has been engaged, have in numerous instances proceeded from the people.

There have been, if I may so express it, almost as many popular as royal wars. The cries of the nation, and the importunities of their representatives, have, upon various occasions, dragged their monarchs into war, or continued them in it contrary to their inclinations, and sometimes contrary to the real interests of the state. In that memorable struggle for superiority, between the rival houses of Austria and Bourbon, which so long kept Europe in a flame, it is well known that the antipathies of the English against the French, seconding the ambition, or rather the avarice of a favourite leader†, protracted the war beyond the limits marked out by sound policy, and for a considerable time in opposition to the views of the court.

The wars of these two last mentioned nations have in a great measure grown out of commercial considerations—the desire of supplanting, and the fear of being supplanted, either in particular branches of traffic, or in the general advantages of trade and navigation.

From this summary of what has taken place in other countries, whose situations have borne the nearest resemblance to our own, what reason

NOTE.

* The league of Cambray, comprehending the emperor, the king of France, the king of Arragon, and most of the Italian princes and states.

NOTE.

† The duke of Marlborough.

can we have to confide in those reveries, which would seduce us into an expectation of peace and cordiality between the members of the present confederacy, in a state of separation? Have we not already seen enough of the fallacy and extravagance of those idle theories which have amused us with promises of an exemption from the imperfections, weaknesses, and evils incident to society in every shape? Is it not time to awake from the deceitful dream of a golden age, and to adopt, as a practical maxim, for the direction of our political conduct, that we, as well as the other inhabitants of the globe, are yet remote from the happy empire of perfect wisdom and perfect virtue?

Let the point of extreme depression to whom our national dignity and credit have sunk—let the inconveniences felt every where from a lax and ill administration of government—let the revolt of a part of the state of North Carolina—the late menacing disturbances in Pennsylvania,—and the actual insurrections and rebellions in Massachusetts—declare!

So far is the general sense of mankind from corresponding with the tenets of those, who endeavour to lull asleep our apprehensions of discord and hostility between the states, in the event of disunion, that it has, from long observation of the progress of society, become a sort of axiom in politics, that vicinity, or nearness of situation, constitutes nations natural enemies. An intelligent writer expresses himself on this subject to this effect—"neighbouring nations (says he) are naturally enemies of each other, unless their common weakness forces them to league in a confederate republic, and their constitution prevents the differences that neighbourhood occasions, extinguishing that secret jealousy which disposes all states to aggrandise themselves at the expence of their neigh-

bours*." This passage at the same time points out the evil, and suggests the remedy.

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(To be continued).



The objections of the hon. George Mason, one of the delegates from Virginia, in the late continental convention, to the proposed federal constitution, assigned as his reasons for not signing the same.

THERE is no declaration of rights: and the laws of the general government being paramount to the laws and constitutions of the several states, the declarations of rights, in the separate states, are no security. Nor are the people secured even in the enjoyment of the benefit of the common law, which stands here upon no other foundation than its having been adopted by the respective acts forming the constitutions of the several states.

In the house of representatives, there is not the substance, but the shadow only of representation; which can never produce proper information in the legislature, or inspire confidence in the people. The laws will, therefore, be generally made by men little concerned in, and unacquainted with their effects and consequencess.

The senate have the power of altering all money-bills, and of origi-

NOTES.

* Vide principes des negotiations par l'Abbe de Mably.

† This objection has been in some degree lessened, by an amendment, often before refused, and at last made by an erasure, after the engrossment upon parchment, of the word forty, and inserting thirty, in the third clause of the second section of the first article.

nating appropriations of money, and the salaries of the officers of their own appointment, in conjunction with the president of the united states—although they are not the representatives of the people, or amenable to them. These, with their other great powers, (*viz.* their powers in the appointment of ambassadors, and all public officers, in making treaties, and in trying all impeachments), their influence upon, and connection with, the supreme executive from these causes, their duration of office, and their being a constant existing body, almost continually sitting, joined with their being one complete branch of the legislature, will destroy any balance in the government, and enable them to accomplish what usurpations they please, upon the rights and liberties of the people.

The judiciary of the united states is so constructed and extended, as to absorb and destroy the judiciaries of the several states; thereby rendering law as tedious, intricate, and expensive, and justice as unattainable by a great part of the community, as in England; and enabling the rich to oppress and ruin the poor.

The president of the united states has no constitutional council (a thing unknown in any safe and regular government): he will therefore be unsupported by proper information and advice; and will generally be directed by minions and favourites—or he will become a tool to the senate—or a council of state will grow out of the principal officers of the great departments—the worst and most dangerous of all ingredients for such a council, in a free country; for they may be induced to join in any dangerous or oppressive measures, to shelter themselves, and prevent an enquiry into their own misconduct in office. Whereas had a constitutional council been formed (as was proposed) of six members, *viz.* two

from the eastern, two from the middle, and two from the southern states, to be appointed by vote of the states in the house of representatives, with the same duration and rotation of office as the senate, the executive would always have had safe and proper information and advice: the president of such a council might have acted as vice-president of the united states, *pro tempore*, upon any vacancy or disability of the chief magistrate; and long continued sessions of the senate would in a great measure have been prevented. From this fatal defect of a constitutional council, has arisen the improper power of the senate, in the appointment of public officers, and the alarming dependence and connection between that branch of the legislature and the supreme executive. Hence also sprung that unnecessary and dangerous officer, the vice-president, who for want of other employment, is made president of the senate; thereby dangerously blending the executive and legislative powers; besides always giving to some one of the states an unnecessary and unjust pre-eminence over the others.

The president of the united states has the unrestrained power of granting pardon for treason; which may be sometimes exercised to screen from punishment those whom he had secretly instigated to commit the crime, and thereby prevent a discovery of his own guilt. By declaring all treaties supreme laws of the land, the executive and the senate have, in many cases, an exclusive power of legislation; which might have been avoided, by proper distinctions with respect to treaties, and requiring the assent of the house of representatives, where it could be done with safety.

By requiring only a majority to make all commercial and navigation laws, the five southern states (whose produce and circumstances are totally different from those of the eight

northern and eastern states) will be ruined : for such rigid and premature regulations may be made, as will enable the merchants of the northern and eastern states not only to demand an exorbitant freight, but to monopolize the purchase of the commodities, at their own price, for many years, to the great injury of the landed interest, and impoverishment of the people : and the danger is the greater, as the gain on one side will be in proportion to the loss on the other. Whereas, requiring two-thirds of the members present in both houses, would have produced mutual moderation, promoted the general interest, and removed an insuperable objection to the adoption of the government.

Under their own construction of the general clause at the end of the enumerated powers, the congress may grant monopolies in trade and commerce, constitute new crimes, inflict unusual and severe punishments, and extend their power as far as they shall think proper ; so that the state legislatures have no security for the powers now presumed to remain to them ; or the people for their rights. There is no declaration of any kind for preserving the liberty of the press, the trial by jury in civil causes, nor against the danger of standing armies in time of peace.

The state legislatures are restrained from laying export duties on their own produce—the general legislature is restrained from prohibiting the further importation of slaves for twenty odd years, though such importations render the united states weaker, more vulnerable, and less capable of defence—Both the general legislature, and the state legislatures, are expressly prohibited making ex post facto laws, though there never was, nor can be, a legislature, but must and will make such laws, when necessity and the public safety require them, which

will hereafter be a breach of all the constitutions in the union, and afford precedents for other innovations.

This government will commence in a moderate aristocracy ; it is at present impossible to foresee whether it will, in its operation, produce a monarchy, or a corrupt oppressive aristocracy ; it will most probably vibrate some years between the two, and then terminate in the one or the other.



The address, and reasons of dissent, of the minority of the convention of the state of Pennsylvania, to their constituents.

IT was not until after the termination of the late glorious contest, which made the people of the united states an independent nation, that any defect was discovered in the present confederation. It was formed by some of the ablest patriots in America. It carried us successfully through the war ; and the virtue and patriotism of the people, with their disposition to promote the common cause, supplied the want of power in congress.

The requisition of congress for the five per cent. impost was made before the peace, so early as the first of February, 1781 ; but was prevented taking effect by the refusal of one state. Yet it is probable every state in the union would have agreed to this measure, at that period, had it not been for the extravagant terms in which it was demanded. The requisition was new moulded in 1783, and accompanied with an additional demand of certain supplementary funds for 25 years. Peace had now taken place ; and the united states found themselves labouring under a considerable foreign and domestic debt, incurred during the war.

The requisition of 1783 was commensurate with the interest of the debt, as it was then calculated; but it has been more accurately ascertained since that time. The domestic debt has been found to fall several millions of dollars short of the calculation: and it has lately been considerably diminished by large sales of the western lands. The states have been called on by congress, annually, for supplies, until the general system of finance, proposed in 1783, should take place.

It was at this time that the want of an efficient federal government was first complained of; and that the powers vested in congress were found to be inadequate to the procuring of the benefits that should result from the union. The impost was granted by most of the states: but many refused the supplementary funds. The annual requisitions were set at nought by some of the states: while others complied with them by legislative acts, but were tardy in their payments: and congress found themselves incapable of complying with their engagements, and supporting the federal government. It was found that our national character was sinking in the opinion of foreign nations. The congress could make treaties of commerce; but could not enforce the observance of them. We were suffering from the restrictions of foreign nations, who had shackled our commerce, while we were unable to retaliate: and all now agreed, that it would be advantageous to the union to enlarge the powers of congress; that they should be enabled in the amplest manner to regulate commerce, and to lay and collect duties on the imports throughout the united states. With this view a convention was first proposed by Virginia, and finally recommended by congress for the different states to appoint deputies to meet in convention, "for the purpose of revising and amend-

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ing the present articles of confederation, so as to make them adequate to the exigencies of the union." This recommendation the legislatures of twelve states complied with so hastily as not to consult their constituents on the subject; and though the different legislatures had no authority from their constituents for the purpose, they probably apprehended the necessity would justify the measure; and none of them extended their ideas at that time further than "revising and amending the present articles of confederation." Pennsylvania, by the act appointing deputies, expressly confined their powers to this object; and though it is probable that some of the members of the assembly of this state had, at that time, in contemplation to annihilate the present confederation, as well as the constitution of Pennsylvania, yet the plan was not sufficiently matured to communicate it to the public.

The majority of the legislature of this commonwealth, were at that time under the influence of the members from the city of Philadelphia. They agreed that the deputies sent by them to convention should have no compensation for their services, which determination was calculated to prevent the election of any members who resided at a distance from the city. It was in vain for the minority to attempt electing delegates to the convention, who understood the circumstances, and the feelings of the people, and had a common interest with them. They found a disposition in the leaders of the majority of the house, to choose themselves and some of their dependants. The minority attempted to prevent this by agreeing to vote for some of the leading members, who, they knew, had influence enough to be appointed at any rate, in hopes of carrying with them some respectable citizens of Philadelphia, in whose

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principles and integrity they could have more confidence; but even in this they were disappointed, except in one member: the eighth member was added at a subsequent session of the assembly.

The continental convention met in the city of Philadelphia at the time appointed. It was composed of some men of excellent characters; of others who were more remarkable for their ambition and cunning, than their patriotism; and of some who had been opponents to the independence of the united states. The delegates from Pennsylvania were, six of them, uniform and decided opponents to the constitution of this commonwealth. The convention sat upwards of four months. The doors were kept shut, and the members brought under the most solemn engagements of secrecy*. Some of those who opposed their going so far beyond their powers, retired, hopeless, from the convention; others had the firmness to refuse signing the plan altogether: and many, who did sign it, did it not as a system they wholly approved, but as the best that could be then obtained: and notwithstanding the time spent on this subject, it is agreed on all hands to be a work of haste and accommodation.

Whilst the gilded chains were forging in the secret conclave, the meaner instruments of despotism without, were busily employed in alarming the fears of the people with dangers which did not exist, and exciting their hopes of greater advantages from the expected plan, than even the best government on earth could produce.

The proposed plan had not many hours issued forth from the womb of suspicious secrecy, until such as

were prepared for the purpose, were carrying about petitions for people to sign, signifying their approbation of the system, and requesting the legislature to call a convention. While every measure was taken to intimidate the people against opposing it, the public papers teemed with the most violent threats against those who should dare to think for themselves: and tar and feathers were liberally promised to all those who would not immediately join in supporting the proposed government, be it what it would. Under such circumstances, petitions in favour of calling a convention were signed by great numbers in and about the city, before they had leisure to read and examine the system, many of whom, now they are better acquainted with it, and have had time to investigate its principles, are heartily opposed to it. The petitions were speedily handed in to the legislature.

Affairs were in this situation, when on the 28th of September last, a resolution was proposed to the assembly by a member of the house, who had been also a member of the federal convention, for calling a state convention, to be elected within ten days, for the purpose of examining and adopting the proposed constitution of the united states, though at this time the house had not received it from congress. This attempt was opposed by a minority, who, after offering every argument in their power, to prevent the precipitate measure, without effect, absented themselves from the house, as the only alternative left them, to prevent the measure taking place, previous to their constituents being made acquainted with the business.

That violence and outrage, which had been so often threatened, was now practised. Some of the members were seized the next day, by a mob, collected for the purpose; and forcibly dragged to the house; and there

NOTE.

* The journals of the conclave are still concealed.

detained by force, while the quorum of the legislature, *so formed*, completed their resolution.

We shall dwell no longer on this subject. The people of Pennsylvania have been already acquainted therewith.

We would only further observe, that every member of the legislature, previously to taking his seat, by solemn oath or affirmation, declares, "that they will not do or consent to any act or thing whatever, that shall have a tendency to lessen or abridge their rights and privileges, as declared in the constitution of this state." And that constitution, which they are so solemnly sworn to support, cannot legally be altered, but by a recommendation of the council of censors, who alone are authorized to propose alterations and amendments: and even these must be published at least six months for the consideration of the people.

The proposed system of government for the united states, if adopted, will alter, and may annihilate the constitution of Pennsylvania: and therefore the legislature had no authority whatever to recommend the calling a convention for that purpose. This proceeding could not be considered as binding on the people of this commonwealth. The house was formed by violence. Some of the members composing it, were detained there by force; which, alone, would have vitiated any proceedings, to which they were otherwise competent: but had the legislature been legally formed, this business was absolutely without their power.

In this situation of affairs, were the subscribers elected members of the convention of Pennsylvania—a convention called by a legislature, in direct violation of their duty, and composed in part of members who were compelled to attend for that purpose, to consider of a constitution proposed by a convention of the united states, who were not appointed

for the purpose of framing a new form of government, but whose powers were expressly confined to altering and amending the present articles of confederation. Therefore the members of the continental convention, in proposing the plan, acted as individuals, and not as deputies from Pennsylvania*. The assembly, who called the state convention, acted as individuals, and not as the legislature of Pennsylvania: nor could they, or the convention chosen on their recommendation, have authority to do any act or thing, that can alter or annihilate the constitution of Pennsylvania—both of which will be done by the new constitution: nor are their proceedings, in our opinion, at all binding on the people.

The election, for members of the convention, was held at so early a period, and the want of information was so great, that some of us did not know of it, until after it was over: and we have reason to believe, that great numbers of the people of Pennsylvania have not yet had an opportunity of sufficiently examining the proposed constitution. We apprehend, that no change can take place, that will affect the internal government or constitution of this commonwealth, unless a majority of the people should evidence a wish for such a

NOTE.

* *The continental convention, in direct violation of the 13th article of the confederation, have declared, "that the ratification of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution, between the states so ratifying the same." Thus has the plighted faith of the states been sported with! They had solemnly engaged, that the confederation now subsisting, should be inviolably preserved by each of them, and the union thereby formed, should be perpetual, unless the same should be altered by mutual consent.*

change. But on examining the number of votes, given for members of the present state convention, we find, that of upwards of seventy thousand freemen, who are entitled to vote in Pennsylvania, the whole convention has been elected by about thirteen thousand voters : and though two thirds of the members of the convention have thought proper to ratify the proposed constitution, yet those two thirds were elected by the votes of only six thousand and eight hundred freemen.

In the city of Philadelphia, and some of the eastern counties, the junta that took the lead in the business, agreed to vote for none but such as would solemnly promise to adopt the system in toto, without exercising their judgment.

In many of the counties, the people did not attend the elections, as they had not an opportunity of judging of the plan.

Others did not consider themselves bound by the call of a set of men, who assembled at the state house in Philadelphia, and assumed the name of the legislature of Pennsylvania : and some were prevented from voting, by the violence of the party, who were determined at all events to force down the measure.

To such lengths did the tools of despotism carry their outrage, that in the night of the election for members of convention, in the city of Philadelphia, several of the subscribers (being then in the city to transact your business) were grossly abused, ill-treated, and insulted, while they were quiet in their lodgings, though they did not interfere, nor had any thing to do with the said election, but, as they apprehend, because they were supposed to be adverse to the proposed constitution, and would not tamely surrender those sacred rights, which you had committed to their charge.

The convention met : and the

same disposition was soon manifested in considering the proposed constitution, that had been exhibited in every other stage of the business. We were prohibited, by an express vote of the convention, from taking any question on the separate articles of the plan ; and reduced to the necessity of adopting or rejecting in toto. 'Tis true, the majority permitted us to debate on each article ; but restrained us from proposing amendments. They also determined not to permit us to enter on the minutes our reasons of dissent against any of the articles, nor even on the final question, our reasons of dissent against the whole.

Thus situated, we entered on the examination of the proposed system of government ; and found it to be such as we could not adopt, without, as we conceived, surrendering up your dearest rights. We offered our objections to the convention ; and opposed those parts of the plan, which, in our opinion, would be injurious to you, in the best manner we were able ; and closed our arguments by offering the following propositions to the convention :

1. THE right of conscience shall be held inviolable, and neither the legislative, executive, nor judicial powers of the united states, shall have authority to alter, abrogate, or infringe any part of the constitutions of the several states, which provide for the preservation of liberty in matters of religion.

2. That in controversies respecting property, and in suits between man and man, trial by jury shall remain as heretofore, as well in the federal courts, as in those of the several states.

3. That in all capital and criminal prosecutions, a man has a right to demand the cause and nature of his accusation, as well in the federal courts, as in those of the several states ; to be heard by himself and

his council; to be confronted with the accusers and witnesses; to call for evidence in his favour, and a speedy trial, by an impartial jury of his vicinage, without whose unanimous consent, he cannot be found guilty, nor can he be compelled to give evidence against himself; and that no man be deprived of his liberty, except by the law of the land, or the judgment of his peers.

4. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel nor unusual punishments inflicted.

5. That warrants unsupported by evidence, whereby any officer or messenger may be commanded or required to search suspected places, or to seize any person or persons, his or their property, not particularly described, are grievous and oppressive, and shall not be granted either by the magistrates of the federal government or others.

6. That the people have a right to the freedom of speech, of writing and publishing their sentiments; therefore, the freedom of the press shall not be restrained by any law of the united states.

7. That the people have a right to bear arms for the defence of themselves and their own state, or the united states, or for the purpose of killing game: and no law shall be passed for disarming the people, or any of them, unless for crimes committed, or real danger of public injury from individuals. And as standing armies in the time of peace are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be kept up: and that the military shall be kept under strict subordination to, and be governed by, the civil powers.

8. The inhabitants of the several states shall have liberty to fowl and hunt, in seasonable times, on the lands they hold, and on all other lands in the united states, not enclosed; and in like manner to fish in

all navigable waters, and others, not private property, without being restrained therein, by any laws to be passed by the legislature of the united states.

9. That no law shall be passed to restrain the legislatures of the several states, from enacting laws for imposing taxes, except imposts and duties on goods imported or exported: and that no taxes, except imposts and duties upon goods imported and exported, and postage on letters, shall be levied by the authority of congress.

10. That the house of representatives be properly increased in number; that elections shall remain free; that the several states shall have power to regulate the elections for senators and representatives, without being controuled either directly or indirectly, by any interference on the part of congress; and that elections of representatives be annual.

11. That the power of organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, (the manner of disciplining the militia to be prescribed by congress) remain with the individual states; and that congress shall not have authority to call or march any of the militia out of their own state, without the consent of such state, and for such length of time only as such state shall agree.

That the sovereignty, freedom and independency of the several states shall be retained, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not by this constitution expressly delegated to the united states in congress assembled.

12. That the legislative, executive, and judicial powers be kept separate; and to this end, that a constitutional council be appointed to advise and assist the president, who shall be responsible for the advice they give; (hereby the senators would be relieved from almost constant attendance): and also that the judges be made completely independent.

13. That no treaty which shall be directly opposed to the existing laws of the united states in congress assembled, shall be valid until such laws shall be repealed or made conformable to such treaty; neither shall any treaties be valid which are contradictory to the constitution of the united states, or the constitutions of the individual states.

14. That the judiciary power of the united states shall be confined to cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, to cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, to controversies to which the united states shall be a party—to controversies between two or more states—between a state and citizens of different states—between citizens claiming lands under grants of different states—and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states; and in criminal cases, to such only as are expressly enumerated in the constitution; and that the united states in congress assembled, shall not have power to enact laws, which shall alter the laws of descents and distributions of the effects of deceased persons, the titles of lands or goods, or the regulation of contracts in the individual states.

After reading these propositions, we declared our willingness to agree to the plan, provided it was so amended as to meet those propositions, or something similar to them: and finally moved the convention to adjourn, to give the people of Pennsylvania time to consider the subject, and determine for themselves: but these were all rejected, and the final vote was taken, when our duty to you induced us to vote against the proposed plan, and to decline signing the ratification of the same.

During the discussion, we met with many insults, and some personal abuse. We were not even treated with decency, during the sitting of the convention, by the persons in

the gallery of the house. However we flatter ourselves that in contending for the preservation of those invaluable rights you have thought proper to commit to your charge, we acted with a spirit becoming freemen; and being desirous that you might know the principles which actuated our conduct, and being prohibited from inserting our reasons of dissent on the minutes of the convention, we have subjoined them for your consideration, as to you alone we are accountable. It remains with you, whether you will think those inestimable privileges, which you have so ably contended for, should be sacrificed at the shrine of despotism, or whether you mean to contend for them with the same spirit that has so often baffled the attempts of an aristocratic faction, to rivet the shackles of slavery on you, and your unborn posterity.

Our objections are comprised under three general heads of dissent, viz.

WE dissent, first, because it is the opinion of the most celebrated writers on government, and confirmed by uniform experience, that a very extensive territory cannot be governed on the principles of freedom, otherwise than by a confederation of republics, possessing all the powers of internal government; but united in the management of their general, and foreign concerns.

If any doubt could have been entertained of the truth of the foregoing principle, it has been fully removed by the concession of mr. Wilson, one of the majority on this question, and who was one of the deputies in the late general convention. In justice to him, we will give his own words. They are as follows, viz. "The extent of country, for which the new constitution was required, produced another difficulty in the business of the federal conven-

tion. It is the opinion of some celebrated writers, that to a small territory the democratical—to a middling territory, as Montefquieu has termed it, a monarchial—and to an extensive territory, the despotic form of government is best adapted. Regarding, then, the wide and almost unbounded jurisdiction of the united states, at first view, the hand of despotism seemed necessary to controul, connect, and protect it : and hence the chief embarrassment arose. For we knew, that, although our constituents would cheerfully submit to the legislative restraints of a free government, they would spurn at every attempt to shackle them with despotic power." And again, in another part of his speech, he continues : " Is it probable, that a dissolution of the state governments, and the establishment of one consolidated empire, would be eligible in its nature, and satisfactory to the people in its administration ? I think not : as I have given reasons to shew, that so extensive a territory could not be ruled but by the supremacy of despotic power. All the exertions of the most potent emperors of Rome were not capable of keeping that empire together, which, in extent, was far inferior to the dominion of America."

WE dissent, secondly, because the powers vested in congress by this constitution, must necessarily annihilate and absorb the legislative, executive, and judicial powers of the several states ; and produce, from their ruins, one consolidated government, which, from the nature of things, will be an iron-handed despotism, as nothing short of the supremacy of despotic sway could connect and govern these united states under one government.

As the truth of this position is of such decisive importance, it ought to be fully investigated : and, if it is founded, to be clearly ascertained ;

for, should it be demonstrated, that the powers vested by this constitution in congress, will have such an effect as necessarily to produce one consolidated government, the question then will be reduced to this short issue, viz. whether, satiated with the blessings of liberty—whether repenting of the folly of so recently asserting their unalienable rights, against foreign despots, at the expence of so much blood and treasure, and such painful and arduous struggles—the people of America are now willing to resign every privilege of freemen, and submit to the domination of an absolute government, that will embrace all America in one chain of despotism ? or whether they will, with virtuous indignation, spurn at the shackles prepared for them—and confirm their liberties by a conduct becoming freemen ?

That the new government will not be a confederacy of states, as it ought, but one consolidated government, founded upon the destruction of the several governments of the states, we shall now shew.

The powers of congress, under the new constitution, are complete and unlimited over the purse and the sword ; and are perfectly independent of, and supreme over, the state governments, whose intervention in these great points, is entirely destroyed. By virtue of their power of taxation, congress may command the whole, or any part of the property of the people. They may impose what imposts upon commerce—they may impose what land-taxes, poll-taxes, excises, duties on all written instruments, and duties on every other article that they may judge proper. In short, every species of taxation, whether of an external or internal nature, is comprised in section the 8th, of article the first, viz. " the congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide

for the common defence and general welfare of the united states."

As there is no one article of taxation reserved to the state governments, the congress may monopolize every source of revenue; and thus indirectly demolish the state governments: for, without funds, they could not exist. The taxes, duties, and excises, imposed by congress, may be so high, as to render it impracticable to levy any further sums on the same articles. But whether this should be the case or not, if the state governments should presume to impose taxes, duties, or excises, on the same articles with congress, the latter may abrogate and repeal the laws whereby they are imposed, upon the allegation, that they interfere with the due collection of their taxes, duties or excises, by virtue of the following clause, part of section 8th, article 1st, viz. "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the united states, or in any department or officer thereof."

The congress might gloss over this conduct by construing every purpose for which the state legislatures now lay taxes, to be for the "general welfare," and therefore as of their jurisdiction.

And the supremacy of the laws of the united states is established by article 6th, viz. "that this constitution, and the laws of the united states, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, and which shall be made, under the authority of the united states, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby; any thing in the constitutions or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." It has been alleged, that the words, "pursuant to the constitution," are a restriction upon the authority of

congress; but when it is considered, that by other sections, they are invested with every efficient power of government, and which may be exercised to the absolute destruction of the state governments, without any violation of even the forms of the constitution, this seeming restriction, as well as every other restriction in it, appears to us to be nugatory and delusive; and only introduced as a blind upon the real nature of the government. In our opinion, "pursuant to the constitution," will be co-extensive with the will and pleasure of congress, which, indeed, will be the only limitation of those powers.

We apprehend that two co-ordinate sovereignties would be a solecism in politics. That, therefore, as there is no line of distinction drawn between the general, and state governments—as the sphere of their jurisdiction is undefined—it would be contrary to the nature of things, that both should exist together; one or the other would necessarily triumph in the fullness of dominion. However, the contest could not be of long continuance, as the state governments are divested of every means of defence, and will be obliged by "the supreme law of the land" to yield at discretion.

It has been objected to this total destruction of the state governments, that the existence of their legislatures is made essential to the organization of congress; that they must assemble for the appointment of the senators and president general of the united states. True, the state legislatures may be continued for some years, as boards of appointment, merely, after they are divested of every other function: but the framers of this constitution, foreseeing that the people will soon be disgusted with this solemn mockery of a government without power and usefulness, have made a provision for relieving them from the imposition, in section 4th, of

article 1st, viz. "the times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed, in each state, by the legislature thereof: but the congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing senators."

As congress have the controul over the time of the appointment of the president-general, of the senators, and of the representatives of the united states, they may prolong their existence in office, for life, by postponing the time of their election and appointment, from period to period, under various pretences, such as, an apprehension of invasion, the factious disposition of the people, or any other plausible pretence that the occasion may suggest: and having thus obtained life estates in the government, they may fill up the vacancies themselves, by their controul over the mode of appointment—with this exception, in regard to the senators, that as the place of appointment for them, must, by the constitution, be in the particular state, they may depute somebody in the respective states, to fill up the vacancies in the senate, occasioned by death, until they can venture to assume it themselves. In this manner, may the only restriction in this clause be evaded. By virtue of the foregoing section, when the spirit of the people shall be gradually broken—when the general government shall be firmly established—and when a numerous standing army shall render opposition vain—the congress may complete the system of despotism, in renouncing all dependence on the people, by continuing themselves and children in the government.

The celebrated Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of Laws*, vol. I. p. 12, says, "that in a democracy, there can be no exercise of sovereignty, but by the suffrages of the people, which are their will: now the sove-

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reign's will is the sovereign himself: the laws, therefore, which establish the right of suffrage, are fundamental to this government. In fact, it is as important to regulate, in a republic, in what manner, by whom, and concerning what, suffrages are to be given, as it is in a monarchy to know who is the prince, and after what manner he ought to govern." The time, mode, and place, of the election of representatives, senators, and president general of the united states, ought not to be under the controul of congress, but fundamentally ascertained and established.

The new constitution, consistently with the plan of consolidation, contains no reservation of the rights and privileges of the state governments, which was made in the confederation of the year 1778, by article the 2d, viz. "that each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the united states in congress assembled."

The legislative power, vested in congress by the foregoing recited sections, is so unlimited in its nature, may be so comprehensive and boundless in its exercise, that this alone would be amply sufficient to annihilate the state governments, and swallow them up in the grand vortex of general empire.

The judicial powers, vested in congress, are also so various and extensive, that by legal ingenuity they may be extended to every case, and thus absorb the state judiciaries: and when we consider the decisive influence, that a general judiciary would have over the civil polity of the several states, we do not hesitate to pronounce, that this power, unaided by the legislative, would effect a consolidation of the states under one government.

The powers of a court of equity, vested by this constitution in the tri-

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bunals of congress—powers which do not exist in the state of Pennsylvania, unless so far as they can be incorporated with jury trial—would, in this state, greatly contribute to this event. The rich and wealthy suitor would eagerly lay hold of the infinite mazes, perplexities, and delays, which a court of chancery, with the appellate powers of the supreme court, in fact, as well as law, would furnish him with, and thus the poor man being plunged in the bottomless pit of legal discussion, would drop his demand in despair.

In short, consolidation pervades the whole constitution. It begins with an annunciation that such was the intention. The main pillars of the fabric correspond with it: and the concluding paragraph is a confirmation of it. The preamble begins with the words, “We, the people of the united states,” which is the style of a compact between individuals entering into a state of society, and not that of a confederation of states. The other features of consolidation, we have before noticed.

Thus we have fully established the position, that the powers vested by this constitution in congress, will effect a consolidation of the states under one government, which even the advocates of this constitution admit, could not be done without the sacrifice of all liberty.

WE dissent, thirdly, because, if it were practicable to govern so extensive a territory as these united states include, on the plan of a consolidated government, consistent with the principles of liberty and the happiness of the people, yet the construction of this constitution is not calculated to attain the object; for, independent of the nature of the case, it would of itself, necessarily produce a despotism, and that not by the usual gradations, but with the celerity that

has hitherto only attended revolutions effected by the sword.

To establish the truth of this position, a cursory investigation of the principles and form of this constitution will suffice.

The first consideration that this review suggests, is the omission of a bill of rights, ascertaining and fundamentally establishing those inalienable and personal rights of men, without the full, free, and secure enjoyment of which, there can be no liberty, and over which it is not necessary for a good government to have the controul. The principal of which are, the rights of conscience, personal liberty, by the clear and unequivocal establishment of the writ of habeas corpus, jury trial in criminal and civil cases, by an impartial jury of the vicinage or county, with the common law proceedings, for the safety of the accused in criminal prosecutions, and the liberty of the press, that scourge of tyrants, and the grand bulwark of every other liberty and privilege. The stipulations heretofore made in favour of them, in the state constitutions, are entirely superseded by this constitution.

The legislature of a free country should be so formed as to have a competent knowledge of its constituents, and enjoy their confidence. To produce these essential requisites, the representation ought to be fair, equal, and sufficiently numerous to possess the same interests, feelings, opinions, and views, which the people themselves would possess, were they all assembled; and so numerous as to prevent bribery and undue influence; and so responsible to the people, by frequent and fair elections, as to prevent their neglecting or sacrificing the views and interests of their constituents, to their own pursuits.

We will now bring the legislature, under this constitution, to the test of the foregoing principles, which will

demonstrate, that it is deficient in every essential quality of a just and safe representation.

The house of representatives is to consist of sixty-five members ; that is, one for about every fifty thousand inhabitants, to be chosen every two years. Thirty-three members will form a quorum for doing business, and seventeen of these, being the majority, determine the sense of the house.

The senate, the other constituent branch of the legislature, consists of twenty six members, being two from each state, appointed by their legislatures every six years—fourteen senators make a quorum ; the majority of whom, eight, determines the sense of that body : except in judging on impeachments, or in making treaties, or in expelling a member, when two thirds of the senators present, must concur.

The president is to have the controul over the enacting of laws, so far as to make the concurrence of two thirds of the representatives and senators present necessary, if he should object to the laws.

Thus it appears, that the liberties, happiness, interests, and great concerns of the whole united states, may be dependent upon the integrity, virtue, wisdom, and knowledge of twenty-five or twenty-six men. How inadequate and unsafe a representation ! inadequate, because the sense and views of three or four millions of people, diffused over so extensive a territory, comprising such various climates, products, habits, interests, and opinions, cannot be collected in so small a body ; and besides, it is not a fair and equal representation of the people, even in proportion to its number : for the smallest state has as much weight in the senate as the largest ; and from the smallness of the number to be chosen for both branches of the legislature—and from the mode of election and appoint-

ment, which is under the controul of congress—and from the nature of the thing—men of the most elevated rank in life, will alone be chosen. The other orders in society, such as farmers, traders, and mechanics, who all ought to have a competent number of their best informed men in the legislature, will be totally unrepresented.

The representation is unsafe, because in the exercise of such great powers and trusts, it is so exposed to corruption and undue influence, by the gift of the numerous places of honour and emolument, at the disposal of the executive ; by the arts and address of the great and designing ; and by direct bribery.

The representation is moreover inadequate and unsafe, because of the long terms for which it is appointed, and the mode of its appointment, by which congress may not only controul the choice of the people, but may so manage as to divest the people of this fundamental right, and become self-elected.

The number of members in the house of representatives may be increased to one for every thirty thousand inhabitants. But when we consider, that this cannot be done without the consent of the senate, who, from their share in the legislative, in the executive, and judicial departments, and permanency of appointment, will be the great efficient body in this government, and whose weight and predominancy would be abridged by an increase of the representatives, we are persuaded that this is a circumstance that cannot be expected. On the contrary, the number of representatives will probably be continued at sixty-five, although the population of the country may swell to treble what it now is ; unless a revolution should effect a change.

We have before noticed the judicial power, as it would effect a consolidation of the states into one go-

vernment. We will now examine it, as it would affect the liberties and welfare of the people, supposing such a government were practicable and proper.

The judicial power, under the proposed constitution, is founded on the well-known principles of the civil law, by which the judge determines both on law and fact, and appeals are allowed from the inferior tribunals to the superior, upon the whole question; so that facts, as well as law, would be re-examined—and even new facts brought forward in the court of appeals; and, to use the words of a very eminent civilian—“The cause is many times another thing before the court of appeals, than what it was at the time of the first sentence.”

That this mode of proceeding is the one which must be adopted under this constitution, is evident from the following circumstances:—First, that the trial by jury, which is the grand characteristic of the common law, is secured by the constitution, only in criminal cases. Secondly, that the appeal from both law and fact is expressly established, which is utterly inconsistent with the principles of the common law, and trials by jury. The only mode in which an appeal from law and fact can be established, is, by adopting the principles and practice of the civil law; unless the united states should be drawn into the absurdity of calling and swearing juries, merely for the purpose of contradicting their verdicts, which would render juries contemptible, and worse than useless. Thirdly, that the courts to be established, would decide on all cases of law and equity, which is a well known characteristic of the civil law, and these courts would have consueance not only of the laws of the united states, and of treaties, and of cases affecting ambassadors, but of all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction,

which last are matters belonging exclusively to the civil law, in every nation in Christendom.

Not to enlarge upon the loss of the invaluable right of trial by an unbiassed jury, so dear to every friend of liberty, the monstrous expence and inconveniencies of the mode of proceeding to be adopted, are such, as will prove intolerable to the people of this country. The lengthy proceedings of the civil law courts in the chancery of England, and in the courts of Scotland and France, are such, that few men of moderate fortune can endure the expence of: the poor man must, therefore, submit to the wealthy. Length of purse will too often prevail against right and justice. For instance, we are told by the learned judge Blackstone, that a question, only on the property of an ox, of the value of three guineas, originating under the civil law proceedings in Scotland, after many interlocutory orders and sentences below, was carried at length from the court of sessions, the highest court in that part of Great Britain, by way of appeal, to the house of lords, where the question of law and fact was finally determined. He adds, that no pique or spirit could, in the court of king's bench, or common pleas, at Westminster, have given continuance to such a cause for a tenth part of the time, nor cost a twentieth part of the expence. Yet the costs, in the courts of king's bench, and common pleas, in England, are infinitely greater than those which the people of this country have ever experienced.

We abhor the idea of losing the transcendent privilege of trial by jury, with the loss of which, it is remarked by the same learned author, that in Sweden the liberties of the commons were extinguished by an aristocratic senate: and that trial by jury, and the liberty of the people, went out together. At the same time, we re-

gret the intolerable delay, the enormous expences, and infinite vexation, to which the people of this country will be exposed, from the voluminous proceedings of the courts of civil law, and especially from the appellate jurisdiction, by means of which, a man may be drawn from the utmost boundaries of this extensive country, to the seat of the supreme court of the nation, to contend, perhaps, with a wealthy and powerful adversary. The consequence of this establishment will be, an absolute confirmation of the power of aristocratical influence in the courts of justice: for the common people will not be able to contend or struggle against it.

Trial by jury, in criminal cases, may also be excluded, by declaring that the libeller, for instance, shall be liable to an action of debt for a specified sum—thus evading the common law prosecution by indictment and trial by jury. And the common course of proceeding against a ship for breach of revenue laws, by information (which will be classed among civil causes), will, at the civil law, be within the resort of a court where no jury intervenes. Besides, the benefit of jury trial in cases of a criminal nature, which cannot be evaded, will be rendered of little value, by calling the accused to answer far from home—there being no provision that the trial be by a jury of the neighbourhood or country. Thus, an inhabitant of Pittsburgh, on a charge of a crime committed on the banks of the Ohio, may be obliged to defend himself at the side of the Delaware, and so vice versa.

To conclude this head: we observe, that the judges of the courts of congress would not be independent, as they are not debarred from holding other offices, during the pleasure of the president and senate, and as they may derive their support, in part, from fees, alterable by the legislature.

The next consideration that the constitution presents, is the undue and dangerous mixture of the powers of government: the same body possessing legislative, executive, and judicial powers. The senate is a constituent branch of the legislature; it has judicial power in judging on impeachments, and in this case unites in some measure the characters of judge and party, as all the principal officers are appointed by the president-general, with the concurrence of the senate, and therefore they derive their offices in part from the senate. This may bias the judgments of the senators, and tend to screen great delinquents from punishment. And the senate has, moreover, various and great executive powers, viz. in concurrence with the president general, they form treaties with foreign nations, that they may controul and abrogate the constitutions and laws of the several states. Indeed, there is no power, privilege, or liberty of the state governments, or of the people, but what may be affected by virtue of this power: for all treaties made by them, are to be the “supreme law of the land, any thing in the constitution or laws of any state notwithstanding.”

And this great power may be exercised by the president and ten senators (being two thirds of fourteen, which is a quorum of that body). What an inducement would this offer to the ministers of foreign powers to compass, by bribery, such concessions as could not otherwise be obtained? It is the unvaried usage of all free states, whenever treaties interfere with the positive laws of the land, to make the intervention of the legislature necessary to give them operation. This became necessary, and was afforded by the parliament of Great Britain, in consequence of the late commercial treaty between that kingdom and France. As the senate judges on impeachments, who

is to try the members of the senate, for the abuse of this power? And none of the great appointments to office can be made without the consent of the senate.

Such various, extensive, and important powers, combined in one body of men, are inconsistent with all freedom. The celebrated Montesquieu tells us, that "when the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty, because apprehensions may arise, lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws, to execute them in a tyrannical manner."

Again, "there is no liberty, if the power of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive powers. Were it joined with the legislative, the life and liberty of the subject would be exposed to arbitrary controul: for the judge would then be legislator. Were it joined to the executive power, the judge might behave with all the violence of an oppressor. There would be an end of every thing, were the same man, or the same body of the nobles, or of the people, to exercise those three powers; that of enacting laws; that of executing the public resolutions; and that of judging the crimes or differences of individuals."

The president general is dangerously connected with the senate. His coincidence with the views of the ruling junto in that body, is made essential to his weight and importance in the government, which will destroy all independency and purity in the executive department; and having the power of pardoning, without the concurrence of a council, he may screen from punishment the most treasonable attempts that may be made on the liberties of the people, when instigated by his coadjutors in the senate. Instead of this dangerous and improper mixture of the ex-

ecutive with the legislative and judicial, the supreme executive powers ought to have been placed in the president, with a small independent council, made personally responsible for every appointment to office, or other act, by having their opinions recorded; and that without the concurrence of the majority of the quorum of this council, the president should not be capable of taking any step.

We have before considered internal taxation, as it would effect the destruction of the state governments, and produce one consolidated government. We will now consider that subject as it affects the personal concerns of the people.

The power of direct taxation applies to every individual: as congress, under this new government, is expressly vested with the authority of laying a capitation or poll-tax upon every person, to any amount. This is a tax, that, however oppressive in its nature, and unequal in its operation, is certain as to its produce, and simple in its collection. It cannot be evaded, like the objects of impost or excise; and will be paid, because all that a man hath, will he give for his head. This tax is so congenial to the nature of despotism, that it has ever been a favourite under such governments. Some of those who were in the late general convention, from this state, have long laboured to introduce a poll-tax among us.

The power of direct taxation will further apply to every individual: as congress may tax land, cattle, trades, occupations, &c. to any amount; and every object of internal taxation is of that nature, that, however oppressive, the people will have but this alternative, either to pay the tax, or let their property be taken, for all resistance will be vain. The standing army and select militia would enforce the collection.

For the moderate exercise of this

power, there is no controul left in the state-governments, whose intervention is destroyed. No relief or redress of grievances can be extended, as heretofore, by them. There is not even a declaration of rights, to which the people may appeal for the vindication of their wrongs, in the courts of justice. They must, therefore, implicitly obey the most arbitrary laws: as the worst of them will be pursuant to the principles and form of the constitution: and that strongest of all checks upon the conduct of administration, responsibility to the people, will not exist in this government. The permanency of the appointments of senators and representatives, and the controul the congress have over their election, will place them independent of the sentiments and resentment of the people: and the administration having a greater interest in the government, than in the community, there will be no consideration to restrain them from oppression and tyranny. In the government of this state, under the old confederation, the members of the legislature are taken from among the people: and their interests and welfare are so inseparably connected with those of their constituents, that they can derive no advantage from oppressive laws and taxes: for they would suffer in common with their fellow citizens; would participate in the burdens they impose on the community, as they must return to the common level, after a short period; and, notwithstanding every exertion of influence, every means of corruption, a necessary rotation excludes them from permanency in the legislature.

This large state is to have but ten members in that congress, which is to have the liberty, property, and dearest concerns of every individual in this vast country, at absolute command: and even these ten persons,

who are to be our only guardians—who are to supersede the legislature of Pennsylvania—will not be of the choice of the people, nor amenable to them. From the mode of their election and appointment, they will consist of the lordly and high-minded—of men who will have no congenial feelings with the people, but a perfect indifference for, and contempt of them. They will consist of those harpies of power, that prey upon the very vitals—that riot on the miseries of the community. But we will suppose, although in all probability it may never be realized in fact, that our deputies in congress have the welfare of their constituents at heart, and will exert themselves in their behalf, what security could even this afford? what relief could they extend to their oppressed constituents? To attain this, the majority of the deputies of the twelve other states in congress must be alike well disposed—must alike forego the sweets of power—and relinquish the pursuits of ambition, which, from the nature of things, is not to be expected. If the people part with a responsible representation in the legislature, founded upon fair, certain, and frequent elections, they have nothing left they can call their own. Miserable is the lot of that people whose every concern depends on the will and pleasure of their rulers. Our soldiers will become janissaries, and our officers of government bailhaws; in short, the system of despotism will soon be completed.

From the foregoing investigation, it appears, that the congress, under this constitution, will not possess the confidence of the people, which is an essential requisite in a good government: for unless the laws command the confidence and respect of the great body of the people, so as to induce them to support them, when called on by the civil magistrate, they must be executed by the aid of a nu-

merous standing army, which would be inconsistent with every idea of liberty : for the same force that may be employed to compel obedience to good laws, might, and probably would, be used to wrest from the people their constitutional liberties. The framers of this constitution appear to have been aware of this great deficiency ; to have been sensible that no dependence could be placed on the people for their support ; but, on the contrary, that the government must be executed by force. They have, therefore, made a provision for this purpose, in a permanent standing army, and a militia that may be subjected to as strict discipline and government.

A standing army, in the hands of a government placed so independent of the people, may be made a fatal instrument to overturn the public liberties. It may be employed to enforce the collection of the most oppressive taxes, and to carry into execution the most arbitrary measures. An ambitious man, who may have the army at his devotion, may step up to the throne, and seize upon absolute power.

The absolute unqualified command that congress have over the militia, may be made instrumental to the destruction of all liberty, both public and private, whether of a personal, civil, or religious nature.

First : the personal liberty of every man, probably from sixteen to sixty years of age, may be destroyed by the power congress have in organizing and governing of the militia. As militia, they may be subjected to fines to any amount, levied in a military manner ; they may be subjected to corporal punishments of the most disgraceful and humiliating kind, and to death itself, by the sentence of a court martial. To this our young men will be more immediately subjected : as a select militia,

composed of them, will best answer the purposes of government.

Secondly : the rights of conscience may be violated : as there is no exemption of those persons, who are conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms. These compose a respectable proportion of the community in the state. This is the more remarkable, because, even when the distresses of the late war, and the evident disaffection of many citizens of that description, inflamed our passions—and when every person, who was obliged to risque his own life, must have been exasperated, against such as on any account kept back from the common danger—yet even then, when outrage and violence might have been expected, the rights of conscience were held sacred.

At this momentous crisis, the framers of our state constitution, made the most express and decided declaration and stipulation in favour of the rights of conscience : but now, when no necessity exists, those dearest rights of men are left insecure.

Thirdly : the absolute command of congress, over the militia, may be destructive of public liberty : for under the guidance of an arbitrary government, they may be made the unwilling instruments of tyranny. The militia of Pennsylvania may be marched to New England, or Virginia, to quell an insurrection occasioned by the most galling oppression : and, aided by the standing army, they will, no doubt, be successful in subduing their liberty and independence : but in so doing, although the magnanimity of their minds will be extinguished, yet the meaner passions of resentment and revenge will be increased, and these, in turn, will be the ready and obedient instruments of despotism, to enslave the others ; and that with an irritated vengeance. Thus may the militia be made the instruments of crushing

the last efforts of expiring liberty, of rivetting the chains of despotism on their fellow citizens, and on one another. This power can be exercised, not only without violating the constitution, but in strict conformity with it. It is calculated for this express purpose, and will doubtless be executed accordingly.

As this government will not enjoy the confidence of the people, but be executed by force, it will be a very expensive and burdensome government. The standing army must be numerous, and, as a further support, it will be the policy of this government to multiply officers in every department; judges, collectors, tax-gatherers, excisemen, and the whole host of revenue officers, will swarm over the land, devouring the hard earnings of the industrious—like the locusts of old, impoverishing and desolating all before them.

We have not noticed the smaller, nor many of the considerable blemishes, but have confined our objections to the great and essential defects—the main pillars of the constitution: which we have shewn to be inconsistent with the liberty and happiness of the people, as its establishment will annihilate the state governments, and produce one consolidated government, that will eventually and speedily issue in the supremacy of despotism.

In this investigation, we have not confined our views to the interests or welfare of this state, in preference to the others. We have overlooked all local circumstances—we have considered this subject on the broad scale of the general good; we have asserted the cause of the present and future ages—the cause of liberty and mankind.

Nat. Breeding, John Ludwig,
John Smilie, Abraham Lincoln,
Richard Baird, John Bishop,
Adam Orth, Joseph Heister,
John A. Hanna, Joseph Powell,

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John Whitehill, James Martin,
John Harris, William Findley,
Robert Whitehill, John Baird,
John Reynolds, James Edgar,
Jonathan Hoge, William Todd.
Nicholas Lutz,
Philadelphia, Dec. 12, 1787.



Letter from the hon. Richard Henry Lee, esq. one of the delegates in congress from the state of Virginia, to his excellency Edmund Randolph, esq. governor of said state.

New York, Oct. 16, 1787.

Dear sir,

I Was duly honoured with your favour of September 17th, from Philadelphia, which should have been acknowledged long before now, if the nature of the business that it related to, had not required time.

The establishment of the new plan of government, in its present form, is a question that involves such immense consequences to the present times, and to posterity, that it calls for the deepest attention of the best and wisest friends of their country and of mankind.

If it be found good, after mature deliberation, adopt it: if wrong, amend it at all events: for to say, as many do, that a bad government must be established, for fear of anarchy, is really saying, that we must kill ourselves, for fear of dying.

Experience, and the actual state of things, shew, that there is no difficulty in procuring a general convention—the late one being collected without any obstruction. Nor does external war, or internal discord, prevent the most cool, collected, full, and fair discussion of this all-important subject. If with infinite ease a convention was obtained, to prepare a system, why may not another, with equal ease, be procured,

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to make proper and necessary amendments?

Good government is not the work of a short time, or of sudden thought. From Moses to Montesquieu, the greatest geniuses have been employed on this difficult subject: and yet experience has shewn capital defects in the systems produced for the government of mankind. But, since it is neither prudent or easy to make frequent changes in government—and as bad governments have been generally found the most fixed—so it becomes of the last consequence, to frame the first establishment upon ground the most unexceptionable, and such as the best theories, with experience, justify—not trusting, as our new constitution does, and as many approve of doing, to time and future events to correct errors, that both reason and experience, in similar cases, point out in the new system.

It has hitherto been supposed a fundamental maxim, that in governments rightly balanced, the different branches of legislature should be unconnected; and that the legislative and executive powers should be separate. In the new constitution, the president and senate have all the executive, and two-thirds of the legislative power. In some weighty instances, (as making all kinds of treaties, which are to be the laws of the land), they have the whole legislative and executive powers. They, jointly, appoint all officers, civil and military: and they (the senate) try all impeachments, either of their own members, or of the officers appointed by themselves.

Is there not a most formidable combination of power thus created in a few? and can the most critic eye, if a candid one, discover responsibility in this potent corps? or will any sensible man say, that great power, without responsibility, can be given to rulers with safety to liberty? It is

most clear, that the parade of impeachment is nothing to them, or any of them: as little restraint is to be found, I presume, from the fear of offending constituents. The president is for four years duration, and Virginia (for example) has one vote of thirteen in the choice of him, and this thirteenth vote not of the people, but electors, two removes from the people. The senate is a body of six years duration, and as in the choice of president, the largest state has but a thirteenth vote, so is it in the choice of senators. This latter statement is adduced to shew that responsibility is as little to be apprehended from amenability to constituents, as from the terror of impeachment. You are, therefore, sir, well warranted in saying, either a monarchy or aristocracy will be generated—perhaps the most grievous system of government may arise.

It cannot be denied with truth, that this new constitution is, in its first principles, highly and dangerously oligarchic: and it is a point agreed, that a government of the few, is, of all governments, the worst.

The only check to be found in favour of the democratic principle, in this system, is the house of representatives; which, I believe, may justly be called a mere shred, or rag of representation: it being obvious to the least examination, that smallness of number, and great comparative disparity of power, render that house of little effect, to promote good, or restrain bad government. But what is the power given to this ill-constructed body? . . . To judge of what may be for the general welfare: and such judgments, when made the acts of congress, become the supreme laws of the land. This seems a power co-extensive with every possible object of human legislation: yet there is no restraint, in form of a bill of rights, to secure (what doc-

tor Blackstone calls) that residuum of human rights, which is not intended to be given up to society, and which, indeed, is not necessary to be given for any good social purpose. The rights of conscience, the freedom of the press, and the trial by jury, are at mercy. It is there stated, that in criminal cases, the trial shall be by jury. But how? In the state. What, then, becomes of the jury of the vicinage, or at least from the county, in the first instance—the states being from fifty to seven hundred miles in extent? This mode of trial, even in criminal cases, may be greatly impaired: and in civil cases, the inference is strong, that it may be altogether omitted: as the constitution positively assumes it in criminal, and is silent about it in civil causes. Nay, it is more strongly discountenanced in civil cases, by giving the supreme courts in appeals, jurisdiction both as to law and fact.

Judge Blackstone, in his learned commentaries, art. jury trial, says, “It is the most transcendent privilege, which any subject can enjoy or wish for, that he cannot be affected either in his property, his liberty, or his person, but by the unanimous consent of twelve of his neighbours and equals—a constitution, that, I may venture to affirm, has, under providence, secured the just liberties of this nation, for a long succession of ages. The impartial administration of justice, which secures both our persons and our properties, is the great end of civil society. But if that be entirely entrusted to the magistracy, a select body of men, and those generally selected by the prince or such as enjoy the highest offices of the state, these decisions in spite of their own natural integrity, will have frequently an involuntary bias towards those of their own rank and dignity. It is not to be expected from human nature, that the few

should always be attentive to the good of the many.” The learned judge further says, that “every tribunal selected for the decision of facts, is a step towards establishing aristocracy—the most oppressive of all governments.”

The answer to these objections is, that the new legislature may provide remedies! But as they may, so they may not; and if they did, a succeeding assembly may repeal the provisions. The evil is found resting upon constitutional bottom; and the remedy upon the mutable ground of legislation, revocable at any annual meeting. It is the more unfortunate that this great security of human rights, the trial by jury, should be weakened in this system, as power is unnecessarily given in the second section of the third article, to call people from their own country in all cases of controversy about property between citizens of different states and foreigners, with citizens of the united states, to be tried in a distant court where the congress may sit. For although inferior congressional courts may, for the above purposes, be instituted in the different states—yet this is a matter altogether in the pleasure of the new legislature, so that if they please not to institute them, or if they do not regulate the right of appeal reasonably, the people will be exposed to endless oppression, and the necessity of submitting, in multitudes of cases, to pay unjust demands, rather than follow suitors, through great expence, to far distant tribunals, and to be determined upon there, as it may be, without a jury.

In this congressional legislature, a bare majority of votes can enact commercial laws: so that the representatives of the seven northern states, as they will have a majority, can, by law, create the most oppressive monopoly upon the five southern states, whose circumstances and productions are essentially different from

theirs, although not a single man of these voters are the representatives of, or amenable to the people of the southern states. Can such a set of men be, with the least colour of truth, called a representative of those they make laws for? It is supposed that the policy of the northern states will prevent such abuses. But how feeble, sir, is policy when opposed to interest among trading people? and what is the restraint arising from policy? Why, that we may be forced by abuse to become ship-builders! But how long will it be before a people of agriculture can produce ships sufficient to export such bulky commodities as ours, and of such extent? and if we had the ships, from whence are the seamen to come? four thousand of whom at least will be necessary in Virginia. In questions so liable to abuse, why was not the necessary vote put to two-thirds of the members of the legislature?

With the constitution came from the convention, so many members of that body to congress, and of those, too, who were among the most fiery zealots for their system, that the votes of three states being of them, two states divided by them, and many others mixed with them, it is easy to see that congress could have little opinion upon the subject.

Some denied our right to make amendments; whilst others, more moderate, agreed to the right, but denied the expediency of amending; but it was plain, that a majority was ready to send it on, in terms of approbation—my judgment and conscience forbid the last: and therefore I moved the amendments that I have the honour to send you inclosed herewith, and demanded the yeas and nays, that they might appear on the journal.

This seemed to alarm: and to prevent such appearance on the journal, it was agreed to transmit the constitution without a syllable of ap-

probation or disapprobation; so that the term unanimously only applied to the transmission, as you will observe by attending to the terms of the resolve for transmitting. Upon the whole, sir, my opinion is, that as this constitution abounds with useful regulations, at the same time that it is liable to strong and fundamental objections, the plan for us to pursue, will be to propose the necessary amendments, and express our willingness to adopt it with the amendments, and to suggest the calling a new convention for the purpose of considering them. To this I see no well-founded objection; but great safety and much good to be the probable result. I am perfectly satisfied that you make such use of this letter as you shall think to be for the public good; and now, after begging your pardon for so great a trespass on your patience, and presenting my best respects to your lady, I will conclude with assuring you, that I am, with the sincerest esteem and regard, dear sir, your most affectionate and obedient humble servant,

RICHARD H. LEE.

Postscript.

IT having been found from universal experience, that the most express declarations and reservations are necessary to protect the just rights and liberty of mankind from the silent, powerful, and ever-active conspiracy of those who govern; and it appearing to be the sense of the good people of America, by the various bills or declarations of rights whereon the governments of the greater number of states are founded, that such precautions are necessary to restrain and regulate the exercise of the great powers given to rulers: in conformity with these principles, and from respect to the public sentiment on this subject, it is submitted, that the new constitution proposed for the government of

the united states be bottomed upon a declaration or bill of rights, clearly and precisely stating the principles upon which this social compact is founded, to wit :

That the rights of conscience, in matters of religion, ought not to be violated.

That the freedom of the press shall be secured.

That the trial by jury, in criminal and civil cases, and the modes prescribed by the common law, for the safety of life, in criminal prosecutions, shall be held sacred.

That standing armies, in time of peace, are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be permitted, unless assented to by two-thirds of the members composing each house of the legislature, under the new constitution.

That the elections should be free and frequent.

That the right administration of justice should be secured by the independency of the judges.

That excessive bail, excessive fines, or cruel and unusual punishments, should not be demanded or inflicted.

That the right of the people to assemble peaceably, for the purpose of petitioning the legislature, shall not be prevented.

That the citizens shall not be exposed to unreasonable searches, [or] seizure of their persons, houses, papers, or property.

As it is necessary for the good of society, that the administration of government be conducted with all possible maturity of judgment, for which reason it hath been the practice of civilized nations, and so determined by every state in the union, that a council of state, or privy council should be appointed to advise and assist in the arduous business assigned to the executive powers : therefore, let the new constitution be so amended, as to admit the appointment of a privy council, to consist of eleven members, chosen by the presi-

dent, but responsible for the advice they may give : for which purpose, the advice given shall be entered in a council book, and signed by the giver, in all affairs of great moment. And,

That the counsellors act under an oath of office.

In order to prevent the dangerous blending of the legislative and executive powers, and to secure responsibility, the privy [council], and not the senate, shall be joined with the president in the appointment of all officers, civil and military, under the new constitution.

That the constitution be so altered, as not to admit the creation of a vice-president, whose duties, as assigned, may be discharged by the privy council, except in the instance of proceeding in the senate, which may be supplied by a speaker chosen from the body of senators by themselves, as usual, that so may be avoided the establishment of a great officer of state, who is sometimes to be joined with the legislature, and sometimes to administer the government, rendering responsibility difficult, besides giving unjust and needless pre-eminence to that state from whence this officer may have come.

That such parts of the new constitution be amended, as provide imperfectly for the trial of criminals by a jury of the vicinage, and to supply the omission of a jury trial in civil cases, or disputes about property between individuals, whereby the common law is directed, and as generally it is secured by the several state constitutions.

That such parts of the new constitution be amended, as permit the vexatious and oppressive callings of citizens from their own country, and all controversies between citizens of different states, and between citizens and foreigners to be tried in a far distant court, and as it may be, without a jury, whereby in a multitude

of cases, the circumstances of distance and expence may compel numbers to submit to the most unjust and ill-founded demands.

That in order to secure the rights of the people more effectually, from violation, the power and respectability of the house of representatives be increased, by increasing the number of delegates to that house, where the popular interest must chiefly depend for protection.

That the constitution be so amended, as to increase the number of votes necessary to determine questions in cases where a bare majority may be seduced by strong motives of interest to injure and oppress the minority of the community, as in commercial regulations, where advantage may be taken of circumstances, to ordain rigid and premature laws, that will, in effect, amount to monopolies, to the great impoverishment of those states whose peculiar situation exposes them to such injuries.



Mr. Printer,

YOUR readers may depend that the following speech is genuine. The members of the late federal convention, who heard it delivered, will readily allow it to be so. How it came into my possession, is a question which only Dr. Franklin has a right to examine; and however sensibly I might feel his displeasure for thus publishing it without his consent, I think the risque of offending him is overbalanced by the service I may render my country, in disseminating those principles it contains, of modest deference for the opinions of others. How many states and even families have been thrown into confusion, by opinative obstinacy, which might have long remained united and happy

by "mutual deference and concession!"

I am, sir, your humble servant,

A. B.

Doctor Franklin's final speech in the late federal convention.

Mr. President,

I Confess that I do not entirely approve of this constitution at present; but, sir, I am not sure I shall never approve it: for having lived long, I have experienced many instances of being obliged by better information or fuller consideration, to change opinions even on important subjects, which I once thought right, but found to be otherwise. It is therefore that the older I grow, the more apt I am to doubt my own judgment, and to pay more respect to the judgment of others. Most men, indeed, as well as most sects in religion, think themselves in possession of all truth; and that wherever others differ from them, it is so far error. Steel, a protestant, in a dedication tells the pope, that "the only difference between our two churches, in their opinions of the certainty of their doctrines, is, the Romish church is infallible, and the church of England never in the wrong." But though many private persons think almost as highly of their own infallibility, as of that of their sect, few express it so naturally as a certain French lady, who in a little dispute with her sister, said, I don't know how it happens, sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right. "Il n'y a que moi qui a toujours raison." In these sentiments, sir, I agree to this constitution, with all its faults, if they are such; because I think a general government necessary for us, and there is no form of government but what may be a blessing, if well administered; and I be-

lieve farther, that this is likely to be well administered for a course of years; and can only end in despotism, as other forms have done before it, when the people shall become so corrupted, as to need despotic government, being incapable of any other. I doubt, too, whether any other convention we can obtain, may be able to make a better constitution. For when you assemble a number of men, to have the advantage of their joint wisdom, you inevitably assemble with those men, all their prejudices, their passions, their errors of opinion, their local interests, and their selfish views. From such an assembly can a perfect production be expected? It therefore astonishes me, sir, to find this system approaching so near to perfection as it does: and I think it will astonish our enemies, who are waiting with confidence, to hear that our councils are confounded, like those of the builders of Babel, and that our states are on the point of separation, only to meet hereafter for the purpose of cutting each others throats.

Thus I consent, sir, to this constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that this is not the best. The opinions I have had of its errors, I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die. If every one of us, in returning to our constituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavour to gain partizans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favour among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity. Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on opinion, on the

general opinion of the goodness of that government as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors.

I hope, therefore, that for our own sakes as a part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this constitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavours to the means of having it well administered.

On the whole, sir, I cannot help expressing a wish, that every member of the convention, who may still have objections to it, would, with me, on this occasion, doubt a little of his own infallibility, and to make manifest our unanimity, put his name to this instrument.

Then the motion was made, for adding the last formula, viz.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent, &c. which was agreed to, and added accordingly.



Observations on the present state of affairs in America.

AMID the apprehensions of the timid, augmented by the predictions of gloomy speculators, and the heedless declinations of party, there have not been wanting some enlightened minds, who have repeatedly administered an occasional cup of comfort to the people of America, to encourage them in the support of their present difficulties, and to point out the happiness which is really in their power.

Little has he studied the theory of man, or observed his familiar life, who has not remarked, that the individual finds the highest gratifications in deploring the pleasures of the past, even amid the enjoyments of the present. Prompted thus by temper, men have in every age made complaints

of the badness of the times, the loss of their commerce, and the ruin of their country. But these murmurers should know, that nothing continues in one stay; that there are ebbs and flows in all governments, and a point of depression, beyond which there is no declension—but from which there is a gradual rising, and frequently beyond the extent of former greatness.

That a kind of despondency has gone through the continent, is evident from the public prints of every state; inasmuch that a foreigner could hardly believe we were that brave people who so nobly struggled for our independence. The universality of these murmurs, and this despondency, must be ascribed to some cause, which we cannot think altogether friendly to this country: but it is hoped, that these dark clouds may be dispelled, and the people become wiser and better informed—and consequently less subject to the dominion of temporary terrors, and far less to the hurtful impressions of fancied misery.

That America is comparatively happy, must not—cannot be denied: but that a revolution of the most important nature—a political convulsion, that threatened our very existence as a people, should be severely felt, and bring ruin on thousands, is not to be wondered at. The same distresses have always happened in similar cases.

As our medium of commerce, during the uncertainties of war, was in a fluctuating state, and our property rising and falling with the news of the day, it cannot be marvellous that multitudes were mistaken in their calculations, and found themselves embarrassed by the failure of schemes which they had planned with the most consummate wisdom. The foundations of government were out of course: the security of life, liberty, and fortune, was shaken: and, amid

the bustle and clamour of war, the people did not see or comprehend, what would be the extent of their losses and sufferings: they have perceived, they have felt them since; but shall we therefore despair? Heaven forbid! We are now in possession of this country—a country equal for natural advantages, for liberty, civil and religious, to any other on the face of the globe. To say we are incapable of governing ourselves, is disgraceful in the superlative degree: the idea degrades us to idiotism. But there have been so many specimens of American genius—so many instances of philosophic and enlarged minds, who have appeared among us, that we cannot doubt of our abilities for self-government, one single moment. While we have a Franklin, a Washington, a Morris, the Adamses, a Dickinson, and other able patriots in our service, we cannot despair of the republic.

With respect to the country we have to govern, what do we want?—Have not God and nature done wonderful things for us?—With an abundance of the necessaries of life, have we not materials for manufactures of every kind?—Is not an American farmer as independent a man as any under heaven?—Will not ingenuity, industry, and economy, meet with encouragement?—We know they will; they cannot fail. There is great reason to apprehend, that our querulous, discordant passions arise more from a desire of foreign luxuries, than from a real want of what can make us truly and rationally happy. We ungratefully overlook the substantial blessings we have in our hands, while we are anxious for such articles, as neither improve our health, nor our morals. The retrospect of one century, in the history of America—its unparalleled progress, important improvements, and revolution—will give us a glimpse of its future greatness:

perhaps it will not be an irksome speculation, briefly to consider what has been the gradual progress of a country from a state of nature, to that of civilization, wealth, and commerce. That, which we formerly considered as the parent state, will give us an example. Who would have ever supposed, that those Iroquois, as we may call them, separated from the rest of the world, whom Julius Cæsar discovered, and Agricola designed to conquer, whose faces were in ancient times exhibited as spectacles of derision, and they employed in the most servile offices—that those *ulimi orbis*, as Horace terms them, should one day become equal, if not superior, to most of the nations in Europe, in power, wealth, and science—that those, who formerly were unacquainted with the most simple branches of husbandry, and lived entirely upon milk and flesh, should now become so refined, their island the Egypt of France, of Spain, and Portugal? Who could have imagined, that a people terrified at the sight of the Italian vessels, should, in the issue, transport to all parts of the world the riches of the Indies, and of their own country, and cover the ocean with their ships of war? How gradual has been the increase of their trade and navigation from the days of Elizabeth to the present period? What will not industry and perseverance achieve? America can boast of natural advantages as well as Great Britain. Let us look to our situation, extent, soil, productions, rivers, and ports. Do we not see an immense source of wealth? Do we not see a country blessed with the means of maintaining an infinite number of people, superior in this respect to any other in the world? Ye citizens of America, be not discouraged. Unite, be industrious, and you must be happy. Reverence yourselves as the sovereigns of an empire, more extensive

than any in ancient history. Leave your murmuring, and come forth, like the patriarch Abraham, and contemplate the stars of heaven, or the sands upon the sea shore: for such shall be the number of your posterity. Remember, as rational beings, to adore and worship the supreme goodness; and as citizens, to love one another, and cultivate the useful arts of life. Then will divine providence make of you a great and mighty nation, and a blessing to all the families upon earth!



Observations and remarks on the putrid malignant sore throat. Written in New Hampshire, anno 1786.

AT a time when a most pestilential and contagious disease is making its progress through a country, marking its way with the most calamitous circumstances, any attempt to investigate the real nature of the disorder, to mitigate its violence, and, if possible, to prevent its destructive effects, is not only in itself laudable, but a duty highly incumbent on those who have the lives of their nearest connections, friends, and neighbours committed to their care. This consideration, alone, has produced the following remarks. They were thrown together, at a late hour, after the fatigues of a busy day, as well for the author's own satisfaction, as the purpose of adopting some concise and regular method of treating a disease that is so rapidly spreading, and in all probability will become general, amongst us. They were shewn to some medical friends, at whose pressing solicitations they are now, with the utmost diffidence, submitted to public inspection.

The author is not unaware that he has laid himself open to criticism and censure; but he will as patiently bear the one, as be regardless of the

other, should he stimulate those of superior abilities, and more extensive medical knowledge, to improve on these imperfect hints, and favour the public with their opinion, that from the united endeavours of all, some effectual method may be obtained to mitigate the violence of so distressing a disease.

The present putrid malignant sore throat, as far as we are able to learn, first made its appearance in Sanford, Coxhall, and several other new settled towns in the upper part of the county of York, and commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the fall of the year 1784, since which it has been slowly spreading, though more rapidly in the back towns than towards the sea coast.

The three last years have not been marked with any remarkable circumstances as to the weather, or state of the air; the two last winters were not uncommonly severe, and the summers have been remarkably temperate; nor has any great degree of dry or moist weather prevailed: a foggy day or night has scarcely been known in any part of the seasons, and more general health never prevailed through the country, excepting in the summer 1784; when puerperal fevers were remarkably common through the country in general, and proved fatal to a great number of women.

Whatever, then, may be the remote or predisposing cause of the present disease, must remain one of those mysteries that baffle human researches. Blindly to puzzle for peccant causes, is oftentimes as futile and absurd, as prescriptions, founded on prejudice and conjecture, are unjustifiable.

The author has had an opportunity of seeing a considerable number under the present disease; he has most attentively marked the symptoms, compared them with the disorders that he thought similar, as described

by a number of authors; he has taken the opinion of some aged, and formerly eminent, practitioners, and on the whole, he is persuaded that the present contagious distemper, is a disease, *sui generis*; it differs from the destructive disorder that formerly prevailed in this country, known by the name of the throat distemper. This was a dreadful disease indeed! much more mortal than the present one, often destroying in a few hours after the attack, while the innocent victim was diverting itself with toys, and its fond parents unsuspecting of danger. Many were suddenly carried off, when no marks of the disease appeared, more than a superficial pustule or small inflamed ulcer, on a finger or toe. He has not seen or heard of any like effects in the present disease; however, it may not be improbable that the former malignant disease may associate with the present one, as they are both disorders of a highly putrid nature: the disposing cause in the air, and constitutional disposition, the habit, may produce them both in the same season; yet out of a very considerable number he has seen, no more than one or two have appeared to have had the real throat distemper. Nor is the present disorder that which often prevails, and is commonly called the scarlet fever. This is most evident, from numbers that are now under the present disease who heretofore have had the scarlet fever, a disorder that has not been known to attack the same persons a second time; besides, an efflorescence always appears in the scarlet fever. Indeed, it is a characteristic of the disease; but, in the present disorder, one third, at least, are free from every appearance of eruption.

The ulcerous sore throat of doctors Huxham, the cynanche maligna of doctor Cullen, are, in many cases, good descriptions of the present disease—but the putrid forethroat of do

Brooks, more accurate; the scarlatina anginosa, of doctor Withering, he has not seen. The present putrid sore throat is contagious, more so with children; frequently with those from twenty to thirty years of age; and those of more advanced life do not always escape. It is a disease of a highly putrid nature; this is most evident from the appearance of the sloughs and ulcers in the throat—the offensive putrid smell of the breath so soon after the patient begins to complain—the petechial spots which in many cases are dispersed over different parts of the body. The attack is often sudden, and the symptoms increase very rapidly; persons have been perfectly well at noon, yet in the evening in the most disagreeable circumstances; a most violent fever, pain, and stiffness in the neck; the uvula and tonsils so swelled as almost to close up the throat. In others, the symptoms advance more slowly, beginning with slight rigours, and sickness; but in all, sooner or later, there is great increased heat, restlessness, difficulty of breathing, with an exceeding full and quick pulse: and very soon the uvula and tonsils, and in some, the whole inside of the throat, will be covered with white, or ash-coloured spots. These enlarge, and become thick sloughs, the tongue exceedingly foul at the basis, and in young subjects, a remarkable drowsiness. All these symptoms increase, and are greatly aggravated towards the evening; on the second or third day an efflorescence of a deep erysipelatous colour appears, more especially on the face, neck, breast, and hands, all which appear to be a little swelled, the fingers more evidently so, and in many tinged in a remarkable manner. If these parts be accurately viewed, an infinite number of small pimples, of an intense scarlet colour, will be perceived: but here, different from other eruptive disorders, the

patient gains no relief, nor are the symptoms the least extenuated, by this large desquamation on the skin: on the contrary, the pain, heat, and anxiety increase; at night, delirium frequently comes on, which generally goes off in the morning, with an abatement of the other symptoms, but returns again with equal violence towards the evening.

The tongue and mouth become more foul; the sloughs in the throat increase so as almost to prevent breathing. These are frequently thrown off in large flakes, and leave deep, painful, and sometimes bleeding ulcers, behind them. From the inside of the nostrils, especially in children, is discharged large quantities of a thin putrid matter, of a most corrosive nature, excoriating whatever it touches. In infants this virulent matter often passes down the œsophagus into the stomach and intestines, bringing on sickness, vomiting, and violent purgings. The fine membrane that lines the larynx, is corroded off; the epiglottis loses its action, by which every thing the child endeavours to swallow, passes the wrong way, as the common phrase is, strangles, and flies back through the nose; a hoarseness and hooping (which, by the by, is generally a fatal symptom, however mild and favourable other appearances may be) comes on, suffocation; and death suddenly takes place. About the 5th day, (sometimes sooner, and sometimes a day later,) all the symptoms become more and more aggravated; the heat, restlessness, difficulty of breathing, and delirium constant;—the pulse small, but excessively quick; the sloughs in the throat thicken, and change to a dark livid colour; the factor from the breath intolerable; the efflorescence on the skin disappears, or becomes of a dark crimson colour, with petechial spots dispersed about on the legs, thighs, and sometimes other

parts of the body; the difficulty of breathing increases; the patient falls into a stupor, and death suddenly closes the scene.

Those who have the disease more favourable, generally have an abatement of all the symptoms on the 4th day; the efflorescence (on those who have it, for, as was before observed, one third of the patients have no appearance of eruption) disappears; the sloughs in the throat separate and come off, and leave ulcers that readily heal;—in some a hardness and tumefaction of the parotid glands remain, in others a dry hoarse cough: These however soon give way to proper remedies.

From a consideration of the foregoing symptoms, we are led to conclude, that the present disorder is a disease of a highly putrid nature, and that the indications of cure are to be sought for, only, in such remedies as may obviate the tendency to putrefaction, quiet the septic ferment in the habit, and support the system. How irrational, then, must be the practice of those who urge the cooling regimen, antiphlogistic remedies, antimonials, mercurial purges, and other evacuates! By these a debility is induced; the vital energy impaired, and the spreading putrefaction greatly encouraged. Has not the great mortality, which has attended this disease in many parts of the country, been, in some measure, owing to the too frequent use of these remedies? Practitioners have been led into a use of these remedies, partly from the violence of the inflammatory symptoms, and partly from a supposition of corrosive humours being retained in the blood, which required correcting: but the humoral pathology seems to be fully exploded; and doctors Cullen, Dickinson, and other modern writers have fully proved, that these symptoms depend on the state of debility, and that stimulating remedies

alone are the cure. Dickinson remarks, that the scarlet appearance of the fauces in the cynanche maligna (the disease under consideration) affords a striking example of this inflammation, where it is universally known that the practice is to support the patient, so rapidly sinking under this dangerous complaint: and he has no doubt but the delirium in fevers is a symptom of debility, and only to be removed by stimulants: and his opinion is confirmed by Odi-er, Geneva, Duncan, Lind, and many other eminent writers. He further observes, that other evacuates, as well as the more debilitating one of blood letting, have likewise been attended with the worst effects. Doctor Lind informs us, that large doses of antimonials, or even smaller ones, too frequently repeated, have sometimes brought on evacuations which have entirely sunk the patient; and doctor Daniel Munro, whose extensive practice no doubt led him to the observation, assures us, that James's powder has frequently done considerable hurt; for he has known instances, where it has been administered in putrid ulcerated sore throats, and in low fevers, and occasioned such a purging as to hasten the patients to their graves.

The tonic, as well as antiseptic powers of the bark, must render it a medicine not only proper, but highly necessary in this disorder.

The virtues of the bark, when taken in substance, in full doses, in putrid disorders, stand unrivalled by all other remedies. But there are many cases, where it appears highly necessary, yet cannot be got down, or the stomach will not retain it; and the disease, now under consideration, affords many instances of this. To obviate this difficulty, we have now a method of conveying into the habit, a sufficient quantity of this noble medicine, by means of a pediluvium, recommend-

ed by doctor Alexander. The salutary effects of this medicine, when used in this way, have been abundantly experienced by practitioners here, in low fevers, and other disorders of a putrid kind. Doctor Percival informs us, that it has been found, that the hand, after being well chafed, will imbibe, in an hour, near an ounce and a half of warm water: and allowing that the surface of the hand is to the whole body, as one to sixty, the absorption of the whole, in the same space of time, would amount to upwards of seven pounds.

The fact, related some time since, in the newspapers, of a British sea-officer, who was wrecked on a desolate island in the West Indies, where no fresh water was to be obtained; that his thirst was sufficiently prevented, or allayed, in that intensely hot climate, by frequently wetting his shirt in the sea, and putting it on, under his other clothes; that he continued in this situation for a long time before relieved, and that the only inconvenience he found, was a fret on the skin, from the incrustation of the salt, when the aqueous particles were absorbed. And the curious fact, related by doctor Chalmers, of a negro man, gibbeted in Charleston, South Carolina, in March, 1759, who had ate nor drank but little, for some time before he was put up; yet he regularly voided, every morning, a large quantity of urine, imbibed by the body from the dews of the evening, and besides this a sufficient quantity to support perspiration by day: and he adds, had these fluids been of a nutritious quality, he might have been kept alive for a considerable length of time.

From these facts, it cannot be doubted that warm water, fully impregnated with the bark, and other antiseptics, may be conveyed into the

body, in very considerable quantities, by the absorbing vessels, and that too with a very good purpose, in all cases, where the bark is required. In disorders, where great putridity prevails, Virginia snake-root, and camomile flowers, may be added to the pediluvium, with a very good intention.

Out of a considerable number who have been visited with this disease in Portsmouth and the neighbouring towns, it has proved fatal in few instances; excepting a boy nine years old, at Kittery, all were infants who have died. They suffered from a defluxion of the putrid matter on the lungs.

On the 17th day of August last, the author had an opportunity of seeing mr. J——n H——ll, of Somersworth, a man naturally of a good constitution, and about 23 years of age. The disease had been some time in the family. It was the eighth day of his sickness, and he then appeared to be just expiring. The circulation had so far ceased that no pulse could be perceived. His countenance was sunk—a cold clammy sweat pervaded the whole body, and he was universally putrid. Early in his sickness a blister had been drawn on one of his arms—The whole limb was tumefied to a surprising degree, and that part where the blister had been laid, had become a dead sphacelus. Yet notwithstanding, he continued twenty four hours after these alarming appearances. What expectations could be had, in any remedies, equal to the sovereign specific virtues of the bark, early pushed to the utmost extent?

This instance is mentioned to shew the very great tendency to putrefaction in this disease.

The author conceives, that he cannot do better, in this place, than transcribe a passage from the late celebrated doctor Fothergill, whose

name and works will be revered as long as gratitude and the love of merit shall continue in the world.

“ The use of the bark, in the cure of this disease (putrid sore throat) was unknown to the early practitioners. It is but of late that this celebrated medicine has been used with freedom in this, as well as in other putrid diseases, and with great advantage.

“ The difficulty of prevailing upon children, afflicted with this distemper, to taste any kind of medicine, put me early on trying the bark in clysters, and sometimes where there seemed very little chance of relieving them by any means. To very young children, two or three drachms of the bark, in fine powder, have been given every six hours, in three or four ounces of broth, as a clyster, adding a small quantity of the *elect. e scordio* to the second or third, if the first was discharged too speedily : and this has saved many, when not a drop of any medicine, and scarcely any kind of nourishment, could be swallowed.

“ Adults may take half a drachm of the powder in an ounce and an half of the decoction, warmed with any grateful compound water, every two or three hours ; taking particular care to prevent any considerable tendency to a diarrhoea, from the use of the medicine. Free, but not cold air, plenty of liquid nutriment, and generous, with constant attention to keep the patients clean, their mouths and throats often washed, and their linen often changed, contribute greatly to the cure of this disease. While their skin is covered with that deep efflorescence, if they are at all sensible, they often complain of the least admission of cold air, and very frequently of much sickness and oppression, if the efflorescence disappears.

“ To favour the eruption, it will always be proper to put those who

are seized with this distemper to bed as early after the seizure as possible, and to give the mild and cordial diaphoretics. And, as a preservative, I have often recommended the bark to be given both in decoction and substance, with the addition of such a quantity of the volatile tincture of guaiacum as may render it gently purgative.”

The author will now take the liberty of communicating the method that has been generally pursued by the practitioners in this place, and which, at present, he believes they find no occasion essentially to alter.

In many cases, the disorder is so mild as to require little more than keeping warm, at bed-time taking a draught of cyder or wine whey, a little sage being previously boiled in the milk ; the mouth and throat may be washed with barley water, rose leaves, and sage tea, with a little vinegar, and as much honey as will leave it agreeably acid.

In cases where the attack is more severe, beginning with sickness and vomiting, it has been thought advisable to encourage it by a few grains of ipecac. or camomile flowers tea. If, after the operation of the medicine, the symptoms do not abate, the following julep will, for the most part, effectually restrain the stomach.

R. sal. absinth. vel tartar. gr. xx. succ. limon. oz. fs. ol. menth. pip. gut. iij. vel. essent. menth. pip. gut. xx. tinct. thebaic. gut. xl. aq. font. oz. ij. M. F. julep.

If the oil of peppermint is used instead of the essence, it should be previously rubbed with a little sugar, and the water added by degrees. A spoonful of this julep, more or less, according to the age and circumstances of the patient, is directed to be taken every hour, until the stomach is quieted. In cases where there is no sickness, or disposition to puking, an emetic has seldom been

prescribed; but rather have directed them to take a spoonful of Menderus' spirit, taking care the acid should predominate, rather than the salt in the preparation of the medicine; and this medicine is continued every four or six hours, as occasion may require, through the disease.

But where the symptoms are more urgent, the tendency to putrefaction great, the sloughs large and thick, and the breath offensive, recourse must be had to more efficacious remedies. Six ounces of bark, four ounces of camomile flowers, and two ounces of Virginia snake root, are directed to be boiled, or rather infused, for four hours, in ten quarts of water, in a close vessel, and the patient to soak his feet and legs in this infusion, made a little more than lukewarm, one hour, at least, morning and evening, and oftener, if the symptoms are alarming. A decoction of bark, snake-root, and camomile flowers, is likewise to be taken once in four or six hours, and the bark freely in substance, if it can be got down. And here it may be observed, that not an instance has been seen, even where a most phlogistic diathesis appeared to prevail, that the symptoms were the least exaggerated from this treatment of the disorder: but on the contrary, the heat and restlessness have abated, a gentle diaphoresis taken place, which is far from being natural in this disease—the skin, in general, being remarkably dry.

In cases, where a delirium comes on in the evening, and the patient has been any time costive, a milk clyster is directed, taking care, if more than one or two stools are procured, (which will sometimes be the case), to restrain the bowels with a proper dose of the *elect. e scordis*, or *pargoric elixir*.

In the evening, when the accession has been very great, and the patient uncommonly restless, it has been

found necessary to give some gentle sedative draught.

With regard to the throat, they are directed to receive the steam of boiling vinegar, honey, and myrrh, into the mouth, through an inverted funnel, or the nose of a coffee-pot: and, where a gargarism can be used, the following one has been found very efficacious, in bringing off the sloughs, and detaching the ulcers.

R. Aq. fontan. oz. vij. mel. com. oz. j. tinct. myrrh oz. ss. Spt. salis marini, q. s. M. F. garg.

Here the quantity of spirit of salt is not mentioned, as this must be regulated by the throat: if the sloughs have separated, and come off, very little can be endured; otherwise, from ten to twenty drops may be found sufficient. The patient need not be anxiously careful to avoid swallowing any of this gargarism: the myrrh, as well as spirit of salt, are powerful antiseptics.

It is with great difficulty that children can be brought to manage either the steam or gargarisms properly, and with infants impossible. Great attention, however, should be paid to the cleansing the nose, mouth, and throat by washings, injections, and every method that can be devised.

It frequently happens, that the parotid glands are much swelled, painful, and hard: in such cases, the following volatile liniment has been used with advantage.

R. Camphor. drachm. ij. ol. amygd. d. vel olivar. oz. ij. Spt. sal. ammoniac. drachm. ij. Misce.

A small quantity of this may be rubbed into the part, afterwards a fermenting cataplasm of milk, beer grounds, or yeast, with oatmeal, may be applied.

As to blisters, a promiscuous use of them is far from being thought advisable. In some languid cases, they may be serviceable; yet the inflammation, painful sloughs, deep

ulcerations, and even mortifications that have taken place, seemed to be more than a counterbalance for all their good effects: but it is impossible to overcome the prejudices of some, and we often find blisters applied without consulting the physician; in such cases, and when any of the above disagreeable appearances take place, the beforementioned cataplasim, with the addition of some onions sliced small and previously boiled in the milk, will be found one of the easiest and best applications.

The author, in September, 1785, attended the wife of Mr. B—j—n R—g—rs, of York. She had the disorder severely indeed; the whole of the tonsils were mortified; a blister had been drawn on the arm and leg. These limbs were swelled to an astonishing degree. No description can give an idea of the pain she suffered in them. The parts where the blisters had been laid, were also mortified; yet, with a constant use of the pedilivium with bark, camomile flowers, and snake-root, the red bark taken freely in substance, and the frequent use of the gargarism before mentioned, she recovered. There was so great a loss of substance in the throat, that she could scarcely utter a word intelligibly; and, for many months, whatever she attempted to swallow, returned as freely by the nose. The mortified blisters separated and came out, leaving the bones nearly bare, and it was some months before they were fully incarnated and healed; and nature has, in a surprising and unexpected manner, overcome the difficulty in her throat.

In cases, where blisters are thought necessary, it has been thought better to apply them to the neck, than on the limbs.

In some cases, the putrid fœtor from the breath, is not only intolerably offensive to the attendants, but to the patients themselves. The fixed

air emitted from the effervescence of chalk, and sharp vinegar, mixed in pretty large quantities in a bowl, and placed near the patient's mouth, will be found very advantageous.

Faintness is frequently a symptom in this disorder. Genuine Madeira wine will be found the best antiseptic cordial that can be taken.

If, after the disorder is gone off, a swelling and hardness of the parotid glands remain, keeping the part warm, frictions with soft flannel, and, in obstinate cases, a small quantity of mercurial ointment rubbed into the part, and a dose or two of calomel, with rhubarb, will remove the complaint.

It has happened with some patients, especially those more advanced in life, that, on the decline of this disorder, they have been attacked with violent pains of the limbs, not unlike those of the rheumatism: and in some few instances, they have so far lost the use of them, as to be unable to stand on their feet, or to make use of their hands. In these cases, the volatile tincture of gum guaiacum, the shavings of the guaiacum, or the saw-dust of the lignum vitæ, which is more readily obtained, has speedily put an end to those complaints.

The cough, and œdematous swelling of limbs, which sometimes remain after the disease, are best removed by a continuance of the bark.

It may be objected by some, that few remedies are proposed. It was not the author's intention to prescribe for every symptom that might arise in this disorder; his endeavour was to point out the real nature and tendency of a disease that has become so general, under so many names and titles; as also to adopt some rational method of cure, instead of the numberless remedies constantly recommended. Indeed, in all cases, more especially in one where so little can be swallowed, a few well

chosen and powerful remedies, are to be preferred to a farrago of insignificant stuff that can serve only to tease the patient and obstinately determine him against every remedy however important and necessary.

The author is sufficiently sensible he has trespassed too much on the public's patience in taking up so much room with a subject altogether professional; he will therefore conclude with the translation of a sentence often prefixed as a motto to performances of this kind: If any one know any thing better, let him candidly impart it; if not, use this with me.

HUMANUS.



*Observations on the bite of a mad dog.
Addressed to the president and members of the medical society in the county of Newhaven.*

Gentlemen,

THE saliva of a mad dog, when mixed with the refluant blood, is known to prove a slow, but a deleterious poison, and unless relieved by art, brings on a train of grievous symptoms, which terminate in death.

The inhabitants of these northern states have not been exposed to the bite of mad dogs, until within the compass of a few years; and for that reason I conclude physicians have not paid proper attention to search after a rational and radical cure.

If you judge the following history worthy to be communicated to the public, you have my liberty to do it in that way, and by those methods, you may think will render it most useful to those who may have the misfortune to be bit by a mad dog. The truth of the facts may be relied upon, and well known in this vicinity.

A mad dog, on the fourth of October, 1786, came from the north part
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of this town, about sixteen miles from the sea. In his course down, he passed through the east part of the town of Guilford, and again entered and passed through this town, on the post road, as far as the west parish of Saybrook, where he was pursued, overtaken, and killed. He attacked, and bit a child, in East Guilford, in the vertebræ of the neck; the wound much lacerated. In this town, he bit a girl about eight or ten years of age, (through her clothes) in her hip: one tooth perforated the skin, and drew blood. In his whole course, of cattle, hogs, dogs, with the children, he wounded the same day to the number of fifteen or sixteen; all the dogs bitten, were killed soon after, except one, which was permitted to run at large until it manifestly shewed symptoms of madness, and was then killed; all the other animals bitten, ran mad, and died, except one sow, which suckled a number of pigs six or eight weeks old. She was bit on the tip end of one ear, which was perforated by one tooth only. Neither the sow nor any of her pigs, were, in any perceptible manner, affected, which, I conceive, was owing to the poison that had passed into the blood, being immediately drawn off by the lacteals, and disseminated among the whole litter of her pigs, before it had contaminated the mass of blood; thus it might not affect either sow or pigs, as it is well known, the most deleterious poison may be taken in so small a dose, as not to injure the animal machine.

I had certain advice, the same day the child was bit at East Guilford, by one who both saw the dog, and the child, soon after it was bit, and again saw the dog as he was passing through this town, and informed he was mad, which was the occasion of his being pursued and killed. Never expecting to have such a case, I had spent but little thoughts on the sub-
G

ject; but had taken so much notice of practical writers on the subject, in the course of my reading, as to think their prescriptions trifling and insignificant. Being anxious for the safety of the children bitten, recollecting I had an abridgment of all the medical cases, that had been read before the royal society, and finding one among others, which I looked upon rational, and which had been successful, so late as the year 1731, which was put into practice by mr. Floyer in consequence of the recommendation of dr. Robert James, who never had made trial of the medicine himself, which was turpeth min: several times repeated. The trial was made first on dogs that were mad; giving for the first dose twelve, the second twenty-four, the third forty-eight grains, and the method succeeded; was afterwards tried on three of the human kind, and succeeded in all three.

Concluding the child bitten, would fall under the care of doctor Todd, a young gentleman who had studied under my care, I immediately wrote him my advice as follows, founded on that intimation given in the philosophical transactions, No. 441, p. 244, which see. I advised him to dress the wound with equal parts of S. nit. and S. marin. finely pulverised—to scarify the wound as much as the part would admit, if necessary, and to fill the wound with it, and likewise to incorporate it with the digestive. Common salt I had experienced of great efficacy in wounds from the bite of dogs not mad, and the addition of S. nit: I took as a hint from the worthy president of your society; and then to give an emet. of turpeth miner: proportioned to the age of the child, so as to puke it three or four times, and to repeat it four or five times, at the distance of 4, 5, or 6 days, taking in the intermediate days, a portion of calomel in theriaca androm. sufficient to purge it two or three times the

next day—the calomel to be taken at night, going to bed, and a draught of canker weed, boiled in milk and water every night. By a canker weed I mean an herb brought into our assembly, by a member some years past, famous for its usefulness in the malignant species of the apthæ, accompanied with the putrid fever, in order to spread its utility throughout the government.

Mr. B. Bartram, the famous botanist of Philadelphia, once shewed me the same plant, and told me it was sovereign in the bite of the rattlesnake, and termed it *prenanthes*, a name, however, I never could find in any botanic writer. By this method carefully attended, the child got well, and remains so to the present time.

I am, gentlemen,
your most obedient servant,
B. G A L E.



*Account of a worm bred in the liver:
Communicated to dr. John Clephane,
by dr. Thomas Bond.*

Philadelphia, May 1, 1754.

Dear sir,

SINCE my last, the following remarkable case has fallen under my observation. Mrs. Holt, a widow lady in this city, was, about eighteen months before her death, affected with a pain in the right side, which, in the beginning, was like the stinging of a bee, or the pricking of a pin. This pain daily increased, and gradually extended until it occupied a great part of the right hypochondriac region. It was first in the side only: but, after some months, was felt alternately in the side and shoulder. Through the whole of her illness, she had intervals of ease: these, towards the latter end of her case, were but short; and the pain was so

increased, that she compared it to a bull-dog gnawing her liver.

After nine or ten months, she thought there was something alive in her side, for, to use her own expression, she said she plainly perceived a tickling, and quirling in it. She rarely felt much uneasiness when in motion, particularly when on horseback; but was most distressed, when lying in bed. She accidentally discovered, that a quick smart blow, struck with an open hand, on the affected place, gave immediate relief, and therefore often called her sister to do it. If the pain was in the side, when relieved by the blow, it was usually felt next in the shoulder; and *vice versa*, if in the shoulder. The same remarkable thing arose from the application of a lixivial poultice to the side, for the space of two weeks, during which time the pain was altogether in the shoulder; but again returned to the side, soon after that medicine was removed.

In the place where the disorder began, which was about five inches from the spine, the ribs were gradually distorted, so as at length to form a considerable gibbosity; the teguments surrounding this part grew sore, the right side became oedematous, and a quantity of fluid matter could plainly be felt under the intercostal muscles.

A month before the patient's decease, the seat of the pain changed; it went in a direct line from the right to the left side; its motion was regular and slow, so that she did from time to time point out its progress. It was four days in passing over; afterwards fixed in the stomach; and was never more felt in the side, where the soreness of the teguments likewise soon abated.

The stomach had hitherto received, retained, and digested the food tolerably well; but was now affected with an incessant heaving and nausea, unless now and then relieved for

a short time by strong opiates, or large draughts of spirituous liquors. There was likewise the same sensation of tickling and quirling in it, that had been before perceived in the side. She had a slight cough from the beginning of the illness: but after the pain came into the stomach, this cough was violent, and she expectorated large quantities of a viscid frothy phlegm. These symptoms all vanished suddenly: and in twenty-four hours after, she voided by stool, the fore part of an annular worm, nine inches long, and an inch in diameter; and in six hours more, the tail and other parts of the body, amounting in the whole to twenty inches in length. It was of a red colour, and filled with blood, in the manner of a leach.

After the worm left the stomach, Mrs. Holt complained that the stomach had fallen down, and seemed very empty, and she entirely lost the power of deglutition; so that she did not survive above forty-eight hours. Whilst the pain continued in the side, she had a considerable degree of flesh and strength remaining, but languished fast after it came into the stomach.

This unhappy gentlewoman was for many months before her death so fully convinced of there being something extraordinary in her case, that she insisted on having her body opened, and the nature of her disease carefully enquired into: which was accordingly done by doctors Kearseley, senior, Shippen, Phineas Bond, and myself, in the presence of many of her friends. We found the liver enlarged, and forced over to the left side, the substance of it harder than common, and in some parts actually schirrous; the gall bladder distended with thick black bile, to the size of a goose egg, the stomach and intestines in a natural state, the liver adhering to the peritonæum. In the external part of the liver under the distortion of the ribs was a large

cavity, containing near two quarts, filled with bloody water, and a few lumps of coagulated blood. The surface of the liver within it, appeared jagged and uneven, as if it had been gnawed: on the side of this cavity, was a chamber, two inches in diameter, and in the bottom of it a passage leading into the hepatic duct; the mouth of this passage was pursed up, and appeared to have been considerably large. On laying open the *duodenum*, we found the perforation of the biliary ducts into it so dilated, as readily to admit the end of a common tallow candle: there was not here or in the neighbouring parts the least tinge of bile, nor did it flow easily by pressure on the gall-bladder, though we could not discover any thing in the passage to obstruct it.

From the above symptoms, and the appearances of the parts on dissection, there seems little room to doubt, that from the time of mrs. Holt's complaining of the pain in the right side, until it moved to the left, this horrid animal had its seat in the cavity we found in the liver; that afterwards it worked its way from thence into the stomach, and there continued till 24 hours before it was voided; and I think we may reasonably conjecture, that, when very small, it was taken into the stomach, and passing over the pylorus, entered the biliary ducts, and pursued one of the branches of them as far as it could go, then formed its bed, and was nourished by sucking the blood, until the morbid state of the juices, or the nauseous applications used externally to her side, made its situation improper; after which it returned through the same passages that had given it admittance.

From the obstruction of the bile in the gall-bladder, and from the contraction of the passage leading from the cystis of the side into the liver, whilst that in the duodenum continued so much enlarged, it is probable the whole of the body of the animal did

not pass into the intestine till after, or at least a short time before its death, which was the cause of the waters remaining in the cavity, and of its body being broken into pieces. The fore part of this worm was thrown away, before I had an opportunity of seeing it; but from the description her sister and the nurse gave of it, and the resemblance the remainder bears to that described by mr. Paisley, in the * *Edinburgh medical essays*, they appear to be exactly of the same kind; I have therefore sent you the tail to supply the defect of his figure.

The likeness of these two animals, and some other cases I have before met with, persuade me that the disorders of the liver, arise more frequently from worms than has been generally suspected; and that the seat of them is commonly on the convex part of it, is probable from what has been observed, that old dogs in America, whose juices have been corrupted by frequent bites of rattle snakes, have large worms in their livers: which are always situated in the same part, where I found that of mrs. Holt. I have seen some of these three feet and an inch long, and near two inches in circumference. The common people believe them to be real snakes, generated by the bite; which unphilosophical notion we may excuse in them, since the learned Bartholin, Bonetus, &c. have imputed the madness and venom of wolves to serpents (of the same kind probably) which they have found in their kidneys.

This case of mrs. Holt, shews that the affections of all parts of the liver are not equally productive of a pain in the shoulder per con-

NOTE.

* *Vide Edinburgh medical essays, p. 288, vol. 2.*

fenfum ; likewise the consent there is betwixt the stomach and lungs. This is, perhaps, one of the most useful parts of medical knowledge. If this animal had luckily gone down the intestinal canal, instead of the course it took, perhaps the patient might have recovered.

I think this worm may justly be called an hepatic leach. If my memory does not deceive me, worms of a considerable size have been found in most parts of the human body, and the same species usually in the same places ; yet many of them remain, till it is too late, *morbi incogniti* ; I think this must be for want of accuracy in observation. Animals of the same kind, and in the same situation, must produce a sameness of effects and symptoms, which might be known to the advantage of the patient, and reputation of the physician. The singularity of this case gave me great perplexity : it was first considered as an obstruction of the liver, and deobstruents prescribed ; the gentler failing, recourse was had to a ptyalism raised by the *unguentum cæruleum* rubbed over the part, mercurial plaisters, and small doses of calomel by the mouth. Towards the end of this course, the worm was scarcely felt for some weeks. When we perceived matter under the intercostal muscles, we advised laying the part open, but the patient would not submit to it.

I am, &c.

THOMAS BOND.

Letter from mrs. Holt's sister, to Benjamin Franklin, esquire, describing the same case.

Philadelphia, April 12, 1755.

Sir,

I Will give you as exact a description of my sister's case as I can.

First she complained of a slow fever, and then of sudden stitches in her side, which she would compare to the prick of a pin ; and would slap her side with her hand, which never failed to give her relief for some time. She then began to complain of a pain in her shoulder, and that would be more violent, and last longer ; the pains increasing and being more frequent, she would say it was just like the sting of a bee. Afterwards she began to complain of a pain under her shoulder, just below the shoulder blade. She said it had formed itself into three points : it was always worst in the night. This was her case for about ten months : her pains then began to be violent, and she would scream out, and would beg me to pound her back, or shoulder, which I did for ten or fifteen minutes at a time, and slapped her side. I then spoke to dr. T. Bond. He advised her to ride ; but she was at that time so ill, that she could neither sit up nor lie down half an hour together, and said it was impossible for her to sit on horseback, and that it would kill her : the doctor insisted upon it ; and she to please us (as she said) would try. She had hardly gone out of town, before she found a great alteration for the better ; and before she reached Frankfort, was perfectly easy. She went to Trenton that day ; to Princeton the next ; and continued riding three weeks every day ; came home, as she thought, in perfect health, and continued so for two weeks. She was then taken with a violent pain in her side. Doctor Bond ordered her to be let blood, which was done immediately, but to no purpose. She was then blistered, but all in vain, her pains still increasing. She was then put under a course of physic, but still to no purpose. It

would be too tedious to relate all the medicines that were applied

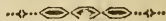
She next complained of a quirling pain, that would last three or four hours with the utmost violence; and nothing would relieve her but strong anodynes; and, when their force was over, she would be waked with a violent pain under her shoulder, which she could compare to nothing but a great bull dog tearing her liver. She would lie, to all appearance, in the agonies of death, five or six hours, without the least intermission, until she took another anodyne.

She then began to swell; first her feet, then her legs, and at length her whole body, except her hands and arms: but there was one spot under her shoulder, that might be covered with a hand, more puffed than any other part, and extremely sore: her soreness was very great from head to foot; but she said it pointed at that spot. We used divers poultices; one of which was made of rye meal, honey, and Castile soap, and it had not been on half an hour, before the pain left that spot, and she said it was the best poultice she ever had. She lay tolerably easy for about half an hour, and then began to scream out with a violent drawing pain at the bottom of the small ribs; and said the pains were drawing over to the left side. She said it was a drawing pain at the small ribs, and a tickling pain at her back; at the same time, all who saw her, judged her to be in the agonies of death. The doctor, at my request, gave her an anodyne, which relieved her for a few hours. It was about four o'clock when she took this anodyne: at eleven she took another, and at eight next morning she took a third. She continued in this agony for three days, when

all at once she screamed out, and said the quirling pain was got into her stomach—called for all her friends, and took leave of them in a most affectionate manner. She herself, and all present, expected her last moment was at hand. The agonies she was in, cannot be expressed. From that time nothing would stay on her stomach, except strong brandy, or Geneva punch; and nothing would give any tolerable ease except strong anodynes. She has taken two and three hundred drops in a day, which had no other effect, but to enable her to converse with her friends. For about three weeks she continued in this constant agony, and then felt a sudden change; and calling to her nurse, asked if she did not perceive an alteration. She said yes, but that she hoped it was for the better. My sister said, she hoped so too, but said it was for death: for the quirling pain was gone, her swallow was gone with it also; and her stomach was closed, but felt no pain. This was about two o'clock on Thursday morning; and at eleven in the forenoon she voided, by stool, the first part of the worm, and about four in the afternoon, that part which you saw.

I am, sir, &c.

SARAH BROWNE.



On the cultivation of trees.

HE who considers the importance of ship-building to this country, how greatly the quantity of timber has been reduced therein, and that fifty years are necessary to the production of a tree of sufficient size for making ship-timber and planks, will acknowledge the propriety of appropriating to the growth of trees a greater part of our lands, than are now reserved for that purpose. This is a measure not only indispensable,

if we intend to lay a foundation by which the next generation may avail themselves of a marine, but it is so as it relates to the article of fuel.

If we, who must soon leave the stage to others, sincerely mean to evince, by the most unequivocal arguments, the truth of what we are fond of believing ourselves, and also of persuading others to believe—that the anxiety we discover, in age, for the things of the world, arises principally from a desire to promote the interest of the next generation—let us, then, as often as we hobble abroad upon our farms, amuse ourselves by sowing the acorn, and the most useful seeds, though we should not expect to reap the fruits, or even see the plants spring up.

The cultivation of groves is of importance, not only as thereby we shall obtain a supply of fuel, and timber for ships and other buildings; but it is supposed, by naturalists, that groves, upon our high lands especially, would have a tendency to attract the clouds, and that the earth, which often suffers from the drought, would be more frequently watered in the heat of summer.

There are a great many acres of land, used for grazing, which will not keep more than one sheep to an acre, for which only three shillings a year are paid. If on every acre of those lands, there were transplanted one hundred and sixty oaks—one to a rod—(transplanted, I say—because, if you do that, they will not be injured by the sheep, nor will they, for a number of years, lessen the feed; when that shall be the case, the acorns, for swine, will be of more value than was the grass before the trees were put out)—I say if this number of trees were put out, and they should succeed well, at the end of forty years the land will be of five times the value it was before;

and all the expence of raising them will not exceed six dollars. How evidently, then, is it for our interest, to fill all our broken and rough lands with trees?



*To make cyder of early or late fruit,
that will keep any length of time
without the trouble of frequently
drawing off.*

TAKE the largest cask you have on your farm, from a barrel upwards; put a few sticks in the bottom in the manner that housewives set a lye-cask, so as to raise a vacancy of two or three inches from the bottom of the cask; then lay over these sticks, either a clean old blanket, or, if that be not at hand, a quantity of the swinglings of flax, so as to make a coat of about a quarter of an inch thick when it is well pressed down; then put in so much clean washed sand, from a beach or road, as will cover about six or eight inches in depth of your vessel; pass all your cyder from the press through a table-cloth suspended by the corners, which will take out the pumice; and pour the liquor gently upon the sand, through which it must be suffered to filter gradually; and as it runs off by a tap inserted in your vessel in the vacancy made by the sticks at the bottom, it will be found, by this easy method, as clear as cyder can be expected, after the most laborious process of refining; and all the mucilaginous matter, which causes the fermentation and scouring of cyder, will be so separated as to prevent that disagreeable consequence.

N. B. Other methods may easily be invented of passing the cyder through the sand, which is the only essential part of the above process.

Remarks on planting potatoes under straw, weeds, &c.

Mr. Printer,

I Have frequently seen potatoes planted on the top of a piece of grass-ground, nine inches distance from each other, and then covered with new or old wheat, rye, oat, buckwheat, or pease straw, salt hay, sea and rock weed, and various other matters of this kind, about twelve inches thick ; this covering forms a proper defence from the sun and weather, and by closely uniting with the grass below, has formed a proper place for the potatoes to grow in ; in a method which produces as many, as large, and as excellent as in any other manner that we practise in America ; when thus covered, they require no attendance until the time of gathering them in the fall ; this is done by raising the straw, &c. with a fork ; then we find the potatoes covering the whole of the ground, without any necessity of digging for them, because none have entered the earth.

Early potatoes may be raised, and taken during the summer, without injury or loss, to such small ones as are destroyed by pulling the tops from the earth in the hills or rows.

In this method, by covering them upon mould prepared as a hot-bed, they are raised with great rapidity.

Where this straw, &c. cannot be procured in sufficiency, the bark taken from the tanners' vats will assist as a laying upon six inches of straw.

The straw or sea-weed covering may be dried and stacked or housed for a next year's crop, and then will be properly prepared for being turned into the earth as an excellent refreshment of manure, and enriching the ground for a future course of crops.

Receipt for preventing the flies from damaging the seedling leaves of turnips, cabbages, and other vegetables, for less than sixpence per acre expence.

MIX one ounce of flour of brimstone with three pounds of turnip-seed daily, for three days successively, in an earthen glazed pot, and keep it covered close, stirring it together well at each fresh addition, that the seed may be the more impregnated with the sulphur ; then sow it as usual on an acre of ground ; and let the weather happen wet or dry, it will keep the fly off till the third or fourth seedling leaf is formed ; and by this time, they will be somewhat bitterish, and consequently much out of danger of this little black flying insect, which in summer may be seen sometimes in swarms on the wing near the ground, searching for and settling on the fresh bites, till they ruin thousands of acres in some seasons, by lying and residing under the little clots of earth at night, and during the day following.



On the culture of ginseng.

COMPLAINTS have lately prevailed of ginseng arriving at the East Indies in a ruined state. This evil, if not remedied, may injure America in this important article of remittance. Should the matter be neglected, and the article continue to be badly cured, it will meet the condemnation of the Chinese mandarins.

The merchants in many instances advertise, that they want to purchase ginseng, but it must have a yellow colour. This is a mistake ; as it may look yellow, and yet be very poor.

The question is, when and how it should be collected ?

It ought to be collected in the dri-

est days of October, and should have no connexion with the heat of the sun or fire, or be washed.

Ginseng is an aromatic : and its virtues are easily evaporated, after it comes out of the ground, if improperly used. I have seen the Indians laugh at the folly of the white people when they have seen them in the brooks washing their ginseng. The reason why they wash it, is to make it look of a yellow colour, but the virtues of the root so strongly impregnate the water that it may be tasted many rods distant. After washing the root, people generally expose it to the sun or fire, which scalds the skin, and when it feels dry, it is packed up ; but the watry particles left within, will soon occasion it to sweat, mould and spoil.

The root, immediately after it comes out of the ground, should be spread on boards, under a shelter where the wind can blow freely, and when dry the dust can be brushed off. When one barrel is put up so, it will fetch more than fifty barrels cured the other way.



Resolves of the house of delegates of the commonwealth of Virginia.

Tuesday, November 6, 1787.

RESOLVED, that the importation of rum into this commonwealth, ought to be prohibited from and after the day of next.

Resolved, that the importation of all foreign malt liquors, ought to be prohibited from and after the day of next.

Resolved, that the importation of brandies and other spirituous liquors extracted from materials not the growth, manufacture or production of any part of the united states, ought to be prohibited from and after the day of next.

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Resolved, that a duty or tax of ought to be imposed on all bar iron and iron castings, imported into this commonwealth, not being the produce of any place within the united states.

Resolved, that a tax, or duty of per bushel, on all coal imported into this commonwealth, not the produce of any of the united states, ought to be imposed.

Resolved, that a tax, or duty of on all hempen ropes and cordage, not the produce of the united states, imported into this commonwealth, ought to be imposed.

Resolved, that a tax, or duty of ought to be imposed on all raw hemp, not being the growth or produce of any of the united states, which shall be imported into this commonwealth.

Resolved, that the importation of cheese, butter, pork, tallow, and tallow candles, into this commonwealth, which are not the produce of the united states, ought to be prohibited.

Monday, November 12, 1787.

RESOLVED, that the free use and navigation of the western streams and rivers of this commonwealth, and of the waters leading to the sea, do of right appertain to the citizens thereof ; and ought to be considered as guaranteed to them by the laws of God and nature, as well as compact.

Resolved, that every attempt, in congress, or elsewhere, to barter away such right, ought to be considered as subversive of justice, good faith, and the great foundations of moral rectitude, and particularly destructive to the principles which gave birth to the late revolution, as well as strongly repugnant to all confidence in the federal government,

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and destructive to its peace, safety, happiness, and duration.

Resolved, that a committee ought to be appointed, to prepare instructions to the delegates representing this state in the congress of the united states, to the above purport; and to move that honourable body to pass an act acknowledging the rights of this state, and that it transcends their power to cede or suspend them; and desiring the said delegates to lay before the general assembly such transactions as have taken place, respecting the cession of the western navigation.

Saturday, November 17, 1787.

RESOLVED, that all and every act or acts of assembly, now in force in this commonwealth, repugnant to the treaty of peace with Great Britain, or any article thereof, ought to be repealed; but the operation of this law shall be suspended, until the executive shall be informed by congress, that the other states in the union have passed similar laws of repeal.



Resolves of Congress,

October 12, 1787.

ON a report of the board of treasury, to whom was referred a memorial of the Canadian refugees on Lake Champlain, praying for a continuance of the supply of public provisions:

Resolved, that such of the aged and infirm among the said Canadians as may not be able to provide for the subsistence of themselves and families, be supplied for the space of twelve months, with rations at the public expence (excepting the articles of rum, soap and candles) agreeably to such a return of persons coming

under the above description, as shall be made to the board of treasury, by the secretary at war.

October 22, 1787.

RESOLVED, that a million of acres of land, to be bounded east by the seventh range of townships, south by the land contracted for by Cutler and Sargent, and to extend north as far as the range of townships, and westward so far as to include the above quantity; also, a tract to be bounded as follows, beginning at the mouth of the river Ohio, thence up the Mississippi to the river Au Vause; thence up the same until it meets a west line from the mouth of the Little Wabash; thence easterly with the said west line to the Great Wabash; thence down the same to the Ohio, and thence with the Ohio to the place of beginning, be reserved and set apart for the purpose of satisfying the military bounties due to the late army, and that no locations, other than for the said bounties, be permitted within the said tract, until they shall be fully satisfied.

That the secretary at war take measures for ascertaining the existing claims for such bounties, and that the geographer proceed to have the same surveyed under the direction of the secretary at war, agreeably to the terms upon which they have been promised.

October 23, 1787.

ON the report of a committee, consisting of mr. Kean, mr. Clark and mr. Grayson, to whom were referred draughts of commissions for the governor, the secretary, and the judges, of the territory of the United States, north-west of the river Ohio:

Resolved, that the following be adopted.

For the governor.

The united states in congress assembled, to Arthur St. Clair, Esq.

WE, reposing special trust and confidence in your integrity, prudence and ability, have constituted and appointed, and by these presents, do constitute and appoint you the said Arthur St. Clair, governor, in, and over the territories of the united states of America, north-west of the river Ohio, and commander in chief of the militia therein; to order, rule, and govern the same, conformably to the ordinance of the 13th July, 1787, entitled, "An ordinance * for the government of the territory of the united states, north west of the river Ohio," which is hereto affixed: And we do hereby give, and grant, to you, the said Arthur St. Clair, all the powers, authorities, and prerogatives assigned to the governor of the said territory, in, and by the said ordinance. And we do strictly enjoin all persons to pay due obedience to this our commission. This commission to take effect, from the first day of February 1788, and to continue in force, for the term of three years, thereafter, unless sooner revoked by congress. In testimony, &c.

[The commissions for the secretary and judges are nearly similar with the foregoing.]

...

Resolution of the convention of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

December 15, 1787.

RESOLVED, that when the constitution, proposed by the late general convention, shall

NOTE.

* For this ordinance, see page 188.

have been organized, this commonwealth will cede to the congress of the united states, the jurisdiction over any place in Pennsylvania, not exceeding ten miles square, which, with the consent of the inhabitants, the congress may choose for the seat of the government of the united states, excepting only the city of Philadelphia, the district of Southwark, and that part of the Northern Liberties, included within a line running parallel with Vine-street, at the distance of one mile northward thereof, from the river Schuylkill to the southern side of the main branch of Cohocksink creek; thence down the said creek to its junction with the river Delaware. But the marsh land and so much of the adjoining bank, on the same side of the said creek, as shall be necessary for the erecting any dams and works to command the water thereof, are excluded from this exception.

Resolved, that it is the opinion of this convention, that until the congress shall have made their election of a district, for the place of their permanent residence, and provided buildings for their accommodation, they have the use of such of the public buildings within the city of Philadelphia, or any other part of this state, as they shall find necessary.

...

Resolution of the supreme executive council of Pennsylvania.

November 14, 1787.

RESOLVED, that within five weeks after the election of president and vice-president, the council shall annually examine into the conduct of all officers of government, whose appointments are in the power of council, and likewise make enquiry respecting the circumstances of their respective bail, in order to re-

move those officers who may appear negligent or unfaithful in the discharge of their duty, and to remedy any defects that may appear respecting their sureties; and that the secretary of council be annually appointed the eighth day after the election of the president and vice-president; and that the resolution of the 12th of April be rescinded.

Extract from the minutes,
CHARLES BIDDLE, sec'y.



Resolution of the house of delegates of the state of Maryland, Nov. 23, 1787.

RESOLVED, that the honourable James M^cHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll, John Francis Mercer, and Luther Martin, esquires, deputies from this state to the late convention, be requested to attend this house on Thursday the 29th instant, to give this house information of the proceedings of the said convention.

By order,

W. HARWOOD, C. H. D.



Letters relative to the incursions and depredations of the Indians in the state of Georgia.

I.

Letter from the hon. John Sevier, esq. governor of the state of Franklin, to the hon. George Matthews, esq. governor of the state of Georgia, dated, Mount Pleasant, Aug. 30, 1787.

RESPECTING the conduct of the Creeks, I think it extraordinary, indeed, that they should have the insolence to demand any white person, as a retaliation, when it is notoriously known, that they were the first aggressors; and that they have frequently and indiscrimi-

minately murdered our good citizens for many months past.

The two enclosed letters, from colonels Robertson and Bledsoe, will inform you of the many murders committed in that country by the Creeks; also of the fate of captain Davenport, and some others, in the Chickesaw nation. From past experience, I believe, every overture, made by that perfidious nation, the Creeks, is intended for a deception.

The state of Georgia may be convinced, that we will encounter every difficulty, in order to raise a formidable force, to act in conjunction with your army, in case of a campaign.

We have lately been informed from Virginia, that a number of gentlemen in that state are ready to join us as volunteers.

Our assembly sat but a few days, and adjourned to the seventeenth of September. They ordered four hundred men to be raised, for the defence of our frontiers.

II.

Letter from col. Robertson to the governor of the state of Franklin, dated Nashville, August 1, 1787.

BY accounts from the Chickesaws, we are informed, that at a grand council held in the Creek nation, it was unanimously determined to do their utmost, this fall, to cut off [the inhabitants of] this country: and we expect the Cherokees have joined them.

On the fifth of July, a party of Creeks killed captain Davenport, agent for Georgia, and three more, in the Chickesaw nation, wounded three, and took one prisoner; which the Chickesaws are not able to resent for want of ammunition.

The people are drawing together in large stations, and do every thing necessary for their defence: but I fear, without some timely assistance, we shall chiefly fall a sacrifice. Am-

munition is very scarce, and a Chickesaw now here, tells us, that they imagine to reduce our station by killing our cattle, &c. and starve us out.

We expect they are now on their way to this country to the number of a thousand.

III.

Letter from col. Bledsoe, to the governor of the state of Franklin, dated Summer county, August 5, 1787.

THE savages are daily committing the most cruel outrages. Poor major Hall, and his eldest son, fell a sacrifice to their fury, two days ago, near Bledsoe's Lick. They have killed about twenty-four persons in the course of a few months, in this settlement, besides a number more near it.

IV.

Letter from general Cooke, to the governor of Georgia, dated Mulberry-Grove, (state of Franklin), June 25, 1787.

WHEN I take a view of the local and political situation of this country, I conceive the interest of your state, so far as respects Indian affairs, almost inseparable from the safety and happiness of this country. I am certain, every thing to serve your state, or its interest, will be done by the people of Franklin. General Kennedy, I imagine, will be able to raise 1000 or 1500 men, as volunteers: and I think I can raise a like number. An army of two or three thousand men will be quite sufficient to march through any of their towns. I hope the Indians have not been so successful in our state, as the Cherokees report. The accounts from that nation are, that the Creeks have killed twenty-five families without the loss of a man. I have ordered the different colonels

under my command, to hold themselves in readiness, to march when necessity shall require it.

V.

Copy of a letter from general Clarke, to his honour the governor of the state of Georgia.

Long Creek, September 24, 1787.

SIR,

YOUR favour of the nineteenth inst. I have received, and am informed, that the arms and ammunition mentioned, have arrived at Washington.

I had certain information, that a man was killed on the fourteenth, near Greensborough, by a party of six or seven Indians; and that on the sixteenth, colonel Barber, with a small party, was waylaid by fifty or sixty Indians, and wounded, and three of his party killed. This, and the information contained in mr. Barnard's last letter, and a variety of other accounts equally alarming, determined me to raise what men I could in the course of 24 hours, and march with them to protect the frontiers; in which space of time I collected 160 men, chiefly volunteers, and proceeded to the place where col. Barber had been attacked; there I found the bodies of the three men mentioned above, mangled in a shocking manner; and after I had buried them, proceeded on the trail of the murderers, as far as the south fork of the Oakmulgee, where, finding I had no chance of overtaking them, I left it, and went up the said river, until I met with a fresh trail of Indians coming towards the frontier settlements. I immediately turned, and followed this trail until the morning of the 21st, between 11 and 12 o'clock, when I came up with them. They had just crossed a branch called Jack's creek, through a thick cane-brake; and were encamped and cooking on an eminence. My force then consisted

of 130 men, 30 having been sent back, on account of their horses being tired and lost. I drew up my men in three divisions, the right commanded by col. Freeman, the left by major Clarke, and the middle by myself. Col. Freeman and major Clarke were ordered to surround and charge the Indians, which they did with such dexterity and spirit, that they immediately drove them from their encampment back into the cane-brake, where, finding it impossible for them to escape, they obstinately returned our fire until half past four o'clock, when they ceased, except now and then a shot.

During the latter part of the action, they seized every opportunity of escaping by small parties, leaving the rest to shift for themselves. About sunset, I thought it most advisable to draw off, as the men had suffered for want of provisions nearly two days, and for want of water during the action, but more particularly to take care of the wounded, which amounted to 11, and 6 killed. From every circumstance I am certain there were not less than 25 Indians killed, and am induced to suppose that could I have staid all night, I must have found 40 or 50 dead of their wounds by the morning:—In short, they were totally defeated, with the loss of their provisions, clothing, &c. consisting of the following particulars:—Two guns, 32 brass kettles, and 87 large packs, containing blankets, match coats, boots, moccasins, tomahawks, pipes, upwards of 100 halters and bridles, &c. from all which I judge their number was fully equal to ours. Col. Freeman and major Clarke distinguished themselves, and, from the spirit and bravery with which the whole of my little party acted during the action, I do not believe that had

we met them in the open woods, we should have been more than five minutes in giving them a total overthrow.

While I was on this excursion, two skirmishes happened near Greenborough, in one of which one man was wounded, and in the other six stand of arms were lost, being guarded by only two men, while the rest of the party were gathering fodder.

Should there not be a house made, I flatter myself you will afford the back country all the support in your power. Indeed I cannot proceed much farther without your assistance; the general scarcity of provisions in this part of the state points out the necessity of supplies from below; indeed men cannot be drawn out without it; the delays that this would occasion, would be fatal to the frontiers. Had I not fallen in with that chosen party of Indians, every circumstance bespeaks their design to distress the back settlers, and I think that Allen's mill, or lower, would by this time have become a frontier settlement; and I am convinced, that if the back settlers once break, they will not stop with us.

I have now to beg your attention to the unfortunate wounded, who are at Read's Fort. A doctor, some wine, tea, coffee, and sugar, are indispensably necessary.

I shall expect an answer to this as soon as possible; and should wish to be informed of the probability of a house being made, if that event should not already have taken place. I think that the necessity of activity on, and attention to, our frontiers, will prevent my attendance, should the house convene.

I am, sir, &c.

E. CLARKE, brig. gen.

The hon. George Mathews,
esq. governor of Georgia.

VI.

A letter from major Elholm, to the hon. major general Moultrie, dated, Augusta, state of Georgia, November 11, 1787.

THE savages are daily committing new marks of cruelties on the inhabitants of this state, shocking to humanity. The other day, they tortured a prisoner as long as they could contrive to give pain to human nature, and then left the unfortunate victim with a stake drove through the bowels.

Every possible preparation to bring the Creeks to justice, is made: and one half of the militia immediately ordered into the field—recruiting officers industriously engaged in raising four regiments, consisting of 750 men each—and I am informed with great success. I have engaged (authorised by my fellow citizens for that purpose) for Franklin, to act in concert with 1500 Franks, with the movements of the state of Georgia, and to be commanded by a general of their own, to the west of the mountains.

A commissioner is to be sent to the Spanish governors, to request of that government not to assist our common enemy with any arms or ammunition, &c.



Letter from the hon. William Pierce, Esq. to Don Diego de Gardoqui, encargado de negocios of Spain.

New York, September 3, 1787.

Dear sir,

I Spoke to you some time ago, respecting a complaint made by many people in Georgia, against the inhabitants of East Florida, for protecting and refusing to deliver up certain runaway negroes, belonging to some of the citizens of that state.

I, at that time, was not sufficiently informed of the circumstances, to address you in my public capacity: but since then, I have seen a letter from our chief justice Osborne, and a presentment of the grand jury of Camden county, (a copy of which I enclose) that make it proper I should ask your attention to the correction of an abuse, which, if not timely checked, may interrupt that harmony that ought to prevail between Spain and the united states.

There are certain abuses, which nations, contiguous to each other, are ever liable to, and ought by both parties to be carefully watched over, and guarded against as much as possible.

I know full well your good disposition to preserve a good understanding between the two nations, and the alacrity with which you would undertake any thing not inconsistent with the interest and dignity of your own country, to prevent any unfriendly or unneighbourly act taking place between the subjects of his catholic majesty and the citizens of any part of our republic.

Under this persuasion I am led to hope, that you will employ the earliest opportunity to make such information to the department where the evil can soonest be checked, as you may think adviseable; and that through your interference every cause of complaint may be removed.

I have the honour to be, sir, with very much esteem and respect, your most obedient and very humble servant,

WILLIAM PIERCE.

His excellency Don Diego de Gardoqui, encargado de negocios of Spain.

Reply to the preceding letter.

New-York, Dec. 24, 1787.

DEAR SIR,

BY my secretary I informed you of my sudden departure for Phi-

Philadelphia, which deprived me of answering your esteemed [favour of the] third instant as soon as I wished.

I now do it, assuring you that nothing will give me greater pleasure, than that of contributing to the harmony, welfare, and perfect good understanding of your states and my country.

I have the extract of the presentments you enclosed me, but give me leave to tell you that I have now by me the same sort of complaints, from our governor at Augustine, and even of a stronger nature—of two of our sailors being detained on your side, and refusing to deliver them up. Such, and many others, may be expected on both sides, from want of a good arrangement of all matters between the two nations.

I came to this country for this laudable purpose; I have been in it two years and an half, and you must be well informed that no delay has been occasioned by me.

I shall, however, make with pleasure the proper use of your letter and extract, to bring our commander on your frontiers to the most friendly understanding with your state, and shall feel happy if my interference removes every cause of complaint.

I have the honour to be, with great esteem and regard, dear sir, your most obedient and most humble servant.

JAMES GARDOQUI.

Hon. William Pierce, Esq.



At a meeting of the wardens, vestry, and other members of the episcopal church, in Providence, R. I. on Monday the 12th of November, 1787.

VOTED unanimously, that we conceive it to be the indispensable duty of all churches, carefully to watch and superintend the conduct of its members; and in case of violations

of the precepts of morality, and revealed religion, privately in the first instance to admonish; and if the offender prove refractory and irreclaimable, then to proceed to public censure. This opinion is founded in reason, in revelation, and on the immemorial usage and practice of all christian churches, since the first establishment of christianity. In conformity, therefore, to this necessary and useful part of our discipline, we are obliged to proceed to the public censure and excommunication of David Brown, of Johnston, in the county of Providence, yeoman, a member of this church; whose conduct in attempting to discharge an honest debt, due to John Clifford, in specie, with one-sixth part of its value, is the immediate subject of our present animadversion; and has led us to this public vindication of our church discipline.—The fulfilling of agreements, voluntarily entered into, with honesty and good faith, is enjoined by the clearest principles of reason, and the express commands of our most holy religion—and the obligations arising from these laws are superior to, and not releasable by, any municipal statute or institution whatever.—The conduct of the said David, in the above transaction, appearing to us highly culpable, private admonition hath been tried, but unfortunately without success.—For the vindication, therefore, of the church, and to deter others from committing the like offences, and with the hope of still reclaiming our offending brother, we do declare, that his aforesaid conduct is a scandalous breach of the laws of our most holy religion, and directly opposite to the most obvious principles of morality.—We do therefore hereby manifest our disapprobation, by thus publicly censuring our said brother.

Voted, that the clerk of the vestry do enter the above vote and declaration of this meeting in the pub-

lic register book of the church, and that the same be published.

Attest. JOHN INNES CLARK } War-
METCALF BOWLER } dens.



Address of the inhabitants of Northampton (Massachusetts) to the hon. Caleb Strong, esq. and mr. Benjamin Sheldon, their delegates in the state convention, appointed to decide upon the proposed federal constitution.

GENTLEMEN,

IN conformity to a resolution of the general court, passed the 25th of October last, we have delegated you to meet in state convention, on the second Wednesday of January next, for the purpose of adopting or rejecting the reported constitution, for the united states of America.

The object of your mission, gentlemen, is of the highest magnitude in human affairs—every step we take in the progress of our examination, evinces, that it is too important, complicated, and extensive, to be hastily decided upon—much time, and unwearied application, are requisite in order thoroughly to investigate it: The civil dignity and prosperity of this state, of the united states, and perhaps of humanity, are suspended on the decision of this momentous question: and we wish you, gentlemen, patiently to hear, and attentively to examine, every argument that shall be offered for and against its adoption—be not unduly influenced by any local consideration—let your minds be impressed with the necessity of having an equal, energetic, federal government—it is the welfare and dignity of the union, as well as of Massachusetts, that you are to consult—and while you are tenacious of the rights and privileges of the people, be not afraid to delegate to the federal government such powers as are absolutely necessary for advancing and

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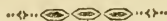
maintaining our national honour and happiness.

But, gentlemen, we mean not to give you positive instructions relative to your voting for or against the reported constitution.—When assembled, you will have the collected wisdom of the state before you; will hear all that can be said on the subject, and consequently be able to form a judicious opinion: and having the fullest confidence in your political wisdom, integrity and patriotism, we cheerfully, on our part, submit the all-important question to your decision—and we beseech the allwise Governor of the world, to take the convention under his holy influence, that so the result may be, the best good of the people of the united states of America.

(Copy)—Attested by

ELIJAH HUNT, T. Clerk.

Northampton, Nov. 24th, 1787.



Resolution of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh.

AT a meeting of the inhabitants of Pittsburgh, November 9th, 1787, for the special purpose of taking the sense of this town with respect to the system of confederate government, proposed by the late convention at Philadelphia:

General John Gibson, in the chair:

It was considered, that having had an opportunity of hearing on both sides the strictures which have been made upon this system of government, in conversation, in the gazettes, and in other writings, on mature deliberation, we are of opinion it is the result of much political wisdom, good sense, and candour in those who framed it; that we have no reason to expect any thing better from any other body of men assembled in convention; that from the necessity of mutual concession with the different states, it is

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not probable that any thing more equal could be formed ; that our prosperity depends on our speedy adoption of some mode of government more efficient than that which we now possess ; that of all people it becomes us of the western country more especially to desire an object of this kind, as, from the weakness of congress to take proper measures with the court of Spain and Britain, we are on the one hand deprived of the advantages of the Mississippi trade, which is our natural right, and on the other are liable to the incursions of the savages, the posts on the lakes not being yet delivered up according to treaty.

Resolved therefore unanimously, that it is our ardent wish and hope that this system of government may be speedily adopted.

Signed by order of the meeting,

JOHN GIBSON, Chairman.

Ratification of the new federal constitution, unanimously agreed to by the convention of the state of Delaware, which met at Dover, on the third day of December, 1787.

WE, the deputies of the people of the Delaware state, in convention met, having taken into our serious consideration, the federal constitution, proposed and agreed upon by the deputies of the united states, in a general convention, held at the city of Philadelphia, on the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, have approved, assented to, ratified, and confirmed, and by these presents do, in virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, for, and in behalf of ourselves and our constituents, fully, freely, and entirely ap-

prove of, assent to, ratify and confirm the said constitution.

Done in convention, the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven.

[New Jersey has also unanimously ratified the new constitution, in terms nearly similar to the foregoing.]

Ratification of the new federal constitution, agreed to by the convention of the state of Pennsylvania, which met in Philadelphia, on the 28th day of November, 1787, and continued by adjournments to the 13th day of the following month. [Annexed to the new constitution].

In the name of the people of Pennsylvania :

BE it known unto all men, that we, the delegates of the people of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in general convention assembled, have assented to, and ratified, and by these presents do, in the name, and by the authority of the same people, and for ourselves, assent to, and ratify the foregoing constitution for the united states of America.

Done in convention, the twelfth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the united states of America, the twelfth.

On the question to agree to the above ratification, the yeas and nays were as follow :

Y E A S.

George Latimer,	Jacob Hubley,
Benjamin Rush,	Jasper Yates,
Hillary Baker,	Henry Slagle,
James Wilson,	Thomas Campbell,

<i>Thomas McKean,</i>	<i>Thomas Hartley,</i>
<i>William McPherson,</i>	<i>David Grier,</i>
<i>John Hunn,</i>	<i>John Black,</i>
<i>George Gray,</i>	<i>Benjamin Pedan,</i>
<i>Samuel Ashmead</i>	<i>John Arndt,</i>
<i>Enoch Edwards,</i>	<i>Stephen Ballint,</i>
<i>Henry Wynkoop,</i>	<i>Joseph Horsfield,</i>
<i>John Barclay,</i>	<i>David Desbler,</i>
<i>Thomas Yardly,</i>	<i>William Wilson,</i>
<i>Abraham Stout,</i>	<i>John Boyd,</i>
<i>Thomas Bull,</i>	<i>Thomas Scott,</i>
<i>Anthony Wayne,</i>	<i>John Nevil,</i>
<i>William Gibbons,</i>	<i>John Allison,</i>
<i>Richard Downing,</i>	<i>Jonathan Roberts,</i>
<i>Thomas Chynny,</i>	<i>John Richards,</i>
<i>John Hannum,</i>	<i>F. A. Mublenberg,</i>
<i>Stephen Chambers,</i>	<i>James Morris,</i>
<i>Robert Coleman,</i>	<i>Timothy Pickering,</i>
<i>Sebastian Graff,</i>	<i>Benjamin Elliot.</i> 46

N A Y S.

<i>John Whitehill,</i>	<i>William Findley,</i>
<i>John Harris,</i>	<i>John Baird,</i>
<i>John Reynolds,</i>	<i>William Todd,</i>
<i>Robert Whitehill,</i>	<i>James Marshall,</i>
<i>Jonathan H g,</i>	<i>James Edgar,</i>
<i>Nicholas Lutz,</i>	<i>Nathaniel Breeding,</i>
<i>John Ludwig,</i>	<i>John Smilie,</i>
<i>Abraham Lincoln,</i>	<i>Richard Bard,</i>
<i>John Bishop,</i>	<i>William Brown,</i>
<i>Joseph Heister,</i>	<i>Adam Orth,</i>
<i>James Martin,</i>	<i>John A. Hannah,</i>
<i>Joseph Powell.</i>	23



*Law report.—Court of king's bench,
London.—25 G. III.*

Watkeys versus Delancey.

THIS was an action of covenant, brought to recover the purchase money of an estate, in New York, sold by the defendant, who is a loyalist, after an act of attainder of the states had been passed against him, attainting his person, and confiscating his estate.

In the deed of conveyance to the plaintiff, the defendant covenanted, that at the time of sale, he was

seized of a clear and indefeasible estate of inheritance, and that he had a good right to sell.

The existing act of attainder was admitted by the defendant, who also admitted, that the plaintiff, after the evacuation of New York, was turned out of possession, by the commissioners under the act of attainder, who sold the estate.

This was a cause which very materially affected the interests of the loyalists.

Counsel for the plaintiff said they were not able to cite any authorities in point, as this was perfectly a new case. They contended, that as the defendant knew of the act of attainder, at the time of the sale, and the plaintiff was ignorant of it, he had in fact paid his money for nothing, and defendant, in conscience, ought to reimburse it. That the preliminary articles of peace having stipulated that the congress should recommend the restoration of all the forfeited estates, such a stipulation confirmed the right to pass acts of forfeiture, and would not have been made, if the right to confiscate had been doubted.

He admitted if the act of attainder had passed subsequent to the conveyance to the plaintiff, the defendant in that case, would not have been liable.

Counsel for the defendant was proceeding to argue in behalf of the defendant, but lord Mansfield begged he would not trouble himself; it was a clear case.

His lordship said this was nothing more or less than a covenant on the part of the defendant that he was seized of a clear estate in fee, at the time of the sale. So he was by all the laws existing at that time, and then known to this constitution. He did not covenant against revolutions of empires, or against an armed force. A covenant of this sort cannot be extended to political revo-

united states, the proceedings were reversed, and a decree given in favour of the appellant. After this an action was instituted in a common law court of Massachusetts, to recover damages from the captors, but that court would not allow the decree of the court of errors and appeals for the united states to be read in evidence, and the plaintiff was therefore obliged to discontinue his action. The question was revived in Pennsylvania, upon an attachment which had been laid on the property of the captors in this state, the defendant moving to set aside the attachment upon these leading objections: 1st, that congress had no power, at the time when the vessel was taken, to institute a court of errors and appeals, and therefore that the reversal of the decree of the courts of admiralty for the state of New Hampshire could not operate. 2dly. That the proceedings in Massachusetts, upon the common law suit, under the articles of confederation, were binding upon our courts; and 3dly, that as the matter was originally of admiralty jurisdiction, none of the consequences are cognizable by our common law court. The questions were discussed with great ability by the counsel on both sides, and the court took time to consider of the judgment, which was pronounced on Saturday, the 8th of September, 1787, when mr. justice Shippen observed, that it was unnecessary to determine the first and second points, since the court were clearly of opinion on the third, that the question was exclusively cognizable in a court of admiralty, and therefore, that the attachment instituted here, in a common law court, must be quashed.



Law regulation relative to notes of hand.

ON Saturday, the 8th of September, 1787, was determined in

the court of common pleas, for the commonwealth of Pennsylvania, a cause, January versus Goodman, wherein it was established as a principle, that where there are subscribing witnesses to a note of hand, it is necessary, as in the case of a deed, to produce them upon the trial, or to give some satisfactory reason for their absence: but that, if there are no witnesses, then proof of the party's hand-writing is sufficient.

This distinction deserves the attention of the public: as the obtaining witnesses to a note of hand, has frequently been considered as a matter of useful precaution, but it may, we find, be productive of considerable embarrassment.



Account of an electrical eel, or the torpedos of Surinam, by William Bryant, esq.

SURINAM, a colony of South America, belonging to the states of Holland, abounds with as many natural curiosities as any country in the world. But that which I look upon to be as surprising as any in it, and which I believe has not as yet been accurately described, is a fish of the species of eel, and is caught there in nets among other fish; generally in muddy rivers, and I believe is found in most of the neighbouring provinces. In size and colour it is not unlike a common eel of Europe or America, and in shape resembles it more, except that it is thicker in proportion to its length, and the head is more flat and not so pointed; but differs from them in this respect, that it comes to the surface, to breathe in the air. It is called by the Dutch beave aal, and by the English inhabitants the numbing eel. As to the other qualities, of which I mean chiefly to take notice, and which I think are as different

from the torpedo of Europe, as the fish is in shape, they are as follow.

On touching the fish as it lies in the water, in a tub provided for it, a sudden and violent shock is received, in all respects like that which is felt on touching the prime conductor, when charged with the electrical fluid from the globe; and like that, chiefly affects the ends of the fingers and elbow. Gently holding the tail of the fish with one hand, and touching the head with the other, a very violent shock is felt in both elbows, and through the breast and shoulders. I at first imagined that the violence of the shock proceeded from both arms receiving it at the same time, and that the pain was no more than that of the two strokes added together; but I found myself mistaken. For upon seven persons joining hands, and the first taking hold of the tail (which may with more ease be held than the head) and the seventh at the same time touching the head, we were all affected in both elbows, and that in the same manner as I remember to have been in the electrical experiment, when several persons take hold of the wire, and the equilibrium is restored by the fluids passing through their bodies.

I find the shock may be received through metallic substances. On touching the fish with an old sword blade, I was strongly affected. But arming it with sealing-wax, and taking hold of that part which was covered with it, the electrical fluid (I cannot help calling it so) would not pass; neither has it any effect on the body when touched with glass bottle, sealing-wax, &c. Yet I cannot observe the least diminution of this quality by placing the tub, which contains the fish, on glass bottles; it continues the same in all respects. So that whether it has an unaccountable faculty of collecting a quantity of the fluid from the surrounding waters, or through the body of the person touch-

ing it, or has in its own body a large fund which it can discharge at pleasure, I am greatly at a loss to think or imagine.

Although it has no effect on the human body when touched with a piece of wood, or indeed any other substance not metallic; yet an accident discovered to me, that on some occasions the effect would be sensible through wood. For one morning while I was standing by, as a servant was emptying the tub, which he had lifted entirely from the ground, and was pouring off the water to renew it, and the fish left almost dry, the negro received so violent a shock as occasioned him to let the tub fall; and calling another to his assistance, I caused them both to lift the tub free from the ground, when pouring off the remains of the water, they both received smart shocks and were obliged to desist from emptying the tub in that manner. This I afterwards tried myself and received the like shock. This fish indeed was one of the largest I have seen and but newly caught. For I observe after being some time confined in a tub, and wanting perhaps their natural food, they lose much of the strength of this extraordinary quality. I am sometimes apt to conjecture, that this animal has the power of communicating the stroke when, and with what degree of force it will; and that it serves him as a weapon of defence against his enemies. For I have often observed that on first taking hold of it, the shock is tolerable; but as soon as he perceives himself the least confined, it is much more violent. This I experienced to my cost, as I one day took hold of it, about the middle of the fish, I lifted it partly out of the water, when on a sudden I received so smart a shock that it occasioned a strong contraction in the bending muscles of my fingers, and I could not immediately let it go; but endeavouring to disengage my hand

threw it on the ground; taking hold of it a second time, to return it into the tub, I was more strongly affected than at first, and that not only in my hands and arms, but throughout my whole body; the forepart of my head, and the back parts of my legs suffered principally; and in the same manner as on receiving a very smart shock from a highly charged phial in electrical experiments.

On observing that the sensation occasioned by the shock as to the nature and degree of strength, upon touching different parts of the fish, was different, I was at first inclined to think it might be owing to its having an extraordinary faculty of containing more of the fluid in one part of its body than in another. The tail part to above one third of its length, occasions rather a numbness and tingling, than pain, but on applying the end of the fingers to the back, head, and under part of its body, it causes a sharp pricking pain. This may possibly be accounted for by the difference in the texture of the surface of the skin, as the manner of the electrical fluid's coming from a glass tube is different when its surface is altered by being rubbed with different substances, as has been lately taken notice of in a letter to the royal society.

These are the principal observations, the short time I resided at Surinam, allowed me an opportunity of making relating to this extraordinary animal.



Admiral Pococke's receipt for pickling beef, pork, mutton, &c. and keeping the meat good and sweet.

TAKE four gallons of good water, to which add one pound and a half of muscovado sugar*, two

ounces of salt petre, and six pounds of bay or common great salt: put the whole into a clean pot or kettle, and let it boil, being careful to take all the scum off as it comes up. When no more scum rises, take the liquor off, and let it stand till it is cold. Then having put the meat you want to preserve, into the vessel you intend to keep it in, pour the liquor over the meat till it be quite covered, in which condition it must be kept. Beef, preserved in this manner, has been taken out of the pickle, after lying in it ten weeks, and been found as good as if not salted more than three days, and at the same time as tender as a chicken.

If you intend to preserve your meat for a considerable length of time, it will be necessary, once in two months, to boil the pickle over again, scumming off all that rises, and throwing in, during the boiling, two ounces of sugar, and half a pound of common small salt. Thus the same pickle will hold good for twelve months. This pickle is incomparable to cure hams, neats tongues, or beef which you intend to dry, or make what is called hung beef; observing when you take them out of the pickle, first to clean and dry them, then put them in paper bags, and hang them up in a dry warm place.

N. B. Some, who have tried the above receipt, chuse their meat saltier than this will effect, and instead of six, take eight or nine pounds of salt.

In the hottest weather it has been found necessary, before the meat is put into the pickle, to rub it well over with salt, and let it lie from one to three or four hours, until all the blood runs out from it. If the meat is in the least tainted, before it is put into the pickle, it will be entirely spoiled in a day's time, in hot weather.

NOTE.

* Melasses will answer.

Recovery of two drowned children.

A Child of mr. Samuel Dashwood, jun. painter, in Boston, of two years of age, in the month of October, 1787, fell into a cistern of water, seven feet deep, and was taken out by a gentleman of the neighbourhood, and was apparently dead : fortunately this gentleman was acquainted with the methods recommended by the humane society, and immediately began to put them into practice.

The subject was undressed and wiped as dry as possible ; hot blankets were wrapped round the body, and as one became cold, another was applied ; with these, friction was used to every part of the body ; after a few minutes (between four and seven) they had the unexpected satisfaction to discover signs of returning life ; the first symptom of recovery, was a convulsive motion of the chest, attended with a forcible effort to distend the lungs : a physician arriving at this time, the pulse was examined, and though perceptible, it was extremely languid and irregular : fumigation of tobacco was vigorously applied, and on the first injection, into the bowels, it instantly produced a full inspiration, succeeded by a loud and laborious roar, and an evident increase of the action of the heart. On suspending the use of this remedy for a minute, the vigour of the pulse was sensibly abated ; and on returning to it again, the effects were as before, together with a small discharge of indigested matter from the stomach ; in about twenty-five minutes from the child's being taken out of the water, the pulse began to beat with some degree of regularity, and the breath-

ing to be performed with less labour and interruption, though he was still to appearance in considerable distress. At this period he was placed in a hot bed, with a person who was directed to continue the friction ; hot bricks were applied to the feet, and a warming pan of coals directed to be repeatedly moved over the bed clothes. In three or four hours, he appeared to be perfectly recovered, and is now a healthy and promising child.

The society have the further satisfaction to communicate to the public, the instance of a child of mr. Hollis, preserved from drowning, by the spirited exertions of mr. Joseph Gleason, of Boston, in the month of September last : this child had fallen over board at the time of high water, from a wharf at the south part of the town, and had once or twice sunk. Mr. Gleason instantly plunged in with his clothes on, and at the risk of his own life, restored him in safety to the arms of his parents. At a meeting of the trustees, he was declared entitled to the sum of 28s. as a premium for his services.

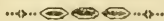


*Directions for the recovery of persons apparently dead from drowning.—
Published by order of the humane society of the commonwealth of Massachusetts.*

CONVEY the person to the nearest convenient house, with his head raised. Strip and dry him as quick as possible. Clean the mouth and nostrils from froth or mud. If a child, let him be placed between two persons naked, in a hot bed. If an adult, lay him on a hot blanket, or bed, and in cold weather, near a fire : in warm weather, the air

should be freely admitted into the room.

The body is next to be gently rubbed with warm woollen cloths, sprinkled with spirits, if at hand—otherwise dry. A heated warming pan may be now lightly moved over the back, properly covered with a blanket : and the body, if of a child, is to be gently shook every few minutes. While these means are using, one or two assistants are to be employed in blowing tobacco smoke into the fundament, with the instrument provided for the purpose, or a tobacco pipe, if that cannot be had. The bowl filled with tobacco, and properly lighted, being covered with a handkerchief, or piece of linen, so as to defend the mouth of the assistant in blowing. Bathe the breast with hot rum, and persist in the use of these means for several hours. If no signs of life should then appear, let the body be kept warm several hours longer, with hot bricks, or vessels of hot water, applied to the palms of the hands, and soles of the feet, and this for a longer or shorter time, as the circumstances of the case may dictate.



Exemplary charity.

THE humane society of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, actuated by the same disposition to mitigate the miseries, and preserve the lives of their fellow men, which originated their institution, have, at a considerable expence, erected three small houses, for the relief and preservation of shipwrecked seamen—one on Lovell's island, situated on the north west side, on a rising ground, about sixty rods from the beach or shore : one on the outer beach of Nantasket : and one on Scituate beach, a little to the northward of North river, on the neck of

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land, which is usually called the Hummocks :—these being, in the judgment of the marine society, the places most exposed, and most likely to answer the ends for which they are intended. The humane society have ordered poles to be erected on them, to point out where said houses stand : and in them they have deposited the necessary means of kindling and preserving a fire, and some other means necessary for the comfort and relief of the shipwrecked mariner.

Could they suppose that any person [but those intended to be relieved] would be so lost to every sense of humanity and gratitude, as to take away any of these necessities and refreshments, they might think it needful to inform the public, that they shall take effectual means to detect, and to punish with the utmost severity of law, the person or persons who may commit any robbery upon these houses : but they cannot think, that any one, who has the smallest trace of sensibility or of justice, would deprive the poor, helpless, and distressed mariner of any thing, which may be necessary to his comfort or ease, in circumstances of extreme calamity.



The following is extracted from an oration, pronounced by David Dagget, esq. attorney at law, in the city of Newhaven, in Connecticut, on the 4th of July, 1787.

THE eyes of all Europe are fixed upon us. Their writers and orators, who extolled our success, and predicted our future greatness, now laugh at our folly—burlesque our policy—and condemn our dishonesty. They respect us for what we have been—admire for us what we might be—and despise for us what we are.

A Shays, an ignoble, contemptible
K

Shays, without abilities, without influence, has for a while prostrated government, in the three western counties of Massachusetts. And what if a greater than Shays, a Cromwell or a Cæsar should arise? Where are our bulwarks against the attack? If we look up to congress, they are chained and fettered with impotency; if to foreign nations, they will retort with propriety, where is your gratitude for past favours, and your recompence for past services? Where is your faith and honour in discharging obligations for money generously loaned you when in the deepest distress? If we invoke the assistance of our countrymen, we shall call in vain. Patriotism is fled. The days of 1775 we cannot recall. We cannot inspire our citizens with that disinterested love of their country, which caused them to encounter imprisonment, exile, slavery, and death. If we appeal to heaven—the cries of the widow and orphan, whom we have wickedly robbed, have already entered there, and called for vengeance! Will not then the righteous Lord, who loveth righteousness, “laugh at our calamity, and mock when our fear cometh?” Shall then some insinuating courtier, or some formidable desperado, blast the hopes of this young empire! Shall they here erect a tyranny or a despotism more to be dreaded than death, in her most hideous forms? Forbid it, gracious heaven!



Indian anecdote.

ABOUT four years before the Shawano Indians were forced to remove from the late Savannah town, they took a Muskohge warrior known by the name of old Scraney—They bastinadoed him in the usual manner,

and condemned him to the fiery torture. He underwent a great deal, without shewing any concern: his countenance and behaviour were as if he suffered not the least pain, and was formed beyond the common laws of nature. He told them, with a bold voice, that he was a very noted warrior, and gained most of his martial preferment at the expence of their nation, and was desirous of shewing them in the act of dying, that he was still as much superior to them as when he headed his gallant countrymen against them. That although he had fallen into their power, in forfeiting the protection of the divine being, by some impurity or other, when carrying the holy ark of war against his devoted enemies; yet he had still so much remaining virtue, as would enable him to punish himself more exquisitely than all their despicable ignorant croud could do, if they gave him liberty by untying him, and would hand to him one of the red hot gun barrels out of the fire. The proposal, and his method of address, appeared so exceedingly bold and uncommon, that his request was granted. Then he suddenly seized one of the red hot barrels, and brandishing it from side to side, he forced his way through the armed and surprised multitude, and leaped down a prodigious steep and high bank into a branch of the river, dived through it, ran over a small island, and passed another branch, amidst a shower of bullets, from the commanding ground where fort More, or New Windsor garrison, stood, and though numbers of his eager enemies were in close pursuit of him, he got to a brambly swamp, and in this naked, mangled condition, reached his own country. He proved a sharp thorn in their side afterwards till the day of his death.

S E L E C T P O E T R Y.

The newsmonger's song, for the winter of 1787.

GOOD news, brother dealers in metre and prose,
 The world's turn'd buffer, and's coming to blows:
 Write good sense, or non-sense, my boys, it's all one,
 All persons may fire, when the battle's begun.

Down, down, down derry down.

Our tutors and sages would oftentimes say,
 " Sit omnibus hora,"—each dog has his day:
 Queen Anne's was the era of genius, 'tis known:
 Arguendo, this day is for scribbling alone.

Down, down, &c.

Now Claxton, and Babcock, and Webster, and Stoddard,
 Hall, Sellers, Childs, Loudon, Oswald, Humphreys, and Goddard,
 Claypoole, Spotwood, Green, Bailey, Bradford, and Draper,
 May thank the kind stars for such luck to their paper.

Down, down, &c.

Come on, brother scribblers, 'tis idle to lag:
 'The convention have let the cat out of the bag.
 Write something at random—you need not be nice—
 Public spirit, Montesquieu, and great doctor Price.

Down, down, &c.

Talk of Holland and Greece, and of purses and swords,
 Democratical mobs, and congressional lords;
 'Tell what is surrender'd, and what is enjoy'd:
 All things weigh alike, boys, we know, in a void.

Down, down, &c.

Much joy! brother printers, the day is our own:
 A time like the present, sure never was known:
 Predictions are making—predictions fulfil—
 All nature seems proud to bring grist to our mill.

Down, down, &c.

Huge comets once more through the system will stroll;
 'The moon, they inform us, is burn'd to a coal.
 Old Saturn is tumbling—the sun has a spot—
 'The world and its glory are going to pot,

Down, down, &c.

All Europe, we hear, is in horrible pothor,
 They jocky, they bully, and kill one another.
 In Holland, where freedom is lustily bawling,
 All's fighting and swearing, and pulling and hawling.

Down, down, &c.

'The czarine and Poland fresh mischief are carving,
 'The porte is in motion—Nova Scotia is starving,
 While the dey of Algiers, sirs, so haughty is grown,
 'That he swears by the prophet, the world's all his own.

Down, down, &c.

In England, blest island ! what wonders we view !
 North blind as a bat—lord George Gordon a Jew :
 Or halters, or peerage, on Hastings await ;
 And faction, *pro more*, dismembers the state.

Down, down, &c.

Prince George has relinquish'd the stews for the church,
 And struts, like a true-blue, in Solomon's porch :
 Corruption pervades through both country and town,
 And the tune of the nation is down derry down.

Down, down, &c.

We bid Europe farewell—the Atlantic is past—
 O free-born Columbia ! you're welcome at last.
 Hail congress, conventions, mobs, Shayites, and kings,
 With bankrupts, and know-ye's, and such pretty things !

Down, down, &c.

The states had a fall, and receiv'd a confusion,
 And all things are tumbl'd in dreadful confusion :
 State quacks and state midwives are huddling all round,
 But in spite of their drugs, we go down derry down.

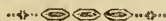
Down, down, &c.

Write, then, brother scribblers. Your talents display.
 This world is a stage ; and man's life but a play.
 When the curtain is drawn, and the ranting is o'er,
 Kings, heroes, and waiters, are equal once more.

Down, down, &c.

Old Time, with his brags-eating teeth, shall consume
 The works of a Homer, a Newton, a Hume :
 And who, when all things are consum'd by old Time,
 Can tell but we scribblers were writers sublime ?

Down, down, &c.



The C R I S I S.

E'EN now, my countrymen, before our eyes,
 At our own option, FAME or RUIN lies.
 Ye brave COLUMBIANS (if you *now* can claim
 The glorious boon, to bear so great a name)
 Arouse ! Let all that's dear to men inspire
 Those breasts which *once* display'd a gen'rous fire ;
 Secure that empire firm, for which you fought—
 Which many lives and free-spent treasure bought.
 Can you so soon, in dark oblivion waste
 Such ard'ous toils, and ills so lately past ?
 Will you your country into factions break—
 Bow down your necks—the yoke of bondage take ?
 No ! you reply—We'll join in freedom's cause,
 To prop her strength, consolidate her laws,
 And firmly fix her government, to sway
 'Till time shall cease, and nature fade away.

An A M E R I C A N.

The RETORT COURTEOUS.

AS country Hodge, thro' Boston town,
 His plodding footsteps bent,
 A bell-rope handle drew his eye,
 But knew not what it meant.
 With vacant stare, he stupid stood,
 And view'd it all around ;
 A wag that pass'd, his arm pull'd back,
 So caus'd the bell to sound.
 Quick to the door the master came,
 Saying—" Sir, your wants declare ?"
 " None," said Hodge.—" Then tell me, friend,
 " What countryman you are ?"
 " Why, if I needs must tell as much,
 " From Taunton first I came,
 " To view the sights in this large town ;
 " And Hodge, Sir, is my name."
 " I thought as much," the cit replied,
 Then gave a hearty laugh ;
 " For do but beat a *country bush*,
 " And lo ! out starts a calf."
 " It may be so," Hodge quickly said,
 " There's sights in every place ;
 " For at a Boston door once ring,
 " Out pops a *cuckold's* face."



Poem, on the prospect of seeing the fine arts flourish in America.

OH haste the day—on swiftest pinions haste,
 When arts and manners shall adorn the waste ;
 When woods deserted, or where Indians rove,
 Shall form the statesman's, or the poet's grove ;
 When streams, that roll'd, for years, their course along,
 Unknown to fame, to melody, or song,
 Shall flow, mellifluous, to th' harmonious strains
 Of maids accomplish'd, and of polish'd swains !
 Then shall content adorn the smiling plain,
 Where peace and plenty are design'd to reign :
 Commerce shall then her num'rous sails unfold,
 And agriculture yield her stores of gold ;
 The foreign emigrant repose once more
 Upon a civiliz'd, a tranquil shore :
 Where, chang'd the scene, from what the bard * foretold,
 His new abode shall far excel the old ;

NOTE.

* Dr. Goldsmith.

There no tornados shall his rest invade,
 Nor snakes insidious lurk within the shade :
 The various terrors of the horrid shore,
 To distant climates sound dismay no more :
 But sweets domestic shall his paths defend,
 And all the virtues his retreat attend :
 The cooling brook, the grassy vested green,
 Around his dwelling, deck the rural scene ;
 And all the arts that minister to life,
 Expel, for ever, party feuds and strife.

Sweet bard ! the muse has oft rever'd thy zeal,
 Thy gen'rous ardour for thy country's weal,
 That noble flame, which did thy bosom fire,
 When from their fields, thou saw'st the band retire,
 Whose social merit, and domestic praise,
 Thy pen has consecrate, in deathless lays :
 But now, behold, from heav'n's imperial bow'rs,
 Where are the plains, more fortunate than ours ?
 Where is the nation bids more fair for fame,
 Or can, with justice, higher honours claim ?
 Say, on what coast do men more freely share
 The various blessings human life can bear ?
 Or where so little is oppression known,
 From Zembla's regions to the torrid zone ?

See quick approach that period of renown,
 When poetry shall add her laurel crown
 To those rich honours, which our country grace,
 And form the glory of her brilliant race.
 When painting, also, with promethean fire,
 Shall deck her canvas, and her forms attire ;
 When architecture shall erect the dome,
 Whose fame shall rival that of ancient Rome :
 When music's hand shall strike the silver lyre,
 And marble, grace, from sculpture's skill acquire,
 Then shall Columbia's artists seek no more
 For foreign smiles upon a foreign shore ;
 But here combine together, to display
 The finish'd glories of her risen day !
 But see ! what flow'rets we already claim,
 What lovely harbingers of future fame !
 Behold philosophy's * bright temple rise,
 And † fanes to learning every where surprise :
 What schemes of charity the soul excite
 To acts of bounty, and unmix'd delight !
 Some to the jail ‡ with pitying steps repair,

NOTES.

* Philosophical hall, now building.

† The new episcopal academy in Philadelphia ; Dickinson, Franklin colleges, &c.

‡ The society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons.

To minister to woes that languish there :
Others * the bed of raging illnefs smooth,
And the worst pangs of human sorrow sooth ;
Some to fair freedom † living altars raise,
And bid the negro celebrate her praise ;
Others ‡ the farmer, with their cares embrace,
And pay due homage to his useful race :
Some || manufactures and the arts protect,
Others § humane establishments erect :
But cease the muse, the boundless tract t' explore,
Of all the joys which decorate our shore,
Which, fast increasing, views of bliss supply,
That fill the prospects of the keenest eye.

Oh glorious prospects ! how divinely fair,
Make them, ye patriots, your supremest care ;
In fed'ral laws ¶ connect the wide domain,
And bind the union with a deathless chain :
But let the arts attend its earliest dawn,
Proclaim its rising, on the cultur'd lawn ;
In sweet array its first approaches lead,
Grow with its growth, and with its strength proceed ;
So shall the universe applaud your fame,
And nations, foes till now, your friendship claim :
For " self-dependent pow'r can time defy,
As rocks resist the billows, and the sky."

But chiefly you, ye fair ! whom heav'n decrees
To charm, to soften, captivate, and please,
To you belongs the pencil and the lyre,
The taste to fashion, and the soul t' inspire,
The sad to cheer, the thoughtless to restrain,
To urge the timid, and to check the vain :
Great is the pow'r of these engaging arts,
To guide the passions, and to conquer hearts :
These are the spheres of your supreme controul,
Who seek to lead and elevate the soul
From low pursuits, and from desires unev'n,
To peace, to joy, to harmony, and heav'n.

Oh then, neglect not music to acquire,
So form'd to cherish the celestial fire,

NOTES.

* The dispensary.

† The negro society.

‡ The agricultural society.

|| The manufacturing society.

§ The humane society, &c.

All institutions of the utmost utility and glory to this country.

¶ The new federal constitution.

To fan devotion, friendship to improve,
 And woo the mind to innocence and love :
 Wide let its influence o'er the world extend,
 And what it cannot conquer, strive to mend :
 Spring let it welcome, summer sports endear,
 Delight the autumn, and the winter cheer :
 So shall the year to harmony be given,
 And earth be found the prototype of heav'n.

If in some fatal unexpected hour,
 Your wealth should vanish or your prospects lour,
 How sweet the warblings of the tuneful lyre,
 The hope to cherish, that might else expire !
 Still in your cottage give to music place,
 And let it check the tear that soils the face :
 Oh think how fleeting life, its woes not long,
 Then calm their throbbings with a cheerful song :
 So death shall bear your patient minds away,
 To realms of endless bliss, of endless day !
 But if propitious fortunes on you shine,
 Add to their lustre all these arts divine :
 Oh let them humanize and sway the breast,
 Which often hardens, where no griefs molest :
 So shall like pity close your dying eyes,
 And cherubs waft you to their native skies.



The bachelor. Number II.

The old burning of bachelor's hall.

FAIR Venus so often was miss'd from the skies,
 And Bacchus as frequently absent likewise,
 That the synod began to enquire out the reason,
 Suspecting the culprits were plotting of treason,
 At length it was found they had open'd a ball,
 At a place by the mortals call'd bachelor's hall ;
 Where Venus discover'd ev'ry fun she could think of,
 And Bacchus made nectar for mortals to drink of.
 Jove, highly displeas'd at such riotous doings,
 Sent Time to reduce the whole building to ruins.
 But Time was so slack with her traces and dashes,
 That Jove, in a passion, consum'd it to ashes.

[*To be continued monthly.*]

C H R O N I C L E.

JULY, 1787.

Philadelphia, July 7. The supreme executive council, considering the seditious tendency of the proceedings of certain persons, who assembled on the seventh of May last, at Easton, in Northampton county, styling themselves a town meeting, and who, among other things, determined to refuse the payment of taxes, and to labour with the inhabitants of the other townships of the county to withhold their taxes, unless a certain act of the legislature was repealed, directed the attorney-general to prosecute such of them, as had been most active on this occasion. Accordingly the warrants of his honour the chief justice, were taken out for doctor Andrew Ledlie, and Garret Broadhead, who, early this week, were brought down before the judge, in the custody of the sheriff of Northampton, and bound with proper sureties, to appear and answer for their misconduct, at the next assizes for the county. Three others (by direction of the chief justice) have been admitted to bail, before justice Lucas, at Easton. Dr. Smith, of Northampton county, who is also accused, being from home, has not yet been brought to this city. Thus hath care been taken, to nip the beginning of disorders in the bud.

A letter from Brunswick, dated July 5, says, "the assembly of New Jersey have laid a tax of 30l. per month, upon the light-house, on Sandy Hook, in this state. This land (being four acres) was formerly purchased from the proprietor, Mr. Hartshorne, by the corporation of New York, for the purpose of maintaining a light-house, public inn, and kitchen garden thereon. This

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tax, it is said, has been imposed to counteract the severity of the law in New York, which enacts that every wood-boat and shallop from New Jersey, of more than twelve tons, shall be regularly entered and cleared out at the custom-house, in the same manner as if they had arrived from any other foreign port. This restriction, it is needless to observe, throws almost the whole of the little profits which ought to reward the industry of our numerous fraternity of boatmen, that ply between the eastern parts of this state and our sister New York, into the hard gripping hands of the officers of the customs of that city."

Charleston, July 2. A letter from a gentleman in Augusta, to his friend in Savannah, dated 19th June, says, The back country people have killed three hundred Indians, and a party under the command of colonel Alexander, consisting of three hundred men, is gone out; so that a general war is thought to be unavoidable. A number of the finest horses have within this week past been stolen in and near Augusta, likewise two negroes; some more slaves were taken, but made their escape, and gave the alarm: one Prater is taken up on suspicion of being concerned with the thieves, who are supposed to have made their way to the Indian nation. A party is out after them, and are in hopes to overtake them.

Boston, July 28. A letter from Princeton, dated July 25, says, by a gentleman from the westward, we have received the following account of emigrants to the settlement of Kentucky, and the falls of the Ohio, taken from a return made by the adjutant of the troops stationed at fort Harmer, at the mouth of the Mus-

L.

kingum, viz. from the 10th of October, 1786, to the 12th of May, 1787, there have passed the garrison, down the Ohio, 177 boats, containing 2689 souls, 1333 horses, 766 cattle, 102 waggons, and one phaeton, besides a number which passed in the night unobserved.

A letter from a gentleman belonging to this town, dated Fort Pitt, June 25, 1787, says, the surveys will not be carried on this season; the Indians have confederated, and are determined to oppose the measure. They have lately sent in a speech to the superintendant, and one for congress. They wish to have a general council held; and say that all that has been heretofore done on the subject of relinquishing Indian rights, &c. is of no effect, it having been done by some of their people, who were not authorized to do it. It is the opinion of the people in this country, that this conduct of the Indians, is owing to their having been informed, that no troops were to be sent out to reinforce col. Harmer.

AUGUST, 1787.

Philadelphia, August 4. Yesterday arrived in this port a Spanish frigate, having on board many families from Ireland, France and Germany, who purpose to settle in Carthagená. They are allowed provisions while on the voyage, at the expence of the Spanish government, and when they arrive at their place of destination, they will each be entitled to a lot of ground and accommodations, till they are enabled to support themselves.

Aug. 15. The Hessian fly, which has made such devastation among the wheat in Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey, has lately been discovered near Newtown, Bucks county, in this state.

Aug. 18. From the eastward we understand, that the spirit of *Shayism* rapidly subsides, and that Shays himself is almost destitute of a com-

panion. It is remarkable, however, that notwithstanding the rewards offered by the different states, no attempt has been made either to seize, or to betray him.

Newhaven, August 2. A circular letter is handing about the country, recommending a kingly government for these states—The writer proposes to send to England for the bishop of Osnaburgh, second son of the king of Great Britain, and have him crowned king over this continent.

New-York, August 5. A bill for promoting and encouraging a trade to America was passed in the Irish parliament on the 7th of May last.

Pittsburgh, August 18. On the third instant, a small party of the Indians came down to the banks of the Ohio river, nearly opposite Cox's Fort, and killed and scalped a certain Israel Osburn, who had crossed over that morning to the Indian shore; after doing this mischief, they retired. The same day a small party of the militia collected, followed the Indians some distance up Cross Creek, but returned that evening without making any discovery,

On the 5th, captain M'Mechen, at the head of twenty five volunteers, of which twenty one were on horseback, crossed the Ohio river, took the Indians track, followed and came up with them near the Muskingum, killed and scalped one of the three that was in the party. The rest fled, leaving behind them all their baggage, among which were several articles belonging to Osburn.

Boston, Aug. 21. By a gentleman from the southward we are informed, that congress have permitted the Ohio company, lately associated in this and the neighbouring states, to make a contract for nearly five millions of acres of land in the federal territory, situated, in its greatest extent, on the Ohio, and bounded both on the east and west by the Muskingum and Scioto rivers—that the officers and soldiers,

who are of this association, may be indulged with their bounty lands within the purchase, provided they do not exceed one seventh part of the whole—That the donations of forty-six thousand acres for a general and public seminary of learning, six thousand and forty for religious purposes, in every township of six miles square, and an equal quantity for a public school, are made by the honourable congress to the proprietors of the soil, and their associates for ever.

The vessels fitting out from this port for Kamschatka, are to be commanded by captain John Hendrick, and will be ready to sail in about six weeks.

Accounts from Farmington, Sudbury, Marlborough, &c. in the county of Middlesex, in this state, contain distressing particulars of the devastation made by a hurricane, which passed thro' those towns about six o'clock on Wednesday the fifteenth instant. The meeting of the currents of air which occasioned this destructive whirlwind, was attended by a report similar to that of heavy cannon, with flashes like sharp lightning. Great damage was done thereby to the fields of rye, corn, flax, &c. of which numberless acres were levelled with the ground, and with them the hopes and prospects of many an industrious husbandman, whose sole subsistence, the ensuing winter, perhaps, depended on the crop which his labours had nearly perfected, and which this event has cut off. Whole forests were levelled, the herbage of almost every kind greatly injured, and the trees of the orchards twisted from their roots, and scattered to a great distance.

Many buildings are more or less damaged, but of one only we can give an account. This, it is said, was raised from its foundation, whirled to some distance, and dashed to pieces. In the house were two women, who, by their fall, received so

much hurt, as to make their recovery doubtful. Though several persons are reported to have received injury by the wind, no lives, as we hear of, have been lost.

Among other singularities naturally to be expected from the effects of such an event as the one above mentioned, is the following : a cart with a yoke of oxen, loaded with hay, with a boy on the top, (the whole together weighing about two tons) were raised from the ground by the strength of the wind, and carried to the distance of six rods.

A great fall of rain attended the hurricane, which, by inundating vast tracts of low land, added greatly to the damages sustained by the unhappy sufferers, whose situations call loudly for the sympathy of their fellow citizens.

Richmond, August 22. A letter from Nashville, dated July 7, 1787, says, We are at last fortunate enough to destroy that nest of pirates, posted at the Muscle Shoals, who have been the cause of so much calamity to this settlement, for more than two years past.

It may now be wondered at, why we endured their depredations so long. Our ignorance of what was their design, when they took possession of the place—whose subjects they were—and a respect to the connections America has with foreign powers, operated to retard our uniting to make an effort against them. We now find that the whites were a motley crew of Spaniards, Canadians, and tories, who, without authority, came within the limits of the united states, on a pretence to trade with the Indians ; under colour of which, they excited the unfriendly part of the Cherokees and Creeks to murder our defenceless inhabitants, and the travellers to this country and to Kentucke.

We have killed forty of them, chiefly Indians, among whom we

have reason to believe was the noted chief M^cGillivray. The prize we made, is considerable, in goods, deer-skins, furs, and dollars.

We set out in two parties, one by land, the other by water. The land forces made the attack, and had not a man hurt. Those that went by water, were more unlucky : for on their way down Cumberland river, they were fired at by a party of Indians, and had eight men wounded. Our people were off their guard, close in by the shore : however, they speedily returned the fire, and the Indians ran off. That part of our force was intended to intercept such as might be attempting to make their escape down the Tenasee : but our land force completely surprising the enemy, prevented the necessity of such precaution.

It was pleasing to see with what alacrity our troops pushed forward to the attack, notwithstanding a fortification was in view, and expected to be stormed ; however, it was unfinished. The enemy took fright at the first onset ; abandoned their works and houses ; and with the greatest precipitation fled ; some jumping into the river, attempted to get off in canoes and boats : but a well-directed fire from our rifles, brought to the most of them.

We intend another expedition shortly : and should Georgia and Franklin co-operate with us, we hope to be able to ratify a lasting peace with most of the Chickamoga and unfriendly Creek Indians, before Christmas.

Extract of a letter from Chemung, dated July 16, to a gentleman in Baltimore.

“ Cornelius Sturgeon, the great Onandago chief, was murdered last month, at the Tioga point, by one of his own tribe, and a townsman. It appears to have been a premeditated piece of work, and had its rise from two causes. 1st. He was an abso-

lute despot in his tribe, and imposed an implicit compliance with his orders : he was punctually obeyed thro’ fear, not love. 2d. He began to adopt the dress and customs of the united states, and introduce them in his family : this gave great umbrage. As he was a man of some literature, he had some idea of the great value of letters, and the evening on which he was killed, in conversation with captain Spalding, he informed him that he intended to send his son to some of the American colleges for education. The friends of the murderer purchased his life for a sum of money, not exceeding 375l. A poor recompence for the life of a great man, and too much for that of a tyrant !”

The general assembly of Franklin have divided that state into two districts, and appointed colonel D. Kennedy, brigadier-general of Washington district. They have likewise appointed delegates to wait on congress for the purpose of being admitted into the federal union.

Newbury Port, August 29. The Tornado, on the 15th inst. extended to all the New England states. In many towns in New Hampshire its effects were similar to those in this commonwealth—one man, ’tis said, is missing, supposed to be blown into the river. In Rhode Island, it extended about twenty miles in length, and from 40 to 100 rods in width. Several buildings were blown down, and many others unroofed. The timber in the woods was prostrated in almost every direction ; fences, stacks of hay, and fields of corn were swept away—In short, nothing in its way could withstand its violence. Happily no lives were lost, as yet heard of.

The decay of ship-building is manifest throughout the continent, but particularly at New-York, where, a traveller informs us, there is but one small vessel on the stocks.

SEPTEMBER, 1787.

Philadelphia, September 7. A correspondent assures us, that, a few days ago, he had the curiosity to go along the docks and count the vessels loading and unloading: and to his great mortification, found there were sixteen under British colours, discharging and taking in their cargoes, and but one solitary American, which was loading with lumber for the West Indies.

Such is the litigious and unforbearing disposition of many members of the community, that no less than two hundred and forty executions were returned at the last June court of quarter sessions; and upwards of six hundred writs are returnable the present term.

Sept. 8. Two days ago the treasurer of Fayette county, in this state, obtained from the state treasurer, a receipt in full for the quota of his county, of the funding taxes up to the first of July last. How wisely do the officers in this new county, which is situated beyond the Allegany mountains, exert themselves to prevent the accumulation of uncollected taxes upon the inhabitants; an evil which has so greatly distressed the interior districts of the state, and forced multitudes to remove away, from the false indulgence of tardy collectors!

Sept. 14. A reward of a thousand dollars has been offered by governor Clinton, for the discovery of the incendiaries, who have lately attempted to set fire to New-York.

The chamber of commerce in New-York have adopted the following regulations with respect to bills of exchange, viz. Bills on any West-India islands, Newfoundland, or other foreign possessions in America, protested for non-payment, shall be discharged with ten per cent damages, at the current exchange, when presented to the drawer or indorser.—Bills on Europe, protested for non-payment, shall be discharged with twenty per

cent. at the current exchange, and that all bills drawn in sterling money, by persons in Europe, on persons in New-York, shall be paid at the exchange current, when the bill is due.

We hear from Wilkesbarre, in the county of Luzerne, that a court was held there last week in the most peaceable manner. Two bills, it is said, were found against John Franklin, for a riot and trespass, and for assault and battery. We are told he has retreated to Tioga, where he is stimulating a body of vagrants to commit fresh acts of rebellion and treason against the government of Pennsylvania.

There are ninety applications before the court of common pleas, for discharges under the insolvent acts.

Sept. 18. Yesterday afternoon, about four o'clock, the federal convention, after having concluded the important and difficult task of framing a federal system of government, broke up; and many of the delegates, we are informed, are already on their way to communicate to their anxious constituents, the result of their deliberations.

Sept. 22. The grand jury on Monday last presented, as a nuisance, the general intercourse, between the criminals of the different sexes, in the jail; and likewise the indiscriminate mixture of debtors and criminals, in the hall originally intended for debtors only.

Winchester (Virginia) September 14. From Kentucky we learn, that a messenger sent express from Cumberland, had arrived there, to request assistance against a large body of Indians, who had made war against them, and were then in their country; that, previous to the messenger's departure, forty three families had been murdered, and that the Indians were destroying their stocks and fields of corn, and had attacked some of the forts. Five hundred volunteers, mounted on horses, the flower of the

Kentucky militia, were to set out on the 13th instant, for the relief of their brethren, so that we may shortly expect to hear of a battle, and a new display of gallantry of the Mountain Boys.

Augusta, September 22. A letter from general Cooke, at Mulberry Grove, state of Franklin, to major Elholm, in this town, dated August 28, says, Colonel Typton, a few days ago, appeared with a party of about fifty men, of such as he could raise under pretence of settling a quarrel that had arisen between our sheriff and the sheriff of North Carolina, though their principal view was to put themselves in possession of our records. This conduct produced a most rapid report, that they had made a prisoner of his excellency, to carry him to North Carolina, which caused two hundred volunteers to repair immediately to the house of colonel Typton, before they became sensible of the mistake: and it was only through the influence of his excellency, that the opposite party did not fall a sacrifice to our Franks. During this time, a body of about fifteen hundred veterans embodied themselves, in order to rescue their governor, as they thought, out of the hands of the North Carolinians, and bring him back to the mountains—an instance, that proves our citizens to have too noble a spirit to yield to slavery, or to relish a national insult.

New Brunswick, Sept 25. 'The following is a list of the prices which the offices of excise brought in the counties from which we have received information. Hunterdon, 3000l.—Monmouth, 1000l.—Middlesex, 1705.—Somerset, 161.—Essex, 171. In Bergen, we are told, a gallows was erected by the populace, to hang the man who should make a bid. Burlington, 31.

OCTOBER, 1787.

Philadelphia, October 3. On Wednesday last, his excellency general Washington passed through Wilmington, on his return from this city to his seat on Mount Vernon—and on the same day, in crossing the bridge near the head of Elk, the bridge gave way, and his horse fell into the river. His excellency had alighted in order to walk over the bridge, which fortunate circumstance probably saved a life so dear to his country.

On Saturday last, at three o'clock, A. M. an express, forwarded by the honourable mr. Bingham, one of the delegates from Pennsylvania, arrived in this city from congress, with the resolution, recommending to each state to call a convention, to take into consideration the federal government. It was read in the assembly on Saturday forenoon; where it was adopted, with only two objecting votes.

From the time the resolution of congress was passed, till its adoption by the state of Pennsylvania, was only twenty hours. Such is the zeal of Pennsylvania to shew her attachment to a vigorous, free, and wise frame of national government.

In consequence of the arrival of the unanimous resolution of congress, and adoption of it by our assembly, the bells of Christ church rang during the greatest part of Saturday. Many hundred citizens of the first character attended in the lobby, and at the door of the state-house, during the deliberations of the house on the calling of a convention, and testified their joy upon the resolves being passed for that purpose by three heart-felt cheers. In short, unusual joy appeared in every countenance (three or four officers of government excepted) and the day exhibited every where the most agreeable marks of

the speedy resurrection of the prosperity and happiness of Pennsylvania.

October 6. We are informed, that John Franklin, the hero of Wyoming, has been seized by several of the friends of government, and brought to this city. It is hoped, that some legal steps will be taken to subdue the turbulent spirit of this western Shays, who has been the chief cause of the discontents in the county of Luzerne, and has uniformly laboured to involve the country in a civil war.

New-York, Oct. 11. On Friday last, congress appointed his excellency Arthur St. Clair, esquire, now president of congress, to be governor of the western territory of the united states, with a salary of one thousand dollars per annum, and to exercise the office of superintendant of Indian affairs, and receive the pay and emoluments of the same, amounting to about eight hundred dollars per ann.

Boston, October 8. The marquis de la Fayette, we are told, intended a visit to America this year—but the expectation of a rupture in Europe, in which his sword will again be wanted, in defence of the rights of mankind, in the cause of the Dutch patriots, prevented it.

We are informed by a gentleman lately arrived from Paris, that by an arret of the council of the king of France, passed the 24th day of last May, the Port Louis, in the Isle of France, had been declared a free port, and opened to the American trade.

Exeter, (New Hampshire) Oct. 27. On Sunday night last, mrs. Cram, wife to mr. — Cram, of Deerfield, was safely delivered of three female children, who weighed on an average better than eight pounds a piece: they are all living and likely to do well.

Richmond, October 31. A letter from the western country, dated October 10, says, Our vicinity to the friendly Cherokees, and the correspondence we have contrived to esta-

blish through the Indian country, even as far as the Choctaws, has been of great use to us particularly, and to other western settlements.

You, I understand, have been fully informed of the cause and event of colonel Robertson's expedition to the Muscle Shoals, in the beginning of last summer. This, and what happened in Georgia, about the same time, now serves as a pretext to M'Gillivray, to commence open hostilities. I say, a pretext: because it can be proved, by sufficient evidence, that the Creeks, under his express orders, have, for above two years past, been annoying our out settlements, by small parties, generally killing but few—yet carrying off horses in great numbers. These were sold to his traders at the Muscle Shoals, and in the Creek country.

Colonel Robertson's success, and the death of a chief, were sufficient to rouse the whole tribe to revenge. One party was suddenly detached to the Chickesaws, to murder mr. Turnbull, mr. Davenport, and their friends. The former had the good fortune to obtain notice, and to make his escape, with some others: but Davenport, and his party, being employed in beginning a settlement on the Mississippi, were overtaken, and fell victims to savage fury. About the same time, a formidable body, of between six and seven hundred, mostly Indians, set out in great parade, with drums, colours, music, and a number of horsemens equipped after the European manner. They were to have proceeded to the Cumberland settlement, and destroy man, woman, and child, without mercy: but happily, at the Tenafee, they were met by an express from the Creek chief, informing that a large army from Georgia, was in full march towards their towns, and advising them to return home, and defend their wives and children. All but about one hundred, instantly

tacked about, and ran homeward. The others proceeded until near the Cumberland settlement : but our people being, a few days before, alarmed by our very friendly brothers, the Chickesaws, a detachment was ordered from the garrison at Nashville, which intimidated those bloodhounds, and they retreated out of the country with precipitation.

A few days ago, a friendly Cherokee, from Chickamoga, brought us word, that five hundred Creeks were encamped at the mouth of Holstein, and that it was uncertain whether their destination was to Cumberland, Kentucke, or up Holstein, or Clinch. Our militia are assembling as fast as they can, to go and meet them : and I hope to see such a force assembled in a few days, as may enable us to look the enemy in the face.

Alexandria, Oct. 28. A letter from a gentleman in Providence, Rhode-Island, to his correspondent in this town, dated Sept. 15, 1787, says, We have had a shadow of an assembly at Newport, which resolved, by a majority of 12, to send no members to congress, nor to accept any constitution the convention may offer.

Congress resolved on the 3d inst. that it was still expedient to station a corps of 700 troops on the frontiers, and in order to save the expence of new levies, it was resolved, likewise, to retain as many of the troops now there (whose time of service will expire in the course of this year) as shall voluntarily re-engage. Seven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates are required to be raised in the following proportions, viz. Connecticut 165, New-York 165, New-Jersey 110, Pennsylvania 260. The organization to be according to the present establishment, and the pay and allowances the same as directed by a resolve of congress of April 12, 1785.

Baltimore, October 9. A letter from a gentleman in Paris, to his

friend in this town, says, "the account of the public revenue having been laid before the several boards, it has been found, that the interest of the American debt had been very irregularly paid, of which it was impossible for the boards not to make mention. In this delicate juncture, the marquis de la Fayette gave a very satisfactory account of the solidity of the American debt, saying, no debt contracted by England, France, or any other European power, could be founded on so good a basis ; that besides the arguments that ought to be derived from their magnanimous national character, that debt had been settled on immense tracts of the most fruitful lands, which were eagerly sought for, and purchased by crowds of migrators, and were the property of the federal government. He could not, therefore, suppose there might be the least uncertainty on the minds of the committee respecting the principal of that debt ; and it is with great propriety that government had formerly rejected the idea of selling it to a company under a small loss. But as it might be natural for some to think, that necessity to refit a country from the desolation of war, to give the federal government that perfection which it may still acquire, and every circumstance resulting from the situation of the country after the glorious, happy, but dearly purchased revolution, would make it difficult for the united states to be very punctual for some time to come. He declared, that not the smallest want of punctuality would have taken place, had the selfish views of the farmers general, and many prejudices about American produce, which experience will destroy, permitted the united states to liberate themselves with those commodities which are paid in gold to other nations. He then spoke of the consent of twelve states to the five per cent. which is more than sufficient to fulfil every engagement ; of

the convention to be held at Philadelphia; and represented the credit of the united states, in the most satisfactory point of view.—I hear that the notables have spoken of the American debt with great delicacy, apologizing for the want of payment; but how can our American brethren reconcile it to their feelings, to be so deficient in punctuality?"

NOVEMBER, 1787.

Philadelphia, November 3. On Wednesday last, his excellency Benjamin Franklin, esq. was re-elected president, and the hon. Peter Muhlenbergh, esq. elected vice-president of this state.

The lands in the western territory of the united states, lately sold by auction, at New York, brought on an average, eighteen shillings and nine pence per acre. Some of them were struck off at six pounds per acre.

All the necessaries and conveniences of life, have returned to the prices at which they were current before the revolution, except the article of house-rent. Provisions were never cheaper than at present, and wood, taken upon an average, has not been sold at a lower rate for the last twenty years. The landlord alone perseveres in exacting those exorbitant profits, which make not the least of the evils introduced by the transient adventurers, who flocked hither at the close of the war.

November 17. We hear from Clinch, in Virginia, that a number of settlers, belonging to that place, who were out gathering ginseng, discovered a body of eight hundred or more Indians, marching towards French-Board, on their way to the frontiers of that settlement; that the inhabitants were in continual alarm; that orders, in consequence, have been issued for the militia to hold themselves in

readiness to turn out at the shortest notice; that there was no account of any mischief being done by them, when the account came away; and that the report, some time past, of forty families being cut off in the lower settlements, was without foundation: four men only were killed, and a few wounded.

November 22. A letter from Rhode Island, dated the seventh instant, says, By the papers now forwarded, you may form some idea of the politics of this state. From the proceedings of our legislature last week, you may reasonably conclude, that our rulers have not yet completed their diabolical schemes. How far they mean to carry their vile plans, time only must make known. A viler and more abandoned set of beings never disgraced any legislative, executive, or judicial authorities, since the fall of Adam. Every conscientious and honest man, in our devoted republic, is employed in contemplating with admiration, and devoutly wishing for the speedy adoption of the new constitution, though their fears are occasionally excited on the alarm from the ill-founded suggestions of a Gerry, and the more sly insinuations of your sixteen seceding members—performances too well adapted to blow up the flame of disunion, and to embitter the minds of the people against all good and virtuous government. Such men, I am sorry to find, you have in Pennsylvania. Were we favoured with a constitution of government immediately from heaven, they, with our abandoned leaders, would enter their objections. God grant that there may be wisdom and goodness enough still found among the majority, to adopt what a Washington, a Franklin, a Madison, M

&c. so warmly recommended.— Without this adoption, a civil war, I am afraid, will take place. This must arise from the confusions of some of our different state governments. The proceedings of the baptist association, lately convened at New York, are highly approved here. Their brethren, throughout the eastern states, are also highly federal. May all other denominations evidence the same zeal in cordially recommending and fervently espousing a firm, vigorous, and well-established government, so admirably calculated for the preservation of our dear-bought liberty, civil and religious.

November 28. The merchants of Dublin, aided by some powerful noblemen and gentlemen of great landed property, are about establishing a company to trade to America, the West Indies, and the coast of Africa.

Yesterday, in convention, it was moved by mr. Whitehill, that a protest should be entered against the motion for ratifying the constitution, if required.

It was urged in favour of this motion, that it was the practice of the legislature of Pennsylvania, and that the minority might thereby justify their votes to their constituents and to posterity.

Against it, it was said, the practice of the legislature of Pennsylvania was singular in this respect, and that it had done more mischief than good in the state; that it would produce long replies from the majority, in defence of their votes, and that this would greatly swell the files, and increase the expence of printing the journals; that entering a protest would only serve to inflame and distract the state, unnecessarily, upon a question, that, for the present, could not easily be

reconsidered or repealed; that the newspapers were open to the minority, for protests and addresses; and that they had a much more extensive circulation and influence than the journals of the convention could possibly have.

The votes being called, there appeared—for the question, 22
against it, 44

Boston, Nov. 1. A letter from a gentleman in the state of Franklin, to his friend in New York, dated October 4, says, “ Since your departure from hence, our political affairs wear a different face. Our assembly, by a special call from the governor and council, met the first instant: it was the largest that ever met since our separation from the old state, and I believe composed of as good characters as could be collected in any state on the continent. The principal business laid before this assembly, by our governor, chiefly concerned the hostile behaviour of his catholic majesty’s subjects in the Floridas and Louisiana, towards the good citizens of this state in particular, and the other western states in general. It appears by a number of credible evidences, and authentic papers, that many of our citizens have been deprived of their lives, liberties, and properties, within the jurisdiction of the united states, by persons acting under the authority of his catholic majesty’s government; and notwithstanding many remonstrances have been made by us, both to his catholic majesty’s governors, and to congress, to remove these grievances, they have remained deaf to our just demands.

“ Our assembly, therefore, as the fathers of the people, have thought it their indispensable duty to put a stop to all further depredations. To this end, both houses have passed a law, which provides for a body of troops to be immediately raised, to consist of 1500 men, who are to be

enlisted as regular soldiers for three years. They are to be embodied in one legion, and commanded by a brigadier general of experience, who will be joined by 500 men from the Cumberland settlements. This body of troops will be ready to march in November, and mean (by the divine blessing) to thresh these perfidious Castilians into a better conduct towards the subjects of the united states. Their arms, ammunition, &c. came from Charleston before the law was made to raise this corps."

November 2. The hon. senate, we hear, has passed a resolve, by which the bounty given on whale-oil, will cease after the first of December next.

November 15. The bill for propagating the gospel among the Indians, &c. read in the house of representatives on Tuesday, had a clause in it, providing, that the persons who should be sent for purposes mentioned in the bill, should be of the protestant profession. When it was read, dr. Coney rose and observed, that as good men were to be found in every profession, and as it was not consonant with the enlightened ideas of the present day, to make particular creeds the consideration of eligibility to any appointments, he moved, that the clause might be struck out of the bill, which meeting the cordial acquiescence of the whole house, was immediately done.

November 21. Last evening a bill for regulating the practice of the law, was debated, and finally rejected in the house of representatives.

Carlisle, Nov. 7. A letter from Fort Pitt, dated October 23, says, the Indians in general seem to be ill-disposed to the states; they are killing people about Wheeling, on both sides of the river, frequently.

Another letter from Fort Pitt, dated October 25, mentions, that "a number of people have been lately

murdered within twenty miles of Catskill.—I must take the liberty to tell you that it is my opinion, if something is not done to settle matters, a general Indian war will take place.

"Since writing the above I am informed of a number of people being killed, and that the Indians are not far off, and have four scaps with them that have been seen.—I am preparing to night, and shall march against them to-morrow, having procured two friendly Indians."

Newport, Nov. 4. On Wednesday last, the 31st of October, both houses of assembly met. The first business which engaged the attention of the house, was a bill for prohibiting the slave trade. A motion was made to postpone the consideration of it to the next session, as the bill was new and of great importance; but this motion was over-ruled, and the bill passed by a very large majority. To the astonishment of the public, the leading paper money members stood forth in support of the bill, reproaching the trade not only as inhuman, but as unjust and against the principles of morality and religion. It was a pleasing preface to see the leading characters in a legislature advocating justice, morality, and religion, who, for eighteen months past, had been the authors and patrons of iniquitous tender laws.

A report on the public letters was now called for; the letter from congress, and report of the convention being read, a warm debate ensued, and the merits of the constitution were largely entered into; but on the question being put, recommending the several towns to appoint delegates to meet in convention to consider and determine thereon, it was negatived by a great majority. However, to preserve appearances, they ordered the doings of the convention to be printed in handbills and sent to the several towns. After considering a few petitions,

&c. the session was closed with a grant to the waiters in paper, at six for one, and without repealing an act allowing the tender of it at par.

Thus fraud and injustice stalk through our land, and rob government of its brightest ornaments, and the honest part of the community of their hard earned pittance.

November 15. The paper money leaders are so interested in the existence of the present system, that no sacrifices are too great for them to make for its preservation. Not content with perverting the administration of justice, stabbing public faith at its vital, and introducing poverty among the citizens, they even seem to view a dissolution of the federal compact as of no magnitude, when placed in competition with their favourite paper money. Else why are delegates not to be sent to congress, agreeably to the promises of the legislature at a former session? Why is the liberty of the people sported with, in not having permission to meet in convention, to consider of the proposed constitution? The unfederal conduct in this instance, and the insidious reports which are industriously circulated by these inflammatory leaders, though they may lead astray the incautious here, will have a counter effect in all our sister states. They will evince the necessity of a speedy adoption of the constitution of the united states.

Augusta, November 10. Last Sunday evening, Mr. Vachel Dillingham, an inhabitant of the Saluda mountains, South Carolina, arrived in this town, by whom we are informed, that about a fortnight ago two men (since proved to be deserters from the party now cutting a road to Cumberland) came to Col. Christian's in Sullivan county, state of Franklin, and made oath, that they had been captured by a body of Indians, consisting of about five hundred Creeks and three hundred Chicka-

mogies, who were on their way to lay the frontiers of Franklin waste; but had since made their escape. The deposition was immediately forwarded to his excellency governor Sevier, by whose orders, in the space of two days and one night, fifteen hundred men marched towards the head of the Tenassee, commanded by general Cocke; but the general being convinced when he arrived at Little River settlement, that no body of Indians were then near, he left the frontiers under the cover of four hundred men stationed in the vicinity of the Hewasa.

Salem, November 13. It is a fact, not less remarkable than it must be pleasing to the benevolent mind (if it be the consequence of a declension of vice) that for the space of thirty one days previous to Saturday last, not a single prisoner, of any description, was in custody in the jail in this town—Elizabeth Leath is the only one at present there.

The jail in Ipswich, we are informed, has also been entirely empty for some time past.

Alexandria, Nov. 29. A letter from a gentleman in Boston, of a very late date, to his correspondent in this town, says, nothing can be predicted of the success of the plan of government, proposed by the late convention, though I think the chances are in favour of its adoption at present; but before the state convention sits, the current may be against the plan. Many are alarmed at the idea, that the legislatures of the several states will be abridged in the power of doing wrong, and be bound by rule and compact to do right, which they consider as an hardship: others are sensible that they individually can be of no importance in a steady government; while others, anxious to be with the popular voice, at the expense of every thing sacred, and supposing that a new mean of being so is to bawl in favour of liberty,

belch out curses on aristocracy, monarchy, oligarchy, &c. &c.

Nov. 30. The monument erected in New York, to the memory of that patriotic warrior, the late general Montgomery, has received the following elegant ornamental additions, designed by major L'Enfant, the gentleman to whom we are indebted for superintending its original erection:—Hymen, extinguishing his torch, mourns over the tomb. From behind the pyramid rises the sun with thirteen rays, which enlighten the quarter of a terrestrial globe, emblematical of America. Above the whole is the American eagle, flying from east to west, carrying in his talons a starry curtain, in which the globe appears to have been wrapped. It must give real satisfaction to every patriotic mind, to behold the attention of genius and taste thus generously employed in celebrating American heroism and departed virtue.

DECEMBER, 1787.

Philadelphia, December 10. The deputies to the state convention of Delaware met at Dover, on Monday, the third instant, and a house being formed, they elected James Latimer, esq. president. On Thursday, they ratified the new federal constitution by an unanimous vote: and on Friday, every member signed the ratification.

December 13. Yesterday, in the convention of this state, on motion of mr. Hartley, seconded by mr. Chambers, the original question, as moved by mr. McKean, viz. "will this convention assent to and ratify the constitution agreed to, on the 17th of September last, by the convention of the united states of America, held at Philadelphia," was put, and carried in the affirmative.

December 14. Yesterday the convention of this state (accompanied by his excellency the president, the vice-president, and the members of

the supreme executive council, also by several members of congress, the faculty of the university, the magistrates and militia officers of the city) went in procession to the court-house, where the ratification of the constitution of the united states was read, amidst the acclamations of a great concourse of citizens. Thirteen cannon were fired, and the bells were rung on this joyful occasion. After this, the convention returned to the state-house, and subscribed two copies of the ratification. At three o'clock they met, and dined with the members of the supreme executive council, several members of congress, and a number of citizens, at mr. Eppe's tavern, where the remainder of the day was spent in mutual congratulations upon the happy prospect of enjoying, once more, order, justice, and good government, in the united states.

Dec. 15. That the public may not be deceived by the assertion, "*That the ports of the English West-India Islands are open to our trade,*" we are desirous to insert the following extract of a letter from a gentleman in London, to his correspondent in this city, dated the 3d of October, which information, we are assured, may be depended upon.

"We are assured on the part of government, that orders are sending to the governors of our islands, to use their *own* discretion in admitting articles from the foreign islands under the present circumstances."

A number of memorials were on Monday last presented to the convention, from the inhabitants of the county of Philadelphia, stating the advantages that county enjoys, and requesting it might be offered as the seat of the federal government, in which the exclusive jurisdiction of congress may be exercised.

December 20. The convention of the state of New Jersey met at Trenton, on the eleventh instant;

and continued their session by adjournments until the eighteenth, when, after a full and fair investigation of the new constitution, the adoption of it was unanimously agreed to, and the ratification of it signed by all the members.

Dec. 22. By letters just received from a gentleman of accurate observation and account, at Pittsburgh, dated the 24th November last, it appears, that no less than four thousand and two hundred people passed that place down the Ohio since the first of that month, and that several boats were still preparing to follow them with more settlers; but not a word of any disturbance amongst the Indians.

We hear from Georgia, that martial law is proclaimed throughout that state—that the town of Savannah is strongly fortified by several redoubts and other works thrown up round it, and that small parties of Indians have committed depredations within thirty-six miles of Savannah.

Charleston, (S. C.) Dec. 5. The reason given by Spain for refusing to open the Mississippi, is, that West Florida was a conquered country, by that nation, and therefore the court of Great Britain had no right to insert in the treaty of peace with the united states, the following clause: “Article VIII. The navigation of the Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the united states.”

When Mr. Jay was at Madrid, he had a commission from congress, to offer an exclusive navigation of the Mississippi for fifty years, provided Spain would vigorously assist America; that court took so much time to consider this proposition, that in the interim, Lord Cornwallis surrendered: a victory so happily fortunate to America, gave a new turn to their politics, and congress therefore immediately dispatched a messenger to

their ambassador, signifying their pleasure that the matter should be suspended.

Salem, December 2. By a vote of the Ohio company, one hundred settlers are to be sent on to their lands, this fall and winter. These settlers are to be supplied with provisions to the settlement—on their arrival at Pittsburgh, to be taken into pay by the company, at four dollars per month, and to continue in pay till May next: the payment of their wages to be in lands, computing their monthly wages to purchase public securities, at the rate they may be procured when their service expires, and estimating the lands at the rate the company purchased of congress. Each man must provide himself with a good musket, bayonet and cartridge-box; and if they provide an axe and hoe, and mechanics their necessary tools, they will be transported gratis.

New-York, Dec. 15. It is worthy of remark, that amongst the various classes of citizens who consider their interests and happiness essentially combined with, and dependent upon the adoption of the proposed constitution for the united states of America, the ship-carpenters of Philadelphia have given the most irrefragable proof of their approbation of the same, by conducting on the evening of its ratification by the state of Pennsylvania, a vessel on wheels through the streets of Philadelphia, decorated with flags and insignia emblematical of their fixed expectation of the revival of commerce and navigation under this happy government.

Dec. 18. The legislature of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania have resolved, that the excise should be double, that an additional duty of two pence per gallon be laid on Madeira wine, one penny per gallon on all other wines, one shilling per dozen on wines imported in bottles, one penny per pound on bohea teas im-

ported, three pence per pound on all other teas, and one penny per pound on coffee.

New Brunswick, December 25. On Wednesday the 19th inst. the delegates of convention, attended by the principal inhabitants of Trenton, and a handsome, well disciplined company of light-infantry in uniform, under the command of capt. Hanlon, proceeded from the convention chamber to the court-house, where the ratification of the new constitution was publicly announced, and received by a great number of citizens collected on the occasion with general approbation, which was expressed by repeated huzzas. The company of light-infantry fired thirteen rounds—one more for the state of Delaware—and another for Pennsylvania. After which the convention returned in the same procession to their chamber, in order to complete the great and important business of their appointment.

The business of the convention being concluded, it was resolved, that the convention do adjourn without day; whereupon the president dissolved the convention accordingly. After which the members of this honourable body, having previously invited a number of the magistrates and other gentlemen to partake with them, dined together at mr. Vandergrift's tavern—at which entertainment the joy and satisfaction of the occasion were fixed in every heart, and apparent in every countenance. After dinner the following toasts were drank,

1. The new constitution.
2. The united states in congress.
3. The president and members of the late federal convention.
4. The governor and state of New Jersey.
5. The states of Delaware and Pennsylvania.

6. May the independence of the union, reared on the basis of the new constitution, be perpetual.

7. The princes and states in alliance with the united states.

8. May the interest of the united states be ever deemed the interest of each state.

9. Religion, learning, agriculture, arts, manufactures and commerce, in harmony and mutual subserviency to each other.

10. The memory and posterity of those who have fallen in the late war.

11. May the gratitude of the American citizens be equal to the valour and patriotism of the American soldiery.

12. The daughters of America.

13. May the united states be the asylum of invaded liberty.

Volunteer. May the American drums soon beat reveille to the dawn of the new government, and tattoo to anarchy and confusion.

Ditto. Universal liberty, justice and peace.

Wilmington, December 19. The poor's house, which has been some time building by this hundred, is now finished, and answers the warmest expectations of its patrons. It is a spectacle interesting to curiosity, and delightful to humanity, to see there numbers of our fellow creatures bending under the weight of years, or misfortune, supported with a cleanliness, convenience, and plenty, superior to what most of them can be supposed to have known in their happiest days, and expressing in their countenance the sense of their situation. There is so great a difference between their condition, and that of the poor in most other places, while the expence of the public is considerably less, that it requires only to be known to incite others to imitate so laudable an example.

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